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THE FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES
OF THE
PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
DEDICATE
THIS VOLUME
TO THE MEMORY OF
JOSEPH CHARLES WEY, C.S.B.

CONTENTS

Joseph Charles Wey, C.S.B. (1910–2000) *James K. Farge* vii

ARTICLES

A Fourteenth-Century Example of an <i>Introitus Sententiarum</i> at Oxford: Richard FitzRalph's Inaugural Speech in Praise of the <i>Sentences</i> of Peter Lombard <i>Michael Dunne</i>	1
Francis of Marchia's Commentary on the <i>Sentences</i> : Question List and State of Research <i>Russell L. Friedman and Chris Schabel</i>	31
A Treatise on Problem Solving from Early Medieval Latin Europe <i>Barnabas Hughes</i>	107
Old English <i>fant</i> and Its Compounds in the Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary of Baptism <i>Christopher A. Jones</i>	143
Alfonso VII of León-Castilla, the House of Trastámara, and the Emergence of the Kingdom of Portugal <i>Bernard F. Reilly</i>	193
Chef d'Oire dans <i>Partonopeus de Blois</i> : La ville comme espace de totalisation <i>Esperanza Bermejo</i>	223
Igor's Defeat at the Kayala (1185): The Chronicle Evidence <i>Martin Dimnik</i>	245
Justifying Deaths: The Chronicler Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay and the Massacre of Béziers <i>Elaine Graham-Leigh</i>	283
Alexander of Ashby: New Biographical Evidence <i>Greti Dinkova-Bruun</i>	305
A Neglected Episode in the Prehistory of Syon Abbey: The Letter of Katillus Thornberni in Uppsala University Library Pappersbrev 1410–1420 <i>Eric Graff</i>	323

Miscellanea beneventana

1. New Documents at Rieti for the Monasteries of San Benedetto ad Xenodochium and Santa Sofia in Ninth-Century Benevento
Virginia Brown 337
2. The South Italian *Collection in Five Books* and Its Derivatives: A South Italian Appendix to the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*
Roger E. Reynolds 353



JOSEPH CHARLES WEY, C.S.B. (1910–2000)

James K. Farge, C.S.B.

JOSEPH Charles Wey was born in Hammond, Indiana, on 18 March 1910. Three years later his father moved the family to a farm in the Rio Grande Valley of south Texas. In 1917 they pulled up stakes once again and moved to Houston, where Joe played a lot of baseball and eventually enrolled at St. Thomas High School. The work of the Basilian Fathers there impressed him to the extent that he decided to join them in it. But he was not destined to do his work in Texas. After his novitiate year in Toronto in 1927–28, the Basilians assigned him to study classical languages and literature at the University of Toronto, where he earned an Honours B.A. and an M.A. After his theological studies and his ordination to the priesthood in 1936, he taught both Greek and Latin in St. Michael's College in that University, with particular interest in Greek and Roman drama, especially the field of Latin comedy.

After the Second World War, the Basilians resumed their prewar custom of sending some priests to study in Europe to prepare them for work at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies—a practice that had produced some of the Institute's early teachers like Terence McLaughlin, Joseph Muckle, J. Reginald O'Donnell, Alexander Denomy, and George Flahiff. Father Wey spent 1947–49 working under Roger Mynors at Cambridge University, where he discovered and developed a penchant for reading difficult medieval Latin hands. On his return to Toronto, he resumed his classes in classical Latin for St. Michael's College, and at the Institute he taught medieval Latin and palaeography.

In his first year at the Institute he edited a short text, “The *Sermo Finalis* of Robert Holcot,” in *Mediaeval Studies* 11 (1949): 210–24. For the next thirteen years his principal research project was a critical edition of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, an early source of Irish secular and ecclesiastical law. In 1961, however, judging that new administrative duties for the Basilian Fathers would delay that project too long, he relinquished all those years of work and all his materials to a European colleague to finish. Lamentably, in the intervening forty years it has never been brought to completion.

In addition to his teaching and research, Father Wey served as Secretary, or Registrar, of the Pontifical Institute, taking a genuine interest in the students. One Institute graduate related how Father Wey admitted her as the first female candidate, even though she couldn't pay the tuition, telling her simply, “Well,

pay us when you can." She subsequently had a notable career of teaching and of innovative research into monastic economic life, was awarded one of the rare Institute doctoral degrees, and was later elected President of the Medieval Academy of America. Her case is typical of Father Wey's priorities: institutions were important, but people—not rules or budgets—should be the bottom line.

Those priorities did not change when, in 1961, Joseph Wey was elected Superior General of the Basilian Fathers. His two six-year terms coincided with a period of cultural and societal upheaval in general that greatly affected all religious orders in the Church. Father Wey was called to administer the Congregation's far-flung commitments amidst drastic declines in vocations and numerous withdrawals from the priesthood. One Basilian who worked with him at that time recalls how he suffered over each new human crisis—but that he inevitably responded with patience, wisdom, and charity. Some Basilians thought Father Wey not sufficiently decisive or stringent; but his priority, once again, was on the side of persons. His steady hand under great pressure could only have been the fruit of a strong interior life, a spiritual core nourished on prayer that was as much a part of him as his physical and intellectual life.

In the long period after his retirement from administration of the Basilian congregation in 1973, Father Wey turned again to medieval texts. At the request of the Franciscan Institute he collaborated in the multivolume critical edition of the works of William of Ockham. He edited Ockham's *Quodlibetal Questions* (*Venerabilis Inceptoris Guillelmi de Ockham Quodlibeta septem*), in *Guillelmi de Ockham Opera philosophica et theologica. Opera theologica 9* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1980), and the *Principium bibliae sive Quaestio de connexione virtutum* in the *Quaestiones variae*, in *Opera theologica 8* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1984). For those editions the Franciscan Institute awarded him its Scholarship in Franciscan Studies Medal in 1987.

He then turned to the works of Ockham's Franciscan critic, Walter Chatton, and planned an edition of five volumes. The first, *Reportatio et lectura super Sententias: Collatio ad librum primum et prologus*, was published by the Pontifical Institute (Toronto, 1989). A few years later, suspecting that he might not have the energy and the years required to bring the edition to completion, he sent the transcription of the remaining four volumes to Girard Etzkorn, who agreed to complete them. The *Reportatio super Sententias, Liber I* will appear in two volumes in January 2002, in the series Studies and Texts 141 and 142; the final two volumes, covering *Liber II* and *Libri III–IV*, are projected to appear in 2003—all from the press of the Pontifical Institute.

Reviewers of his editions had special praise for his analytical indexes that made the texts more accessible. Father Wey chose to edit Ockham and Chatton

not because he particularly agreed with their work but rather because he knew that what they had written needed to be recovered, and that it was important to get it right!

Even after relinquishing final responsibility for the Chatton volumes, Father Wey accepted the invitation of Edouard Jeauneau to assist him in his critical edition of Johannes Scotus Eriugena's *Periphyseon*, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 161–65* (Turnhout, 1996–2002). He did this with great pleasure for several years, until the stroke that brought to an end that phase of his life.

Like the best scholars, Joseph Wey enjoyed work. Like the best teachers, he enjoyed helping others learn to work well. Not only did he assist many Toronto colleagues with difficult passages, but also, over several decades, he vetted dozens of texts submitted for publication to the Institute's journal and its press. The scholars who had submitted the editions never knew who made all those corrections and helpful suggestions. Father Wey didn't need to be thanked or even acknowledged; he was content simply to have helped somebody else get it right.

The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, St. Michael's College, the Basilian Fathers, and many individual medievalists owe much to Father Joseph Wey for being with us and working with us during seventy-two of his ninety-one years. *Requiescat in pace.*

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY EXAMPLE OF AN *INTROITUS SENTENTIARUM* AT OXFORD: RICHARD FITZRALPH'S INAUGURAL SPEECH IN PRAISE OF THE *SENTENCES* OF PETER LOMBARD*

Michael Dunne

1. INTRODUCTION¹

RICHARD Rauf was born at Dundalk in the northeast of Ireland around 1300. Despite the fact that he is often called "Ybernicus," there is little doubt that FitzRalph's family were of English or Anglo-Norman origin.² His ancestors had settled in County Louth possibly not more than one or two gen-

* I am indebted in particular to my colleague Prof. James McEvoy, Dean, Faculty of Philosophy, National University of Ireland-Maynooth and Pontifical University of St. Patrick, Maynooth, and to Dr. Michael Haren, Irish Manuscripts Commission, for having read the following article and for making some kind suggestions for revision. I am especially grateful to Prof. McEvoy for having supplied me with some unpublished notes of the late Fr. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. (a pioneer in FitzRalph studies) regarding the early part of FitzRalph's career. I have made free use of these papers, but obviously the conclusions reached in this article are my own. Fr. Gwynn's published work on FitzRalph is to be found in a series of articles: "The Black Death in Ireland," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 24 (1935): 25–42; "Archbishop FitzRalph and George of Hungary," *Studies* 24 (1935): 558–72; "Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh," *Studies* 25 (1936): 81–96; "Archbishop FitzRalph and the Friars," *Studies* 26 (1937): 50–67; "The Sermon Diary of Richard FitzRalph," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 44, Section C, No. 1, (1937): 1–57.

I also wish to thank Prof. Siegfried Wenzel, emeritus, Department of English, University of Pennsylvania, and Prof. Nancy Spatz, Department of History, Santa Clara University, California, for their help with regard to the sermon form and for having kindly and most generously provided me with offprints of their articles.

Thanks also are due to the Master, Rev. Fr. G. Hughes, S.J., and the community of Campton Hall, Oxford, for their hospitality during my stay in Oxford to research this article; to the staff of Duke Humphrey's Library, and of the Russell and John Paul II Library, Maynooth. I also wish to acknowledge a grant which I received from the Faculty of Philosophy, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, towards my travelling expenses to Oxford.

¹ The bibliographical details concerning FitzRalph's life in the first three sections which follow are, in large measure, derived from the standard work on his life, namely, K. Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), where a fuller treatment is to be found.

² On the history of the English colony in this part of Ireland, see B. Smith, *Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland. The English in Louth 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999). Smith

erations before the date of his birth. It must be surmised that although he came from a respectable family, they were not initially well off but achieved social preferment later, not least through Richard himself. This was perhaps something which was felt by the young Richard as he progressed in life, changing his name by 1325 to the more impressive FitzRalph, perhaps inspired by some real or wished for connection with one or other branch of the FitzRalph family in England.³ There were FitzRalphs who held large estates in both Essex and Suffolk⁴ in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well as those in Exeter.⁵ The details of his early life are few and far between. He tells us that some of his relatives were members of the Franciscan order in his hometown of Dundalk.⁶ It must be supposed that he received some form of elementary education in Dundalk, and since the Franciscan friary was the only religious house in the town it may have been there that he did so. Such studies must have been restricted to grammar, however, since he did not seek a dispensation in favour of previous studies in philosophy when he came to Oxford.

The lack of any institute of higher education in Ireland at the time meant that it was necessary for students such as FitzRalph to travel to other centres in Europe.⁷ There is plenty of evidence of Irish students, Gaelic as well as Norman, at both Oxford and Paris, as well as in other centres.⁸ Oxford, however, remained the centre of choice for most Irish students. Firauf, as he is called by his student contemporaries (FizRauf by Bishop Grandisson) came to Oxford as a secular student in arts, presumably aged 15 or thereabouts, as was

argues (8–9) that the English in Louth considered themselves to be English and were in fact treated as such by the king. Indeed, this colony was in some ways more closely connected with the metropolitan centre than many people living in parts of England.

³ In 1334, when chancellor of the University of Oxford, he was satirized by the students at the time of the Stamford schism for not having the wealth to support such social pretensions; see Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 76.

⁴ The tomb of Sir William FitzRalph survives in the church at Pebmarsh in Essex.

⁵ M. J. Haren, “Richard FitzRalph and the Friars: The Intellectual Itinerary of a Curial Controversialist,” in *Roma, Magistra Mundi. Itineraria Culturae Medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle*, ed. J. Hamesse, 3 vols. (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), 1:349–67 at 352.

⁶ See Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 1.

⁷ On the various attempts to found such an institute of higher education in Ireland, see *ibid.*, 11–13.

⁸ A century beforehand, Peter of Ireland had studied and travelled as far as Italy where he held a chair in logic and natural philosophy at the University of Naples. See M. Dunne, “Petrus de Hibernia: A Thirteenth Century Irish Philosopher,” *Philosophical Studies* 33 (1991–92): 201–30; *Magistri Petri de Ybernia Expositio et Quaestiones in Aristotelis librum De longitudo et brevitate vitae*, ed. M. Dunne, *Philosophes Médiévaux* 30 (Louvain-Paris, 1993); *Magistri Petri de Ybernia Expositio et Quaestiones in Peryermenias Aristotelis*, ed. M. Dunne, *Philosophes Médiévaux* 34 (Louvain-Paris, 1996); and M. Dunne, “Petrus de Ybernia: An Update,” *Hiberno-Latin Newsletter* 7 (1997–98): 3–4.

the custom of the time. He was a fellow of Balliol College where by 1322 he would have incepted as master in arts, having completed the seven liberal arts and the three philosophies (natural, moral, and metaphysics).⁹ In July 1325, Richard "filius Radulphi" was obliged to resign his fellowship since Balliol was reserved for students in arts. FitzRalph, however, may have been lecturing as regent master in arts to students and pursuing his studies in theology at the same time.¹⁰

After this, as a student in theology FitzRalph seems to have gone to University Hall (which is now University College). Extra financial support was secured in April 1326 when he was collated to the church of Athboy in the diocese of Meath by Edward II.¹¹

During the winter of 1326–27 all England was thrown into confusion by the intrigue which led first to the fall of Edward II's favorites, the Dispensers, then to the abdication of Edward II, the accession of Edward III, and the murder of the former king. Edward III was crowned at Westminster Abbey on 29 January 1327 and peace was restored. Oxford had also suffered—the book of the chancellor and proctors contains a series of statutes from the year 1327 in which violent gatherings that had disturbed the peace of the university are noted.¹² Twelve months after the calming of the storm, we find FitzRalph for the first time in contact with a man who was to have a profound influence on his future career, and who was in fact one of the most remarkable personages of his age, John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter.¹³

John Grandisson was born in Ashperton in Hertfordshire in 1292 of a noble Burgundian family who had settled in England some forty years before. He

⁹ See Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 5. Works attributed to FitzRalph may have survived from this time: the *Tractatus de distinctionibus* and *Tractatus de propositione per se nota* (contained in Pisa, Biblioteca Caterina 159, fols. 11r–55v and 121r–128r, and in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica 563 [F.3.15], fols. 49–81 and 40–45). As regent master he was required to lecture on Aristotle's *Physics* for three terms and on the *Ethics* for at least four months. On the similar career of Richard Kilvington, see E. Jung-Palczewska, "Works by Richard Kilvington," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 67 (2000): 181–223 at 183–87.

¹⁰ See Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 4–5.

¹¹ See *ibid.*, 4, citing *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward II, vol. 5, 1324–27 (London, 1904), 258.

¹² See *Munimenta Academica*, ed. H. Anstey, 2 vols., Rolls Series 50 (London, 1868), 1:119–25.

¹³ On the life and career of Grandisson, see Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 64–70; and M. Haren, *Sin and Society in Fourteenth-Century England: A Study of the "Memoriale Presbiterorum"* (Oxford, 2000), 447–65, "The Character of Grandisson's Episcopate"; see also L. Olson, "Reading Augustine's *Confessiones* in Fourteenth-Century England: John de Grandisson's Fashioning of Text and Self," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 201–57 at 202–3 and 219 n. 67, from which the biographical details here are derived.

began studying in Oxford in 1306 and studied theology at Paris under the Cistercian Jacques Fournier (later Pope Benedict XII) between the years 1313 and 1317. A few years later (by 1322) he was in Avignon as chaplain to Pope John XXII. Around 1326–27, he appears to have been studying at Oxford again. As archdeacon of Nottingham, he was granted permission by the pope to visit his archdeaconry by deputy for two years while studying at a university. Upon the death of Bishop James de Berkeley in 1327, he was appointed to the see of Exeter. Grandisson was consecrated at Avignon on 8 October 1327 and he crossed to England and did fealty to Edward III at Eltham on 9 March 1328. He then attended parliament at Nottingham, and left the town on 16 March. He then seems to have spent some time at his father's estate in Gloucester. Again, on his way across the midlands he visited Oxford in May of that year, where, as bishop of Exeter, he had the right of visitation in Stapleton's Hall, later Exeter College. There he visited his nephew John Northwode and found him a tutor in Richard FitzRalph. He continued as bishop of Exeter for more than forty years until his death on 16 July 1369.

Many writers have explored the relationship between Grandisson and FitzRalph, especially M. Haren in his recent excellent study.¹⁴ It is not my intention here to comment upon this influence in FitzRalph's latter career and the background to the antimendicant controversy as this has already been dealt with by Haren. I would in the context of the present work point out the very Augustinian nature of the sources which FitzRalph uses in his *introitus Sententiarum* and also throughout the *Sentences Commentary*—an Augustinianism which he shared with Grandisson. Another influence of Grandisson upon FitzRalph may perhaps be traced to an introductory article, found only in the Oriel manuscript described below, which deals with the nature of the active life over the contemplative, and especially with the role of good pastors and bishops. This article is entitled *Vtrum vita contemplativa sit nobilior quam activa*. The conclusion is that the mixed life of action and contemplation, which is that of good pastors and prelates, is the most meritorious kind of life *in statu viatoris* and is superior to the religious life. Is this possibly another influence of Grandisson's, or perhaps an anticipation of a future stance on the part of FitzRalph?

Meeting Grandisson was a stroke of good fortune for FitzRalph, whose prospects for promotion in the Church were immediately altered. From the point of view of our knowledge of FitzRalph at this stage, it is also fortunate, for Grandisson throughout his life was a methodical administrator, who kept his registers remarkably well,¹⁵ and who kept copies of his letters, both offi-

¹⁴ Haren, *Sin and Society in Fourteenth-Century England*, 447–65.

¹⁵ As M. Haren pointed out to me, Grandisson's register is better kept than most but there

cial and private.¹⁶ Contained in these registers is a series of letters which throw valuable light on the details of the various steps by which FitzRalph completed his course of studies at Oxford and made his first progress up the ladder of ecclesiastical promotion.

In September 1331 FitzRalph was instituted to the prebend of Crediton near Exeter, one of the wealthiest and most important benefices in that diocese, whereas in the previous May, Grandisson had made FitzRalph the grant of a pension.¹⁷ Grandisson also petitioned Pope John XXII, asking permission to provide Richard FitzRalph, as well as his nephew John Northwode, with canonries in the diocese, as soon as they should fall vacant.¹⁸ Grandisson's attempt to provide FitzRalph with a canonry led to a violent quarrel between the bishop and the dean of the diocese, Richard Coleton.¹⁹ Coleton appealed first to Canterbury and then to Avignon. Grandisson maintained that such an appeal was invalid, and counter-appealed to the Holy See; meanwhile he excommunicated Dean Coleton and confiscated his property. Coleton then went to Avignon in person, and was there when Pope John XXII died in the last days of 1334. The new pope, Benedict XII, who had been Cardinal Jacques Fournier, was a personal friend of Grandisson. Fournier had been Grandisson's teacher at Paris and the two had maintained friendly relations thereafter. As soon as Grandisson heard the news, he wrote a letter of congratulation to his friend.²⁰ Coleton must have been a very disappointed man when the news broke at Avignon of Fournier's election. His departure from Avignon may

are still some gaps and discrepancies (particularly in the latter part of the pontificate).

¹⁶ *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327–1369)*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, 3 vols. (London 1894–99) [hereafter, *Reg.*], which also contains sources for the life of Grandisson in the preface to vol. 3 (v–lxxviii).

¹⁷ In a letter dated 24 May 1331, Grandisson addresses FitzRalph as "Magistro Ricardo, nato Radulphi, Sacre Theologie Baculario, Clerico nostro familiari" and tells him that he has decided to make him an annual pension of five pounds sterling "donec de competenciori providerimus" (*Reg.* 2:616; see Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 69). It also seems that FitzRalph had decided upon Exeter as his future home, since Grandisson writes "tibi qui eciam in nostra diocesi exoniensi mansionem perpetuam eligisti." Clearly, FitzRalph has not yet incepted but in the bishop's register of the following September which instituted him to the prebend of Crediton he is described as a doctor of theology (*Reg.* 3:1286).

¹⁸ In an earlier letter Grandisson had written to the pope explaining the difficulties he faced in trying to provide an income for theologians and members of his household (*Reg.* 1:106–7). The date given in the register is 1328–29 but the probable date is 1331; see *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, vol. 2, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1895), 355, when, in a papal grant of September 1331, Grandisson is granted permission to assign a canonry to FitzRalph. Again, FitzRalph is here, again, called "doctor" indicating a date from after the summer of 1331.

¹⁹ See *Reg.* 3:xxxvi–xli.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 1:110..

also have been due to FitzRalph's arrival, now as the former chancellor of the University of Oxford and not without important connections.²¹ FitzRalph was also probably bringing a copy of his *Lectura* on the *Sentences* to Pope John XXII in connection with the Beatific Vision controversy, and perhaps his *quaestio biblica* as well. In a sermon, preached on the feast of St. Thomas à Becket (7 July 1335), in the Dominican Church at Avignon, he digresses to discuss the vexed question of the beatific vision, and tells his audience that he himself had been asked for an opinion by the late pope: "Dico sicut aliter dixi, et de pracepto domini Johannis scripsi, et in manus eiusdem tradidi, quod hec merces redditur immediate post plenam purgacionem anime separate: intelligo post plenam satisfaccionem pro suis peccatis."²² Thus, he must have reached Avignon some time before John's death on 4 December 1334. We may conclude that FitzRalph was asked for his *Lectura* at some time during the year 1334 and that he came in person before the pope's death in the last month of the year. The quarrel ended with Coleton's death on 4 August 1335, on his way home from Avignon to Exeter; but it is doubtful whether FitzRalph ever entered into possession of the canonry.

FitzRalph's first stay at Avignon came to an end when he was appointed on 17 December 1335 to the position of dean of Lichfield, one of the most important benefices in the English Church at that time. Clearly, he had given satisfaction to the new pope during the first year of his pontificate. Ten years earlier, Stephen Segar had gone from Lichfield, where he had been dean, to become archbishop of Armagh, and FitzRalph would follow the same path in 1346.

This is not to say that FitzRalph had been inactive up to then. After leaving Oxford, FitzRalph attached himself to the household of Richard of Bury who was consecrated bishop of Durham on 5 June 1334. Richard of Bury had been named Lord Treasurer on 3 February 1334; and he exchanged this office for the Great Seal on 28 September—just a week after the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the causes of the Oxford disturbances. Thus, FitzRalph had good reason to cultivate the acquaintance of the new bishop of Durham.

Furthermore, there is a record of FitzRalph's collation to the chancellorship of Lincoln in July 1334,²³ perhaps in recognition of his services to the Uni-

²¹ FitzRalph was elected chancellor of the University in May 1332, and his election was confirmed by Bishop Burghersh on 30 May. He was in office at the time of the Stanford Schism and resigned his position on 14 May 1334. See Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 70 and 74, citing *Snappe's Formulary*, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford Historical Society 80 (1924), 75–76 and 326.

²² Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodl. 144, fol. 158v; see Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 98.

²³ See Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 107.

versity. FitzRalph's former pupil, John Northwode was also in the Cathedral chapter²⁴. Indeed, by the time he became dean of Lichfield, he was called upon to resign a prebend in his native diocese of Armagh, as well as two prebends in Exeter (those of Crediton and Bosham), a provision to a vacant canonry in Exeter, and a provision to the chancellorship of Lincoln. Even if he had only an expectancy of the two last benefices, he was already well on the way in his career.

2. THE LECTURES ON THE *SENTENCES*

K. Walsh has established from Grandisson's correspondence that FitzRalph was *bachalarius in sacra pagina* after August 1328 and that he had completed his lectures on the *Sentences* before October 1329.²⁵ Absent in Paris as tutor to Grandisson's nephew from 1329–30, his inception as doctor seems to have taken place in the summer of 1331. It should also be noted that according to the statutes a *bachalarius* was not allowed to respond in any of the lecture halls of the University for a full year after completing his lectures on the *Sentences*²⁶. Thus, FitzRalph would have been free to leave Oxford for a year, and so chose this free year for a first visit to the great University of Paris.

Information regarding the stay of FitzRalph and Northwode has been uncovered by W. J. Courtenay,²⁷ who has recently edited a *computus* or financial record of a tax levied on the members of the University of Paris in the academic year 1329–1330. This *computus* contains the names, financial level, and addresses of the majority of masters and most prominent students of the University. The document is the earliest surviving record of a *collectio* or *collecta* of money from the masters and students due to the fact that a certain Jean le Fourbeur was accused of raping a girl from a village to the east of Troyes, in the Champagne region. In recording the names of the masters and students, we find that lodging in the “up-market” rue de Sorbonne, was a certain, “Richardus filius Rodulfi cum discipulo suo.”²⁸ FitzRalph, now a *bachalarius formatus* in theology (i.e., one who has now completed his obligations with regard to lecturing) is entitled to be accounted as a *magister* within the university and to have students. He had probably acquired such prestigious lodgings, belonging to the Collège de Sorbonne, thanks to the friendship be-

²⁴ See *Calendar of... Papal Letters* 2:524.

²⁵ See Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 43–44; and n. 17 above.

²⁶ See *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. S. Gibson (Oxford, 1931), 51.

²⁷ See W. J. Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century—A Social Portrait* (Cambridge, 1999).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14–15.

tween Pierre Roger and Grandisson. Roger, archbishop of Sens, provisor of the Sorbonne, was at that time resident in Paris as adviser to Philip VI and later became Pope Clement VI (1342–52). (It is interesting to note FitzRalph's ease of access to the Papal Court from the time of John XXII who was Grandisson's patron; and later to both Jacques Fournier [Benedict XII, 1334–42] and Peter Roger, the first being the teacher and the latter a friend of Grandisson's. Perhaps the change in FitzRalph's influence came with the accession of Innocent VI.) FitzRalph and Northwode probably arrived in Paris around the middle of October 1329 and had returned to England by the summer of 1330 when FitzRalph incepted in theology.

These dates are important, as they enable us to argue backwards to the earlier period of FitzRalph's residence in Oxford. By statute a Master of Arts was required to study theology for seven years before he was allowed to lecture on the *Sentences* as a *bachalarius*. This gives us 1321 as the probable year in which FitzRalph began his course of theology. Another statute, however, required a master in any faculty to lecture for at least two years in the University and in that faculty.²⁹ FitzRalph may thus have spent two to three years lecturing in the faculty of arts before he began the higher course in theology; alternatively, he may have begun to study theology while he was still lecturing as a Master of Arts. Since the course in arts extended over a period of about four years, we must conclude that FitzRalph came to Oxford not later than 1315, and possibly even earlier. However, no fixed dates can at present be given for these early years.

When FitzRalph was a student, no school was more famous than that of the Franciscan Convent—the *opus Oxoniense* of John Duns Scotus was already a classic. Indeed, FitzRalph frequently quotes Duns Scotus, more frequently in fact than the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas Aquinas. The Franciscan school had always been more prominent at Oxford than the rival Dominican School; and the teaching of St. Thomas in particular had failed to acquire that predominance at Oxford which it had finally won at the University of Paris. Oxford thought still lay mainly under the influence of the University's best-known chancellor, Robert Grosseteste. Thus, thinkers such as FitzRalph remained loyal to the tradition of Augustinism,³⁰ while Paris, in common with

²⁹ See J. A. Weisheipl, "Curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Oxford in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Mediaeval Studies* 26 (1964): 143–85. On p. 147 Weisheipl points out that at the time of his inception as a master of arts, the young lecturer (aged around twenty-one) had to take an oath that he would lecture in the faculty for at least two years. He was not considered a member of the university until he had kept his word; otherwise he was regarded as a perjurer.

³⁰ Following J. A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino—His Life, Thought and Work* (New York, 1994), 285–91, I use the term "Augustinism" to indicate that movement within scholastic thought which appealed to the authority of St. Augustine in both philosophy and theology. As

many European centres, responded quickly to the influence of Peripatetic philosophy.³¹

Although FitzRalph himself later made little of his time as a lecturer,³² his lectures on the *Sentences* have turned out to be of greater importance than might have at first been realised by authors such as G. Leff.³³ According to the regulations at the time, the bachelor began by commenting on the *Sentences*, whereas at Paris this was the task of a doctor in theology. The requirement to lecture on the four books of Lombard had by this stage been relaxed and so commentators were free to specialise during the one year that was allotted to them. The recent edition of the *quaestio biblica* by J.-F. Genest serves to place FitzRalph's contribution in a proper context and bears witness to his ability to adapt to new forms.³⁴ Indeed, the importance of FitzRalph's

in the case of St. Bonaventure, this did not exclude other influences, such as Aristotle, but it did hold that speculation should take place within the accepted tradition (see M. Dunne, "The Three Ways of St. Bonaventure," *Milltown Studies* 45 [2000]: 16–43). Thus, "Augustinism" involves a presentation of certain fundamental theses drawn from the works of St. Augustine, in a typically scholastic fashion. In my view, the revival in the reading of the works of St. Augustine (especially the *Confessions*) by such personages as Grandisson, FitzRalph and Petrarch will lead to a revival in "Augustinianism," namely, a certain attitude and style, derived from the writings of Augustine himself. The contrast between the two attitudes is well summarized by FitzRalph himself in his autobiographical prayer, edited by L. L. Hammerich, *The Beginnings of the Strife between Richard FitzRalph and the Mendicants* (Copenhagen, 1938), 20. See also W. J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 1987), chap. 10, "The Augustinian Revival," 307–24.

³¹ This is not to underplay the continuing influence of Augustinism at Paris, particularly in the combined form of Augustinism and Aristotelianism in such a figure as St. Bonaventure. Indeed, Grandisson's Augustinian tendency may relate to his time at Paris.

³² See the autobiographical prayer in Hammerich, *Beginnings of the Strife*, 20. It seems that FitzRalph underwent a "conversion" during the six years that he spent at the Papal Court (ca. 1337–43).

³³ See G. Leff, "Richard FitzRalph's 'Commentary on the Sentences,'" *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library* 45 (1962–63): 390–422, and *Richard FitzRalph Commentator of the "Sentences": A Study on Theological Orthodoxy* (Manchester, 1963). Walsh (*Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 51) assesses Leff's position as follows: "Leff's judgment of the commentary is basically a negative one. He sees the work as characterized only by its conventional orthodoxy and by a 'traditional' Augustinianism derived primarily from Henry of Ghent, conceived in pre-Scotist terms, and therefore outside of and irrelevant to the main currents of his time. But this judgment can only be accepted with substantial qualifications, and it must be conceded that FitzRalph concentrated on topics which lay at the heart of scholastic controversy during these years. Far from being anachronistic, the range of subjects he treated is strikingly familiar to the themes preoccupying his own near-contemporaries among English theologians. . . ."

³⁴ J.-F. Genest, "Contingence et révélation des futurs: La *questio biblica* de Richard FitzRalph," in *Lectionum Varietates: Hommage à Paul Vignaux (1904–1987)*, ed. J. Jolivet, Z. Kahuza, and A. de Libera (Paris, 1991), 199–246.

Commentary may not be underestimated, since it was to become the point of reference for the discussion of a number of major thinkers when Oxford became the centre of theological speculation.

Clearly then, the edition of FitzRalph's lectures on the *Sentences* will serve to complete the jigsaw in terms of our knowledge of those issues which were debated at Oxford in the late 1320s and early 1330s. That, however, is beyond our present scope, since it is our task here to examine the nature of FitzRalph's inaugural speech on the *Sentences*.

3. THE *INTROITUS SENTENTIARUM*

Oxford, Oriel College 15 describes this work as a “*sermo in opus*”; the temptation would be to translate this as a “sermon.” This translation would also be suggested by the fact that, as Walsh points out,³⁵ this *sermo* was, in all likelihood given in the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin.³⁶ FitzRalph at this stage was possibly already a priest. In his earliest letter to FitzRalph, Bishop Grandisson refers to his invitation to Exeter, apparently with a view to his approaching ordination.³⁷

Now as tutor (*curator*) to the bishop's nephew John Northwode, FitzRalph went with the latter to Paris in 1329, where both of them perhaps attended some lectures.³⁸ While they were away, Grandisson writes a letter from his

³⁵ Walsh, *Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 59 n. 95.

³⁶ The religious setting was, however, also used for “secular” activities as well. Lectures were given quite normally in the Church and it was used for court cases and so on.

³⁷ As already mentioned, this letter (*Reg*, 1:173) must have been written soon after the first encounter between Grandisson and FitzRalph since it occurs among the letters of 1328, and is addressed to FitzRalph as “*Magister Ricardus filius Radulfi*.” Since the letters of the following years give him the double title of “*magister et bachelarius*,” it must be concluded that he was still only a master of arts at the date of this letter. Grandisson had evidently invited his nephew's tutor to Exeter, apparently with a view to his coming ordination. Both K. Walsh (*Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 66–67) and M. Haren (*Sin and Society in Fourteenth-Century England*, 61) point out that Grandisson, following an investigation conducted by him on the point, dismisses a reservation that he had held regarding FitzRalph's suitability for orders. The bishop presses FitzRalph to come before the next session of holy orders: *si forsitan ad ordines disposueritis promoueri citra tempus proximum ordinum et alias in omnem euentum quam cito commode poterimus ad nostram presenciam declinitis*. Nothing further is known as to the date and place of FitzRalph's ordination to the priesthood; but the fact that some twenty years later he chose Exeter as the place of his episcopal ordination, and Grandisson as the ordaining prelate, suggests that it was at Exeter, most probably in the summer or autumn of 1328, that he had been ordained to the priesthood in the partially built Exeter Cathedral.

³⁸ See pp. 7–8 above. Grandisson's nephew seems to have given his uncle some cause to worry about him. In a number of letters Grandisson appears to have been concerned as to

residence at Chudleigh on 5 December 1329 to Richard Retford—another student who had to leave Balliol in 1325 and go with FitzRalph to University Hall. In the letter the bishop thanks Retford for having notified him of a volume of St. Augustine's sermons, which was for sale in Oxford. Richard FitzRalph, as we learn from the letter, had told Retford that the Bishop was looking out for books that would be useful in his library at Chudleigh.³⁹ Grandisson ends his letter by asking Retford to search for any rare old theological works that were for sale, including volumes of old sermons, even if they were not divided into *themata*.⁴⁰

It is this last point which interests us here, viz., the literary form of a public address in the Middle Ages. As is now well documented there were two principal forms of public address normally given by a preacher in a liturgical context. First, there was the older form, the homily, in which the preacher would explain the significance of the Gospel reading for that day, drawing out whatever doctrinal or moral lessons he deemed appropriate. In other words, the homily was based upon a work of exegesis of the sacred text. It seems that this homily form was still used in Italy well into the thirteenth century, but by the early fourteenth century it was clearly an anachronism, as Grandisson's letter implies. Many of the Wycliffite "sermons" of the late fourteenth century returned to the ancient homily form.

From about 1200 on a new style of public address developed, which is normally called the sermon form. It was distinguished from the older homily form, as Grandisson's letter suggests, by the style of taking a theme (*thema*) and developing it in the course of the speech.⁴¹ It is difficult to find an appropriate name for this new, "modern" sermon form. Sometimes it is called

whether his nephew would succeed in keeping within what seems to have been a very generous allowance from a prebend at Stoke (see *Reg.* 1:192–93).

³⁹ On Grandisson's own style of reading, correcting and annotating texts, see Olson, "Reading Augustine's *Confessions*," a study of the earliest book which can be connected with Grandisson (London, Lambeth Palace 203). A more general study is that by Margaret Steele, "Study of the Books Owned or Used by John Grandisson Bishop of Exeter (1327–1369)" (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1994).

⁴⁰ *Reg.* 1:240: "Regraciamur vobis quod Librum Sermonum Beati Augustini pro nobis, prout Magister Ricardus filius Radulphi ex parte nostra vos rogavit, retinuistis, nobisque et condiciones ejusdem significatis et precium. Et, quia ipsum Librum habere volumus, Ix solidos sterlingorum Magistro Johanni de Sovenaisshe, Magistro Scolarum nostre Civitatis Exoniensis, pro ipso Libro tradi fecimus, ut nobis eundem, quamcuius nuncii securitas affuerit, transmittatis. Libros eciam Theologicos originales, veteres saltem et raros, ac Sermones antiquos, eciam sine Divisionibus Thematum, pro nostris usibus, exploretis; scribentes nobis condiciones et precium eorundem."

⁴¹ It seems that this practice of taking a theme and developing it began in Northern Europe in the twelfth century. See L.-J. Bataillon, "Approaches to the Study of Medieval Sermons," *Leeds Studies in English* 11 (1980): 19–35 at 28–29.

the “university sermon,” since this new style originated at the major universities. It is also known as the “thematic sermon,” since it developed out of a phrase, normally of Scripture,⁴² the *thema*. S. Wenzel prefers the term “scholastic sermon” since, as he says,⁴³ this suggests both the period (post 1200) and the milieu—the university—as well as certain formal structures: “a constant urge ‘to prove’ everything either through reference to scripture or to the Fathers.”

The scholastic sermon form was a challenge. As with the *disputatio*, it relied upon the rhetorical skill of the speaker to develop a speech from a single phrase.⁴⁴ It was also an assessment of the speaker’s education and training. It required quite strict adherence to certain rhetorical conventions which were laid down in a host of popular treatises, known as the *artes praedicandi*. It was, as Wenzel points out,⁴⁵ an art form which its audience found both entertaining and aesthetically pleasing because of, and not in spite of, its formal structure. It took skill to develop a speech out of a single phrase, to put forward a structure to be followed (the *divisio thematis*), to “inflate” the text (the *modus amplificandi*), and finally to tie everything together at the end (the *unio*)⁴⁶ and to finish up with a *commendatio* or prayer.

Although the sermon form originated in a liturgical setting, by the thirteenth century it was no longer confined to such a setting. The classical ideal of education included training in rhetoric, and this continued as a normal part of the medieval curriculum. Thus, whenever one spoke formally in public certain conventions were followed, whether this was in Church or in the setting of a formal inaugural speech, as is the case here. As K. H. Tachau points out, the root meaning of *sermo* is simply a speech,⁴⁷ and that of *praedico* is to

⁴² Though not exclusively so: the style was not restricted to Scripture but was also used in philosophy, law, graduation ceremonies, etc.

⁴³ S. Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, 1986), 62. For a description of the scholastic sermon, see J. J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles and London, 1974), 269–355; J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983); S. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, 1994), 74–75; and B. Mayne Kienzle et al., *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental (Turnhout, 1988).

⁴⁴ It should be noted that because the sermons which survive are mainly *reportationes*, only the essential has been retained by the reporter—and sometimes not even that! What we have is certainly not the text of the sermon as given. For example, a *commendatio* would have usually been said at the end of the protheme, where a prayer was recommended or required to be said in order for the audience to settle down but this has not been preserved in our case, whereas the final *commendatio* has survived.

⁴⁵ Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets and the Early English Lyric*, 62.

⁴⁶ As Wenzel points out, *ibid.*, 73–74, English preachers quite charmingly called this the “knot” of the sermon.

⁴⁷ K. H. Tachau, “Looking Gravely at Dominican Puns: The ‘sermons’ of Robert Holcot

speak in public. Thus, *sermones* or speeches were not confined to liturgy, or even to the theology faculty.⁴⁸ S. Wenzel has edited a “sermon” in praise of philosophy, and the same style is used for inaugural speeches in the faculties of law and of medicine, for concluding speeches (the *sermo finalis*),⁴⁹ and for graduation speeches.⁵⁰

In the context of FitzRalph’s inaugural speech, a certain confusion is to be avoided with regard to the difference in practice between the universities of Paris and Oxford.⁵¹ FitzRalph’s speech is not an inception speech, a *principium*, such as might be given by a new master in the University of Paris. In Oxford, the student beginning his lectures on the *Sentences* was still a bachelor in theology and so perhaps the more accurate term would be that of an *introitus Sententiarum*.⁵² Indeed, very few examples of this kind of speech,

and Ralph Friseby,” *Traditio* 46 (1991): 337–45 at 339: “. . . there can be no philological objection to reading the fourteenth century Latin term *sermo* as ‘speech’ rather than sermon.”

⁴⁸ See S. Wenzel, “A Sermon in Praise of Philosophy,” *Traditio* 50 (1995): 249–59 at 254: “. . . by the fourteenth century the scholastic sermon form had acquired the status of a rhetorical genre that could be used for occasions beyond the normal environment for preaching.”

⁴⁹ The concluding speech of Robert Holcot’s lectures on the *Sentences* has been edited by J. C. Wey, “The *Sermo Finalis* of Robert Holcot,” *Mediaeval Studies* 11 (1949): 219–23.

⁵⁰ For the sermons edited by Wenzel, see n. 48 above and also “Academic Sermons at Oxford in the Early Fifteenth Century,” *Speculum* 70 (1985): 303–29. N. K. Spatz is editing an inaugural speech in law contained in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VII B 31. See also, C. C. Schlam, “Graduation Speeches of Gentile da Foligno,” *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978): 96–119; and P. O. Lewry, “Four Graduation Speeches from Oxford Manuscripts (c. 1270–1310),” *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 138–80.

⁵¹ The statutes of the University of Oxford at this time required a *bachalarius* to begin his course by lecturing for a year on the *Sentences*. See *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, ed. Gibson, cx and 48–50. See also, A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians*, Oxford Historical Society 96 (Oxford, 1934), 25–29.

⁵² The contemporary use of the term *introitus* is attested in a number of manuscripts. It is the term favored by Wenzel in “A Sermon in Praise of Philosophy,” 249, and in “Academic Sermons at Oxford in the Early Fifteenth Century,” 307.

Such inaugural speeches could also be given on each of the four books of *Sentences*, as was the custom elsewhere, although given the brief treatment of FitzRalph in his *Lectura* to the other books of the *Sentences* other than the first, it is unlikely that he gave further inaugural speeches. Final speeches were also given; the *sermo finalis* of Holcot edited by Wey is evidence of the fact. These may, however, have been restricted to the religious orders—if FitzRalph ever gave one it has not, it seems, survived.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the statutes at the University of Paris required every graduate student in the faculty of theology to give a solemn introduction to their commentaries on each book of the *Sentences* (see *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and Ae. Chatelain, vol. 2 [Paris, 1891], 691–704, nos. 1188–89). Requirements seemed to be less stringent at Oxford—perhaps only on the first book. At Bologna the statutes held that the introductory speech to each book of the *Sentences* should be in praise of theology or of Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*. See F. Ehrle, *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica di Bologna* (Bologna 1932). See also S. F. Brown, “Peter of Candia’s Sermons in Praise of Peter Lom-

the *introitus Sententiarum* at Oxford, have survived. Apart from a few in the thirteenth century, there are (as far as I am aware), besides that of FitzRalph, those of Holcot, Hopeman, and Wyclif in the fourteenth century, and the five edited by Wenzel from the fifteenth century.⁵³

The Oxford course in theology at this time was long and difficult. Students were admitted to the degree of *bachalarius* after seven years of theological studies. They were then expected to lecture on the *Sentences* for a year and after this to lecture on some book of the Bible, as well as attending a certain number of public disputations in which the young *bachalarius* was expected to appear as a *respondens* in the schools of the various regent masters of the year. Two full years had to go by after the completion of the lectures on the *Sentences* before the candidate could be admitted to the doctorate.⁵⁴

This was, in fact, one of the points in which the course followed at Oxford differed from the continental tradition as exemplified in that of the University of Paris. At Paris the young *bachalarius* was expected to lecture on the Bible before attempting his course of lectures on the *Sentences*. In Oxford, on the other hand, biblical studies were held in special reverence.⁵⁵ Moreover, the

bard," in *Studies Honoring Ignatius Charles Brady Friar Minor*, ed. R. S. Almagno and C. L. Harkins, Franciscan Institute Publications, Theology Series 6 (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1976), 141–76 at 141; the stylistic device of rhyming various phrases in the text as given, for example, on p. 169, is also to be found in FitzRalph's speech.

On the requirement to give a speech in praise of Peter Lombard, see G. Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History* (New York, 1968), 160–77. See also P. Glorieux, "L'enseignement au moyen-âge: Techniques et méthodes en usage à la faculté de théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 35 (1968): 65–186.

⁵³ See Wenzel, "Academic Sermons at Oxford in the Early Fifteenth Century," 308–9. It is interesting to note that a century after FitzRalph gave his inaugural lecture similar stylistic conventions were being observed in those speeches edited by Wenzel.

⁵⁴ See K. H. Tachau, Introduction to *Seeing the Future Clearly: Questions on Future Contingents by Robert Holcot*, ed. P. E. Streveler and K. H. Tachau, Studies and Texts 119 (Toronto, 1995), 3. Some texts have survived from these. The first of these, a *questio biblica* has been edited by J.-F. Genest (see n. 34 above). This *quaestio biblica* according to Genest was given at the beginning of the summer of 1329 before FitzRalph went to Paris. Seven *determinationes* which date from his time as regent master are contained in a manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Conv. soppr. A.III.508.

⁵⁵ This may be due, in some respect, to Grosseteste and the polemic over the introduction to Oxford of the custom from Paris of lecturing on the *Sentences* towards the end of the first half of the thirteenth century. The first *Sentences* commentary at Oxford which we have is that of Fishacre (†1248) from the 1240s. See R. James Long, "The Science of Theology According to Richard Fishacre: Edition of the Prologue to the *Commentary on the Sentences*," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972): 71–98 at 72–73: In 1246 the bishop of Lincoln had written to the regent masters at Oxford that the Old and New Testaments should be their only textbooks in theology and that courses on the latter be held in the morning hours, the time appointed for the "ordinary" lectures; between the years 1245 and 1247, however, an *epistola secreta* was issued from

University of Oxford had always insisted, sometimes in the face of considerable opposition from the mendicants who were more attuned to the custom of the University of Paris, that the lectures on the *Sentences* must come before those on the Bible since the former were regarded as being of less importance.

4. OXFORD, ORIEL COLLEGE 15

The text of FitzRalph's *introitus Sententiarum* is contained in one manuscript only, Oriel College 15—or rather, this is the only known copy to date.

Dating: A colophon which was erased but rediscovered with the use of ultra-violet light⁵⁶ reads as follows:

This book was written through the diligence of Brother Nicholas Fawkes, monk of Glastonbury, in the year of the Lord 1389, at which time it was hard to find many questions of Holcot's work.⁵⁷

Binding: Modern binding (nineteenth-century), leather on wooden boards with acanthus pattern. Within the front cover (marbled paper), there are four

the court of Innocent IV, addressed to the bishop of Lincoln in which the pope commands that "Frater R. de ordine Praedicatorum," presently teaching in the theology faculty at Oxford, not be prevented from lecturing *ordinarie* on the *Sentences* but rather that he be encouraged in every way.

On the beginning of the *Sentences* commentaries in Oxford, see J. McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste, Great Medieval Thinkers* (Oxford, 2000), chap. 12, "The Arrival of the *Sentences*," 160–71.

⁵⁶ By S. Forte in "A Study of Some Oxford Schoolmen of the Middle of the Fourteenth Century with Special Reference to Worcester Cathedral MS F. 65" (B.Litt. thesis, Oxford University, 1947).

⁵⁷ See L. Minio-Paluello, "Two Erasures in MS. Oriel College 15," in *The Bodleian Library Record* 4 (1953): 205–7 at 206: "Scriptus fuerat iste liber de industria fratris Nicholai Fawkes monachi Glastonie anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo octogesimo nono quo tempore plures questiones de opere Holkoth graue fuerat inuenire." This same Nicholas Fawkes, a Benedictine monk of Glastonbury, is the author of a number of *responsiones* or theological exercises contained in Cambridge, St. John's College 103 which, Minio-Paluello suggests, date from 1392–93. By 1395 he had incepted in theology.

A series of marginal notes throughout the codex seems to indicate the taking of a position vis à vis the various texts, presumably by the copyist, perhaps in preparation for his own commentary on the *Sentences*.

As Tachau points out (*Seeing the Future Clearly*, 41), "Fawkes' remark that he had difficulty finding part of Holcot's work suggests that it was still circulating and being copied in unbound quires as late as the last decades of the fourteenth century." The same situation probably applied to FitzRalph's work and may explain why Oriel 15 contains material which is not to be found elsewhere.

former labels in paper (eighteenth-century hand) which read

Sermo in opus Armachani
 Armachani . . . Quaestiones in Sententias
 R. Holkoth . . . Quaestiones in Sentencias
 (fourth illegible)

A former shelf number is also preserved, A/1/3.

There is one modern fly leaf at the beginning and end of the codex.

A previous leather binding is preserved with marks indicating the former presence of two clasps. A label in paper with the letter *C* is present on what would have been the original front cover. One page of parchment follows both front and back which was originally stuck to the original binding, followed by one fly leaf in parchment, again both front and back.

Measurements: 420 × 293 mm. 2 columns. 72 lines. Area of writing: 302 × 223 mm. Space between columns: 16 mm. Height of line: 4 mm.

Handwriting: The script is a *cursiva Anglicana* fitting in with the putative date of 1389.

Decoration: The initials are executed in blue ink with red decoration; the paragraph signs are in alternating blue and red ink. The numbering of the folios is continuous at the top right of the page in arabic numerals. At the centre bottom of the folio recto there is a letter indicating the quire, and a continuous number in the bottom right to indicate the page numbers of the folios within the quire up to the middle of the quire itself.

Composition: The codex has been very carefully executed with the inclusion of line numbers in the FitzRalph section and which seems to have been a feature of Oxford manuscripts from the mid-thirteenth century.⁵⁸ There are marginal notes and catchwords in lead or dry point which have been written over in ink later. The ruling has also been carried out in dry point. The gatherings or quires are folded in six (1–24⁶), with catchwords and alphabetical signatures. One set of letters is used for gatherings 1–10:

a (fols. 1–12), *b* (fols. 13–24), *c* (fols. 25–36), *d* (fols. 37–48), *e* (fols. 49–60), *f* (fols. 61–72), *g* (fols. 73–84), *h* (fols. 85–96), *j* (fols. 97–108), *k* (fols. 109–119).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ See Long, "Science of Theology According to Richard Fishacre," 75 n. 22.

⁵⁹ The scribe has mistakenly numbered fol. 112 as 113. A modern hand now renumbers

A new set of letters begins here, which probably indicates that the scribe intended the following gatherings to be part of a separate codex (the line numbering is not continued):

a (fols. 120–131), *b* (fols. 132–143), *c* (fols. 144–155), *d* (fols. 156–167),⁶⁰ *e* (fols. 168–179), *f* (fols. 180–191), *g* (fols. 192–203), *h* (fols. 204–215), *j* (fols. 216–227), *k* (fols. 228–239), *l* (fols. 240–251), *m* (fols. 252–263), *n* (fols. 264–275), *o* (fols. 276–279).⁶¹

History: This volume was purchased by the college in 1454, as appears in the following entry in the Treasurer's accounts, p. 50.⁶²

1454
 18 die Aprilis sol. M.T. Wyche pro libro
 sumpto a Johanne More continente
 Armachanum, Holkot & Wycliff super
 sententias _____ xlii s.

The above-mentioned John More is elsewhere called *stationarius* in the same accounts.

Contents: The codex has already been briefly described by Coxe⁶³ and has been the subject of an article by Minio-Paluello.⁶⁴ The contents listed by Coxe and with some minor adjustments are as follows:

1. Ricardus filius Radulphi, Armachanus, *Lectura in Sententias P. Lombardi* (fols. 1ra–112vb), *praevio sermone*

tit. (in marg.) Armachanus super Sententias. Sermo in opus Armachani.

inc. serm. Fluminis impetus letificat civitatem Dei. Postquam primus
parens noster paradyso deliciarum. . . .

from here in pencil, beginning by correcting 112 and continuing. The text ends on fol. 112vb; fols. 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119 are blank. Between 116 and 117 a page has been excised.

⁶⁰ There are drawings of eclipses on fols. 164r and 165v.

⁶¹ This latter gathering is obviously incomplete.

⁶² This information is repeated on a (modern) page attached to the fly leaf of the codex itself.

⁶³ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicium MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, Pars I (Oxford, 1852), Catalogus codicium mss. collegii Orielensis, 5–6.

⁶⁴ Minio-Paluello, "Two Erasures in MS. Oriel College 15," 205–7. The contents are also described in Tachau, *Seeing the Future Clearly*, 40–41 and nn. 96 and 97. J. I. Catto who is preparing a catalogue of the Oriel College manuscripts has also referred to the manuscript in "Some English Manuscripts of Wyclif's Latin Works," in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. Anne Hudson and Michael Wilks, *Studies in Church History Subsidia* 5 (Oxford, 1987), 353–59.

inc. lect. Utrum possibile sit viatori scire demonstrative Deum esse; et arguitur primo quod non. . . .

expl. . . . concedendum est quod hostis consecrata frangitur ab agente naturali et condensatur per compressionem scilicet et incurvatur.⁶⁵

2. Robertus Holcot, O.P., *Lectura in Sententias P. Lombardi* (fols. 120ra-210rb)⁶⁶ cum sermone finali⁶⁷ et prologo⁶⁸

tit. Introitus Holkoth ad primum librum Sentenciarum.

inc. Jerusalem evangelistem dabo. Ysa. 41. Scola devota theologie. . . .

inc. lect. Vtrum viatori existens in gracia assenciendo articulis fidei, videtur quod non. . . .

expl. . . . non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo set ut serves eos a malo et ad vitam perducas eternam. amen.

subs. Laus tibi sit Christe, quoniam liber explicit iste, Mentem scriptoris salvet Deus omnibus horis.⁶⁹

b. *Prologus in opus Holkoth* (fols. 206ra-207rb)

inc. De obiecto actus credendi vtrum sit ipsam complexionem vel. . . .

⁶⁵ At the foot of fol. 29rb, a note is appended as follows: “Nota pro declaratione 13 et 14 argumentorum quod ponuntur octo modi respondendi ad illa argumenta quas responsiones videre poteris in libro conventus librarii fratrum Augustiniensium Oxonie in fine istius articuli.”

⁶⁶ See Tachau, *Seeing the Future Clearly*, 40-42.

⁶⁷ The final sermon has been edited by Wey, “*Sermo Finalis* of Robert Holcot”, question 2 of book 2, “Utrum Deus ab aeterno sciverit se producturum mundum,” has been edited in *Seeing the Future Clearly*, 112-95.

⁶⁸ A note on the bottom of fol. 120va reads “Nota quod superius inmediate post sermonem deficit prologus huius operis et ponitur in fine libri post notabilitates questionum. Et incipit prologus isto modo: *De obiecto actus credendi vtrum sit ipsam complexionem vel res signata per complexionem est apud alicos dubitacio.* . . .”

⁶⁹ As Coxe points out, this is then followed by the titles of the questions and then the prologue to the whole work “per incuriam transpositus” (fols. 206ra-207rb). As pointed out in *Seeing the Future Clearly*, 197, a remark to this effect is contained on fol. 205vb: “Nota quod sequens articulus prologus est operis Holkoth super Sententias et ideo statim post sermonem primum loco prologi poneretur.” It concludes “Explicit prologus in opus Holkot, qui immediate post sermonem in principio poneretur.”

The contents as given in this section are as follows: “Incipit tituli questionum (fols. 205ra-205vb): Explicant tituli questionum quas tractauit Holkoth super 4^{os} libros sententiarum cum materiebus et questionibus et dubiis in eis motis. Cuius operis primus liber continet 9 questiones. Et 2^{us} 9. Et 3^{us} 4. Et 4^{us} 9 questiones. Numerus totalis questionum 23. Nota quod sequens articulus prologus est operis Holkoth super Sententias et ideo statim post sermonem principalem loco prologi poneretur.”

expl. . . . quod non sunt essentie talis nature qualis nature sunt obiecta extra.

subs. Explicit prologus in opus Holkoth qui in immediate post sermonem in principio poneretur.

c. *Sex articuli seu Conferentiae* (fols. 207rb–210rb)

inc. Hic incipiunt sex articuli de diversis materiebus prius tactus contra quos quidam socii rationabiliter insteterunt. Primus articulus incipit modo quo videtur inferius. . . .

inc. art. Primus articulus fuit quod obiectum fidei et opinionis et. . . .

expl. . . . scilicet quod gentibus iudicat unam talem esse veram isto est Deus determinato ydolo.

subs. Expliciunt sex articuli quos impugnaverunt viriliter, qui in sententiis concurrebant, sed Holkoth clare solvens eorum argucias, qui de materiebus illis sensit ingeniosissime declaravit.⁷⁰

3. Nicholaus Aston, *Quaestiones disputatae in Sententias duodecim* (fols. 210rb–222rb)

inc. Utrum veritatem creatam poterit veritas creata ypostatice sustentare; Quod sic arguitur. . . .

expl. . . . facta est ex contradictoriis omnium commenti quas posuerunt socii mei primo die quo intraverunt ad Sententias est una vera et patet sic, et cetera.

4. Nicholaus Oresme, *Tractatus de communicatione idiomatum* (fols. 222va–224vb)

inc. Suppono primo cum doctoribus sanctis quod in Christo sunt due nature. . . .

expl. . . . quia non posset verificari formaliter seu supponeri nisi pro eo quod proprie signatur et eum denominat.

5. Joannes Wyclefus, *Tractatus de incarnatione Verbi* (fols. 225ra–243ra)⁷¹

inc. Prelibato tractatu de anima,⁷² qui introductory est propter incarnationem.

⁷⁰ The list of questions from the *Sentences* and the Six Articles are to be found on fol. 210rb followed by a list of the twelve questions of Nicholas Aston: *Iam sequuntur 12 questio[n]es Magistri Nicholai Aston Oxoniensis disputare*.

⁷¹ On fol. 243ra, “Explicit tractatus magistri Iohannis Wiclefi de incarnatione verbi. (Incipliunt questio[n]es magistri Ro)geri Swynissed (super sententias).” See Minio-Paluello, “Two Erasures in MS Oriel College 15,” 207.

⁷² This seems to refer to Wyclif’s *De compositione homine*. See W. W. Shirley, *A Cata-*

nationis mesterium cognoscendum. . . .

expl. . . . ad laudem gloriam et honorem eiusdem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Amen.

6. Rogerus Rosetus (Swinished), *Quaestiones super Sententias* (fols. 243ra-287vb)

inc. Utrum aliquis in casu ex pracepto possit obligari ad aliquid. . . .

expl. mut. . . . preterea preceptum fuit Abrahae ut immolaret filium suum et ipse. . . . (*catchword*: . . . et ipse Abraham noluit hoc et in hoc) —⁷³

5. PRINCIPLES ADOPTED FOR THIS EDITION

The medieval orthography has been retained but modern punctuation and division into paragraphs has been introduced. Following the practice adopted by S. F. Brown,⁷⁴ I have endeavoured to reproduce (when possible) the *rimes léonines* which is a rhyming stylistic feature also known as the *collatio*. Broun points out that this poetic device is already present in the *sermo* of Peter Aureoli (1318) to his *Commentary on the First Book of the Sentences*,⁷⁵ as well as in John of Ripa's *Lectura* on book I in 1357 and of course in that of Peter of Candia of 1358.

Dating and authenticity: The date of the text, following Walsh (*Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate*, 45), is 1328. This principal sermon is found only in Oriel 15, fol. 1ra-va. According to Walsh (59), it was probably given in the church of St. Mary the Virgin.

This *thema* would be suggested by two possible occurrences. First, it could be seen to act as a parallel quotation to the opening of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*: *Ego sapientia effundi flumina, ego quasi trames aquae immensae defluo, ego quasi fluvius dorix et sicut aquaeductus exivi de paradiiso, dixi: rigabo hortum plantarorum, et inebriabo partus mei fructum* (Eccli 24:40). Second, I might suggest that the *thema* came from the antiphon at the Matin's liturgy from the feast of the Epiphany, and so might set the date at around 6 January 1329, but I would not push this point too far.

logue of the Original Works of John Wyclif (Oxford, 1865), 5.

⁷³ As Coxe notes, the text ends here abruptly in the middle of the fifth question.

⁷⁴ Brown, "Peter of Candia's Sermons," 142-45.

⁷⁵ Peter Aureoli, *Scriptum super Primum Sententiarum*, ed. E. M. Buytaert, vol. 1, Franciscan Institute Publications, Text Series 3 (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1952), 127-31.

The title of the sermon (*sermo in opus armachani*) is “Fluminis impetus letificat ciuitatem Dei.” There are also some introductory questions found in the Oriel manuscript which might have originally served as an introduction (fols. 1c–4c) to the *Lectura* and which were either being reworked by FitzRalph in 1331–32 or had been rejected by him. At present I am of the opinion that these questions are authentic on the basis of style and internal consistency. However, given that they are preserved in one manuscript only, this suggests a measure of caution. That said, a series of *determinationes* from his time at regent master is contained in one Florence manuscript only, and his *questio biblica* recently published by J.-F. Genest is contained in two manuscripts.

〈MAGISTRI RICARDI FILII RADULFI DE YBERNIA
INTROITUS SENTENTIARUM⁷⁶〉

〈Thema〉

Fluminis inpetus letificat ciuitatem Dei (Ps. 45).

1ra

5

〈Prothema〉

Postquam primus parens noster paradyso deliciarum⁷⁷ constitutus, vbi competentium commodorum inerat affluencia mirabilis in tantum vt omnipotentis Dei spirituali colloquio frueretur, secundum Augustinum 11 *Super Genesim*, c. 9,⁷⁸ tam leue preceptum obediencie⁷⁹ recepisset vt facillima posset ob-

10 seruancia custodiri, amorem deserens spiritualem sui conditoris, transgressum est preceptum, et pomum vetitum,⁸⁰ ne sociam contristaret, proprio delectus amore comedit, secundum sentenciam Augustini, eodem 11, versus finem.⁸¹ Vnde *admissum* est ab eo *tam grande peccatum*, vt in ignoranciam et difficultatem mentis et mortalitatem corporis *natura mutaretur humana et in posteris*

15 eius filios *obligacione peccati et mortis necessitate transmissa*, secundum Augustinum 14 *De ciuitate Dei*, capitulo primo.⁸²

8 11] ij MS 9 9] 49 MS 12 11] ij MS

⁷⁶ At the top of Oxford, Oriel College 15, fol. 1ra, in the right hand margin, and underlined in red, the text is called the “*Sermo in opus armachani*.”

⁷⁷ See Ez 28:13.

⁷⁸ Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 2.9.12 (ed. D. Weber, CSEL 91 [Vienna, 1998], 131–33).

⁷⁹ Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 14.12 (ed. B. Dombart et A. Kalb, CCL 48 [Turnhout, 1955], 434.16–22): “Hoc itaque de uno cibi genere non edendo, ubi aliorum tanta copia subiacebat, tam leue preceptum ad obseruandum, tam breue ad memoria retinendum, ubi praesertim nondum uoluntati cupiditas resistebat, quod de poena transgressionis postea subsecutum est, tanto maiore iniustitia uiolatum est quanto faciliore posset obseruantia custodiri.”

⁸⁰ See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim* 11.31 (ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 28/1 [Vienna, 1894], 364.9–12): “Neque enim clausis oculis facti erant et in paradiso deliciarum caeci palpantesque oberrabant, ut uetitum lignum etiam nescientes adtingerent palpantesque fructus prohibitos ignorando deceperent.”

⁸¹ Ibid. 11.42 (CSEL 28/1:378.1–9): “Ita et Adam, posteaquam de ligno prohibito seducta mulier manducauit eique dedit, ut simul ederent, noluit eam contristare, quam credebat posse sine suo solacio contabescere, si ab eius alienaretur animo, et omnino illa interire discordia, non quidem carnis uictus concupiscentia, quam nondum senserat in resistente lege membrorum legi mentis suae, sed amicali quadam beniuolentia, qua plerumque fit, ut offendatur Deus, ne homo ex amico fiat inimicus: quod eum facere non debuisse divinae sententiae iustus exitus indicauit.”

⁸² Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 14.1 (CCL 48:414.1–9).

20 Cum igitur Sacra Scriptura *duas testetur ciuitates hominum quarum vna predestinata est in eternum regnare cum Deo, altera vero in eternum supplicium subire cum dyabolo*, secundum Augustinum 15 *De ciuitate (Dei)*, capitulo primo,⁸³ *duas ciuitates* (secundum Augustinum 14 libro in fine)⁸⁴ *fecerunt duo contrarii amores, terrenam scilicet amor sui vsque ad contemptum Dei, celestem vero amor Dei vsque ad contemptum sui*, quarum vna in seipsa, alia in *Domino gloriatur*. Hec Augustinus.

25 Ideo ciues illius terrene ciuitatis in sua potencia gloriantes, in toto harum ciuitatum excursu ciuitatis celestis ciues oppresserunt, et eosdem vsque in presencia afflictionibus multimodis torquere non cessant, secundum Augustinum 15 *De ciuitate (Dei)*, capitulo 5:⁸⁵ dolentes ipsos, in tam execrabilem ignorantiam inducere vt cultum debitum Domino demonibus dampnatis exhibeant.

30 Quia ergo ciues celestis ciuitatis duo penalia siue incommoda, scilicet ignorantiam in aspectu et duritiam⁸⁶ in affectu ex primi parentis peccato paciuntur; et alia duo incommoda, scilicet errorem in mente et afflictionem in corpore a ciuibus terrene ciuitatis incurunt, ideo *Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolacionis, qui consolatur nos in omni tribulacione*⁸⁷ nostrorum cordium, in suam Sacram Scripturam ac eciam Magistri Petri quadripartitum 35 volumen, contra ista *iiii^{or}* incommoda et solacium et robur ciuium sue ciuitatis instituit. Vnde maximus prophetarum David Spiritui Sancto afflatus dixit: *Fluminis inpetus letificat ciuitatem Dei*, ut supra.

Diuisio (thematis)

In quibus verbis ad Sacram Scripturam commendandam 4^{or} exprimuntur.

22 contemptum corr. MS (-tum in marg.) 30 duritiam] dif MS (pro dur?) 34–35 quadripartitum volumen corr. MS (-partitum volumen in marg.) 35 ciuium corr. MS (in marg.) 37 ut] vbi MS 38 diuisio in marg. MS

⁸³ Ibid. 15.1 (CCL 48:453.12–20).

⁸⁴ Ibid. 14.28 (CCL 48:451.1–4).

⁸⁵ See ibid. 15.5 (CCL 48:457.1–3 ff.).

⁸⁶ On the use of these terms, see, for example, Thomas Aquinas, *4 Sent.* 13.2 ad 3: “Ad tertium dicendum, quod sicut fides habet aliquid in affectu, ita et heresis; et quamvis ex illa parte qua habet ignorantiam in intellectu, aliquo modo excusare possit; tamen secundum quod habet duritiam in affectu ad non obediendum primae veritati, nihil prohibet eam esse maximum peccatorum.” The origin of this use of such terms lies in the writings of Robert Grosseteste. See R. W. Southern, “Richard Dales and the Editing of Robert Grosseteste,” in *Aspectus et Affectus. Essays and Editions in Grosseteste and Medieval Intellectual Life in Honour of Richard C. Dales*, ed. Gunar Freibergs (New York, 1993), 3–14; esp. 9. See also McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, 84.

⁸⁷ 2 Cor 1:3–4.

40 Primo secundum ordinem contraccionis potens eius auctoritas robora(n)s intellectum, que per modum inpetus potentis *impartitur*;
 Secundo potens eius vtilitas purgans aspectum, que nominacione fluminis planius *designatur*;
 3º sensuum eius varietas letificans affectum, que verbo leticie plenius *declaratur*;
 45 Et 4º finis eius sublimitas spe firmans imperfectum que ciuitatis Dei titulo verius *comparatur*.

〈Prima pars principalis〉

Primo dico quod commendat Sacram Scripturam potens eius auctoritas 50 roborans intellectum. Hec enim Scriptura secundum Augustinum *non fortuitis motibus animorum, sed summe disposicione prouidencie super omnes omnium gencium litteras omnia sibi genera ingeniorum humanorum diuina excellens auctoritate subiecit*, 11 *De ciuitate (Dei)*, in principio.⁸⁸ Vnde ipsa veraciter dicit: *In omni populo et in omni gente primatum habui et omnium excellencium et humilium corda propterea virtute calcaui* (Eccli. 24).⁸⁹ Vnde merito 55 concluditur quod maior est eius auctoritas quam totius humani ingenij capacitas, secundum Augustinum 2 *Super Genesim ad litteram*, c. 9.⁹⁰

Hanc igitur Sacram Scripturam tam potentis auctoritatis, tanquam turrim Davidicam⁹¹ omnem armaturam forcium et mille clipeos appensos habentem 60 (Can. 4) – Magister Petrus Lombardus ingressus (est).⁹² *Induit pro thorace iusticiam et accepit pro galea iudicium certum* (Sap. 5).⁹³ Et tanquam alter David contra Goliam, contra Dei ciuium aduersarios spirituales fortiter dimicauit:

contra Cerdonianos duos deos *potentes*;⁹⁴

contra Nepotianos Trinitatem personarum *abnegantes*;

41 potentis] patentis MS 42 potens] patens MS 44 affectum] effectum MS
 53 11] ij MS 55 humilium] sublimum MS Eccli. 24] Eccli. 14 MS 59 Davidicam] Daviticiam MS 63 Cerdonianos] Credonianos MS

⁸⁸ Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 11.1 (CCL 48:321.1–5).

⁸⁹ Eccli 24:9–11.

⁹⁰ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 2.5 (CSEL 28/1:39.16–18).

⁹¹ See Cant 4:4 and Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, Prol. 2.

⁹² See S. Wenzel, “Academic Sermons at Oxford,” 319–20 and n. 62, referring to Sermon “W-26” from Worcester Cathedral F. 10, fols. 80ra–81rb.

⁹³ Sap 5:19.

⁹⁴ See Augustine, *De haeresibus* 21 (ed. R. Vander Plaetse et C. Beukers, CCL 46 [Turnhout, 1969], 299): “Cerdoniani a Cerdone nominati qui duo principia sibi aduersantia dogmatizauit, Deumque legis ac prophetarum non esse patrem Christi, nec bonum Deum esse sed iustum, patrem uero Christi bonum. . . .”

65 contra Eunomianos Patrem Filio per omnia dissimilem (*asserentes*);⁹⁵
 contra Donatistas personas inequaes esse *ponentes*,⁹⁶
 ac eciam contra gencium philosophos, prescienciam, predestinacionem et
 sollicitudinem a Deo subtrahere *cupientes*.

70 Hos enim et horum similes Magister Petrus sui primo voluminis libro Sacre
 Scripture vivis sermonibus et penetrabilioribus omni gladio *ancipi* (Heb. 4)⁹⁷
 de suo aperto errore conuincit, et ciuium ciuitatis celestis mentes liberat ab ig-
 norancia, quam naturaliter peccato primi parentis incurunt, firmans eas et
 roborans in fide Trinitatis contra primum incommode tactum in prothematice.

(Secunda pars principalis)

75 Secundo dico quod Sacram Scripturam commendat potens eius vtilitas pur-
 gans aspectum. Hec enim scriptura non inuenta humanitus set inspirata diu-
 nitus, quasi aqueductus oriens de Paradysco terrestri, irrigans | plantaciones et
 varios ortos inebrians (Eccli. 24),⁹⁸ sic ex ore Altissimi prodiens ibidem quasi
 candor lucis eterne (Sap. 7)⁹⁹ illuminat omnes sperantes in Domino (Eccli.
 80 24),¹⁰⁰ ut ab heresibus infidelium et erroribus gentilium mentes fidelium sui
 corusci luminis splendore purgentur, quia ipsa pulchra est ut luna, electa vt
 sol.¹⁰¹ *Terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata* (Can. 6),¹⁰² hac acie Magister
 Petrus tanquam munimine regio septus¹⁰³ cum gencium philosophis¹⁰⁴ factu-
 ram pro factore colentibus iniuit certamen. Hic enim excellentissimi gencium
 85 philosophi quos decem primis libris *De civitate Dei* numerat Augustinus,
 scilicet Tullius et Varro, Putagoras et Plato, Tertullius et Aristotiles, Valerius
 et Socrates, Apuleus et Scipio, Porphirius et Cithero, et Lelius et Labeo et
 Thales, Plotinus et Hermes et Aclepius prothomedicus, quibus *invisibilia Dei*
 90 *per ea que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur cum Deum cognovissent non*
sicut Deum glorificaverunt,¹⁰⁵ set Dei veritatem in mendacium commutantes,

1rb

70 *ancipi*] *accipi* MS Heb.] *habetur* MS 75 *potens*] *patens* MS

⁹⁵ See *ibid.* 54 (CCL 46:324): “... dissimilem per omnia Patri asserens Filium, et Filio Spiritum Sanctum.”

⁹⁶ See *ibid.* 69 (CCL 46:332): “... minorem tamen patre filium, et minorem filio putasse spiritum sanctum.”

⁹⁷ Hebr 4:12 : “... vivus est sermo Dei et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio *ancipi*.”

⁹⁸ Eccli 24:41–42.

⁹⁹ Sap 7:26.

¹⁰⁰ Eccli 24:45.

¹⁰¹ Cant 6:9.

¹⁰² Cant 6:3.

¹⁰³ See Fulgentius Rusensis, *Sermo* 3.3 (ed. J. Fraipont, CCL 91A [Turnhout, 1968], 906).

¹⁰⁴ See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 7.11.

¹⁰⁵ Rom 1:20–21.

seruierunt creature pocius quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in secula (Rom. 1).¹⁰⁶ Hos enim philosophos Magister Petrus

95 *et omnes alios philosophos mundum eternum *mencientes*,
ac eciam Manicheos naturam mali eternam *asserentes*,¹⁰⁷*

*Sileucianos materiam coeternam Deo *discerentes*,¹⁰⁸*

*Patricianos carnem non a Deo sed a dyabolo factam esse *dicentes*,¹⁰⁹*

*Pelagianos graciā non esse necessariam ad seruandum mandata *asseuerantes*,¹¹⁰*

100 *manifestos hereticos in secundo libro sui voluminis errore sacrilego inuolutos
esse demonstratur, et mentes fidelium ab hiis et similibus erroribus per Sacra-
ram Scripturam vtiliter purgatas, in viam veritatis inducit contra aliud incom-
modum tactum in prothermate.*

⟨Tertia pars principalis⟩

105 *Tercio dico quod Sacra Scripturam commendat sensum eius varietas
letificans affectum. Aliquando enim verba Sacre Scripture iuxta litteram intel-
ligi nequeunt, quia superficie tenus accepta nequaquam instructionem legen-
tibus set errorem gignunt, sicut est illud Job <1>9: *sub quo curuantur qui
portant orbem*. Quis enim de tanto viro nesciat quod nequaquam vanas poeta-
rum fabulas sequitur, ita vt mundi molem subuehi sudore giganteo suspi-
c*(i)*etur. Et illud Job <7>: *Elegit suspendium anima mea*. Quis enim recte sapiens
110 crederet virum tanti preconii decrevisse inter verbera suspe*(n)*dio vitam finire.
Et ideo quedam dicta Sacre Scripture secundum Gregorium in prologo *Moralium* historica lectione trancurrimus et per allegoriam quedam typica inuesti-
gacione prescrutamur, quedam per sola allegorice moralitatis instrumenta dis-
115 cutimus, nonnulla autem per cuncta simul solicitus exquirentes tripliciter
indagamus. Hec Gregorius.¹¹¹ Vt sic secundum Augustinum eligat vnuquisque
pro suo modulo quod capere possit, et vbi intelligere non potest Scripture*

100 demonstratur] demonsitetur MS 113 typica corr. MS 115 per cuncta] percutant
MS

¹⁰⁶ Rom 1:25.

¹⁰⁷ Augustine, *De haeresibus* 46 (CCL 46:312–20).

¹⁰⁸ See ibid. 59 (CCL 46:328): “Seleuciani sunt uel Hermiani, ab auctoribus Seleuco uel
Hermia, qui elementorum materiam, de qua factus est mundus, non a Deo factam dicunt, sed
Deo coeternam.”

¹⁰⁹ See ibid. 61 (CCL 46:328–29): “Patriciani, a Patricio nuncupati, substantiam carnis
humanae non a Deo sed a diabolo conditam dicunt. . . .”

¹¹⁰ See ibid. 88 (CCL 46:340–42).

¹¹¹ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Ep. ad Leandrum 3 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCL 143
[Turnhout, 1979]), 4–5.105–30).

det honorem et timorem (primo *Super Genesim ad litteram*, c. 20). Set cum tam multis exitibus, dicit Augustinus capitulo sequente, verba Sacre Scripture tractantur, cohibeant se quicunque secularibus litteris sunt inflati,¹¹² ne quid in hac Scriptura velut imperitum exagitent sine pennis in terra reptantes, et nidos avium iridentes ne per hoc fortassis false philosophie loquacitate seducamur vel false religionis superstitione decipiamur.¹¹³ Hec Augustinus.¹¹⁴

120 Ita vel cum Patripassianis Patrem esse passum *existiment*,¹¹⁵
 125 vel cum Nestorianis Christum esse hominem tantum estimare *presumant*,¹¹⁶
 vel cum Paulianis ante Christi temporalem (vitam) credunt Christum non
 fuisse,¹¹⁷
 vel cum Eutichianis negent naturam humanam in Christo *fuisse*,¹¹⁸
 130 vel cum Arrianis Christum carnem sine anima sumpsisse *contendant*,¹¹⁹
 vel (cum) Apollinaristis verbum mutatum¹²⁰ in carne *asseuerent*,
 vel cum Seleucianis Christum inrelinquisse carnem quam su(mp)sit opinen-
 tur secundum illud: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*,¹²¹
 vel cum Marcianis Christum non vere passum set solum fantastice *sus-
 picentur*.¹²²

135 Hos enim et similes errores Magister Petrus in 3º libro sui voluminis evi-
 denter elidit et ciues ciuitatis Dei ut in persecutionibus a filiis dyaboli factis,
 quod erat 3º incommode tactum in prothematice, viam humilitatis teneant,
 tanquam exemplar perutile ad quod aspicientes consolentur in passione Christi
 sui redemptoris exposuit.

118 20] 29 MS 120 tractantur] tractentur MS 121 exagitent] se agitent MS 124
 vel] vt MS 133–34 suspicentur] suspicentur MS

¹¹² See Augustine, *Confessiones* 3.5, on his pride of turning away from Scripture to Cicero.

¹¹³ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 1.21 (CSEL 28/1:31.11–12).

¹¹⁴ Ibid. 1.20 (CSEL 28/1:29.21–30.24).

¹¹⁵ See Augustine, *De haeresibus* 41 (CCL 46:307–9).

¹¹⁶ See *ibid.*, Appendix II (CCL 46:349–350).

¹¹⁷ See *ibid.* 44 (CCL 46:311).

¹¹⁸ See *ibid.*, Appendix III (CCL 46:350).

¹¹⁹ See *ibid.* 49 (CCL 46:321).

¹²⁰ See *ibid.* 55 (CCL 46:325): “... asseuerentes uerbum carnem factum, hoc est, uerbi aliquid in carne *fuisse* conuersum atque mutatum, non autem de Mariae carne susceptam.”

¹²¹ Ps 18:6. See Augustine, *De haeresibus* 59 (CCL 46:328): “Seleuciani sunt uel Hermiani, ab auctoribus Seleuco uel Hermia, qui elementorum materiam, de qua factus est mundus, non a Deo factam dicunt, sed Deo coaeternam. Nec animam Deo tribuunt Creatori, sed creatores esse animarum angelos uolunt de igni et spiritu. Malum autem asserunt esse aliquando a Deo, aliquando a materia. Negant salutorem in carne sedere ad dexteram Patris, sed ea se exuisse perhibeant, eamque in sole posuisse, accipientes occasionem de psalmo ubi legitur: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*.”

¹²² See Augustine, *De haeresibus* 14 (CCL 46:296).

140

⟨Quarta pars principalis⟩

Quarto dico quod commendat Sacram Scripturam finis eius sublimitas spe firmans imperfectum. Finis enim Sacre Scripture et omnium nostrarum actionum est peruenire ad regnum ubi nullus est finis, secundum Augustinum 22 *De ciuitate (Dei)*, in fine,¹²³ ubi nulla penitus extat indigencia set tanta deliciarum affluencia, vt si quid iusta voluntas illic velle potuerunt ipsius 145 habundancia perfruatur admodum, set ciues ciuitatis celestis per fidem ambulantes non per speciem horum gaudiorum affluencia vero attingunt. Anima cum caritate perfecta sponsi sui delectaciones nectareas int(er)im velut a remoto degustans in eiusdem sponsi amore solidatur et a quarto incommmodo 150 tacto in prothematica, scilicet a difficultate qua iure naturalis successionis patitur in affectum. Et si non ad plenum tamen quoddammodo liberatur; et ad modum puellarum regiarum in | triclinio puellarum regis Assueri que oleo mir(r)hino et variis unguentis ad decorum bis sex mensibus vtebantur, vt sic 155 perfecte decore et ornatu, regis ducerentur in cubiculum,¹²⁴ sacramentis ecclesie quoisque in sponsi sui thalamum inducamur in hac peregrinacione interim se conponit ne forte fraudulenta habetur dicorum [?] caliditate [lac. 7] in ipsorum heresim vel aliunde incidat in errorem,

vt cum Calencianis dicat remissionem peccatorum per baptismum non *conferri*.

160 vel cum Arrianis baptismum debere *iterari*,¹²⁵
 vel cum Iovianistis hominem post baptismum non posse peccare *contendat*,
 vel omnia peccata esse paria cum Stoicis *asseueret*,¹²⁶
 vel cum a Damianis nupcias *detestetur*,
 vel cum Catafrigistis¹²⁷ secundas nupcias non *arbitretur*,
 165 vel cum Platonistis reuoluciones animalium ad diuersorum animalium [lac. 10] diuersitate meritorum *opinetur*,
 vel cum Arabicis animas mori cum corporibus¹²⁸ insanius *suspiciatur*,

quas omnes opiniones Magister Petrus in 4^{to} libro sui voluminis sacrilegas esse demonstrat.

146 admodum] ad mutum MS 158 Calencianis] *fort. lege* Celestianis 164 Catafrigistis] circulanistis MS 168 voluminis] *add.* libro MS

123 See Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 22.30 (CCL 48:866.145–48).

124 Esther 2:12–13.

125 See Augustine, *De haeresibus* 49 (CCL 46:321).

126 See *ibid.* 62 (CCL 46:337).

127 See *ibid.* 26 (CCL 46:302): “Secundas nuptias pro fornicationibus habent. . .”

128 See *ibid.* 83 (CCL 46:337): “Arabicos possumus nuncupare qui dixerunt animas cum corporibus mori atque dissolui et in fine saeculi utrumque resurgere.”

⟨Commendatio⟩

Et interim sui fluminis inpetu ciuitatem Dei letificat quousque ipsa in finali iudicio a ciuitate dyaboli dirimatur et iocunda visione sui principis eternaliter perfruatur. Quam visionem nobis concedat cunctis presidens creaturis,¹²⁹ qui sine fine viuit et regnat. Amen.

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¹²⁹ See Ps.-Augustine, *De spiritu et anima* 17 (PL 40:792): “Cum enim cunctis sit praesidens . . .”

FRANCIS OF MARCHIA'S COMMENTARY ON THE SENTENCES: QUESTION LIST AND STATE OF RESEARCH*

Russell L. Friedman and Chris Schabel

ALTHOUGH the Italian Franciscan Francis of Marchia was arguably the most important theologian active at the University of Paris in the quarter century between the *Sentences* lectures of Peter Auriol, O.F.M. (1316–18), and those of Gregory of Rimini, O.E.S.A. (1343–44), it is only in the past few years that he has been the focus of more than sporadic historical interest. Indeed, the first book-length study on Marchia appeared as recently as 1991; before the author of that study, Notker Schneider, began to publish on Marchia in 1986, just two secondary works had devoted more than a dozen consecutive pages to him.¹ This lack of historical interest is undoubtedly con-

* We wish to thank the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Collegio di Spagna and the Biblioteca Universitaria of Bologna, the Biblioteca nazionale centrale of Florence, the Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (and particularly Steffen Hoffmann), and the Archiv Prazskeho hradu (the Prague Castle Archives, whose director, Martin Halata, was very helpful) for providing direct access to their manuscripts, as well as the other libraries mentioned below, which furnished us with microfilms either directly or via the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The Danish Academy in Rome provided lodging for Friedman while he worked at the Vatican Library, as well as a travel grant to visit Florence; further financial support was given by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities. The University of Cyprus provided financial assistance for the purchase of microfilms. We would like to acknowledge for valuable advice or material Paul Bakker, Jonathan Black, William Duba, Stephen D. Dumont, Girard Etzkorn, and Roberto Lambertini. In the following, BGPTM = "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters" (formerly "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters").

¹ The book-length study is N. Schneider, *Die Kosmologie des Franciscus de Marchia: Texte, Quellen, und Untersuchungen zur Naturphilosophie des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden, 1991); for Schneider's other work on Marchia, see n. 12 below. The two long studies that appeared prior to Schneider's work are H. Schwamm, *Das göttliche Vorherwissen bei Duns Scotus und seinen ersten Anhängern* (Innsbruck, 1934), 240–55; and A. Maier, "Franciscus de Marchia," in eadem, *Die Impetustheorie* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1940), 45–77, rpt. in eadem, *Zwei Grundprobleme der scholastischen Naturphilosophie*, 3d ed. (Rome, 1968), 161–200, although Maier also treats Marchia more briefly in other works (see n. 22 below). For a bibliography of pre-1996 Marchia studies, see O. Weijers, ed., *Le travail intellectuel à la faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca. 1200–1500), II, C–F* (Turnhout, 1996), 91–94, to which we add F. Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar Peters von Candia, des Pisaner Papstes Alexanders V*, Fran-

nected to the fact that none of Marchia's works were printed in the early modern era. Moreover, the overwhelming interest of modern historians in William of Ockham and Oxford in the period between 1320 and 1340 has tended to overshadow the contributions of Peter Auriol, and of Paris more generally, during the same period; the study of Marchia's reaction to Auriol and of the general context of Marchia's work has suffered as a result. Finally, when Marchia's writings have been scrutinized, he has often been incorrectly labelled a dogmatic Scotist, which further limited his appeal for scholarship.²

Despite these hurdles, the future of Marchia studies seems bright today. Recent research on Marchia has revealed him to be an independent and creative thinker on a wide range of issues. Moreover, a number of editions of Marchia's works have been published in the past decade. Marchia's *Improbatio*, literal *Physics* commentary, and *Quodlibet* have all been critically edited, and a critical edition of his long *Metaphysics* commentary has been announced.³ Without doubt, however, Marchia's most important work, both in terms of surviving manuscripts and of impact on other scholastics, is his *Sentences* commentary. Although sections of books I and II of the *Sentences* commentary have been published, by far the largest part of this important work remains unedited. The present article seeks to provide a solid basis for future work on Marchia's *magnus opus* in two ways. First we will give a short description of the state of the research on Marchia, his work, and his influence, focusing on Marchia's commentary on the *Sentences*. This is followed by a discussion of the various versions of Marchia's *Sentences* commentary, and by a detailed list of the questions contained in its several versions; to each of the questions listed a notice is appended of the manuscripts in which the question is found and of any existing editions or studies of it.

ziskanische Studien, suppl. 9 (Münster i. W., 1925), 253–60; A. Lang, *Die Wege der Glaubensbegründung bei den Scholastikern des 14. Jahrhunderts*, BGPTM 30.1–2 (Münster i. W., 1930), 89–100; J. Kürzinger, *Alfonsus Vargas Toletanus und seine theologische Einleitungsllehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Scholastik im 14. Jahrhundert*, BGPTM 22.5–6 (Münster i. W., 1930), esp. 59–60, 141–46, 158–63; and W. Dettloff, *Die Entwicklung der Akzeptations- und Verdienstlehre von Duns Scotus bis Luther, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Franziskanertheologen*, BGPTM 40.2 (Münster i. W., 1963), 190–92. A dissertation listed in Weijers and several other bibliographies, namely, R. Ferguson, "Francis of Marchia: The Historical Context of His Understanding of the Nature of Theology" (University of Wisconsin, 1973), does not exist.

² For example, A. Teetaert, "Pignano (François de)," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 12.2 (Paris, 1935), 2104–9 at col. 2108, writes "François de Pignano s'est montré toujours un disciple fidèle et un défenseur convaincu des théories et des doctrines du vénérable Jean Duns Scot."

³ For editions of Marchia's works, see below at and around nn. 9–14.

LIFE AND WORKS

Francis of Marchia, or Franciscus de Marchia (as he is called in all but two of the explicits listed below in which he is named), is also known as Francis d'Appignano, de Pignano, de Ascoli, de Esculo, Franciscus Rubeus, and the *Doctor Succinctus*. He was born around 1290 in the town of Appignano del Tronto in the province of Ascoli Piceno.⁴ Marchia entered the Franciscan order, and, after climbing the educational ladder of the Friars Minor, he lectured on the *Sentences* at the Franciscan *studium* in Paris in 1319–20. On the basis of the date of his lectures and on explicits to the work, we can infer that the extant versions of his *Sentences* commentary were probably all composed in Paris between 1319 and 1323. Marchia became Master of Theology by 1324, when he was lector at the Franciscan *studium* in Avignon. He remained in Avignon until 1328. Since James of Pamiers reports that "Master Francis of Marchia" determined a question in Avignon,⁵ perhaps his lone *Quodlibet* dates from these Avignon years. His literal *Physics* commentary, a long commentary on the first seven books of the *Metaphysics*, and a short commentary on the first two books of the *Metaphysics* (which may be an abbreviation of the longer commentary) probably stem from his Paris or Avignon period.

In 1328, Marchia fell out of favor with Pope John XXII for supporting the excommunicated ex-Minister General of the Franciscans, Michael of Cesena. Marchia may have gone to Paris thereafter, because in February of 1329 the pope wrote to Elias of Nabinaux, the Franciscan bachelor of the *Sentences* at Paris at the time, instructing him to arrest Marchia.⁶ He remained at large, however, penning the following year a polemical treatise, the *Improbatio*, against the papal bull "*Quia vir reprobus*." In 1331 he took refuge with the Holy Roman Emperor Louis of Bavaria in Munich, as did William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua. In 1340, Marchia was captured by Church authorities and, after confessing and retracting his errors before the Inquisition in 1341, he was reconciled with the Church.⁷ The confession of faith that Marchia

⁴ Bio-bibliographical information can be found in Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 11–30; the introductions to the works listed below, nn. 10–11, 14; Teetaert, "Pignano (François de)"; and C. Schabel, "Francis of Marchia," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2001 Edition), ed. E. N. Zalta, URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/francis-marchia/>.

⁵ See W. J. Courtenay, "The *Quaestiones in Sententias* of Michael de Massa, OESA: A Redating," *Augustiniana* 45 (1995): 191–207 at 195 n. 13.

⁶ *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, vol. 2 (Paris, 1889), no. 886.

⁷ For the possibility of an alternative date of 1336 for the inquisitorial procedure, see E. L. Wittneben and R. Lambertini, "Un teologo francescano alle strette: Osservazioni sul testimone manoscritto del processo a Francesco d'Ascoli," I, *Picenum Seraphicum*, n.s., 18 (1999): 97–122, and II, *Picenum Seraphicum*, n.s., 19 (2000): 135–49, at I, 102–5. Editions of the texts

made in connection with his reconciliation was used afterwards as the model for rebellious Spirituals who desired to return to the fold.⁸ Marchia died some time after 1344.

The following list sums up the works that we have from Marchia's hand, and their dates of composition (when that is approximately known):

*Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard (1319–23).*⁹

*Quodlibet (1324–28?).*¹⁰

*Sententia et compilatio super libros Physicorum.*¹¹

*Quaestiones in Metaphysicam (books I–VII).*¹²

describing Marchia's inquisitorial procedure are found on pp. 85–95 of the work cited in n. 11 below, and cf. Wittneben and Lambertini, "Un teologo." For Marchia's political theories and his role in the apostolic poverty controversy, see R. Lambertini's collection of revised articles, *La povertà pensata: Evoluzione storica della definizione dell'identità minoritica da Bonaventura ad Ockham* (Modena, 2000), papers VII, VIII, and IX (with bibliographical update on Marchia studies, 189–95).

⁸ The confession of faith is reproduced on p. 18 n. 69 of the work cited in n. 14 below and reedited in Wittneben and Lambertini, "Un teologo," II, 147–49.

⁹ See the question list below for editions and studies of the individual questions.

¹⁰ N. Mariani, ed. *Francisci de Marchia sive de Esculo, OFM, Quodlibet cum quaestionebus selectis ex commentario in librum Sententiarum*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 29 (Grottaferrata, 1997).

¹¹ N. Mariani, ed., *Francisci de Marchia sive de Esculo, OFM, Sententia et compilatio super libros Physicorum Aristotelis*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 30 (Grottaferrata, 1998).

¹² Unedited, found in Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3490, fols. 1r–57r, and Bologna, Collegio di Spagna 104, fols. 48r–102v. For the first secure identification of Marchia as the author of this work, see C. Lohr, "New Material Concerning Franciscus de Marchia, 'Quaestiones super Metaphysicam,'" *Antonianum* 46 (1971): 486–88, who reports fragments of the commentary in other manuscripts (A. Zimmermann independently suggested that Marchia had authored the commentary in "Analoge und univoke Bedeutung des Terminus 'ens' nach einem anonymen Metaphysikkommentar des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Deus et homo ad mentem I. Duns Scoti. Acta tertii Congressus Scotistici* [Rome, 1972], 723–30); most recently on the authenticity of the commentary, see Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 27–29 (in 29 n. 92, Schneider announces an edition of the entire long commentary). Full lists of questions for this commentary can be found in P. Künzle, "Mitteilungen aus Codex Mazarine 3490 zum Schrifttum des Franziskaners Petrus Thomae, vorab zu seinen 'Quaestiones in Metaphysicam,'" *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 59 (1966): 3–37 at 17–23 (attributed to Peter Thomae; Künzle modified [incorrectly] his opinion as to the author in "Petrus Thomae oder Franciscus de Maironis?" *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 61 [1968]: 462–63), and A. Zimmermann, *Verzeichnis ungedruckter Kommentare zur Metaphysik und Physik des Aristoteles* (Leiden 1971), 37, 140–45 (listed as anonymous).

Editions from Marchia's long *Metaphysics* commentary can be found in A. Zimmermann, *Ontologie oder Metaphysik?* (Leiden, 1965; 2d ed. 1998), 56–71 (edition of I.1 and VI.16); Künzle, "Mitteilungen aus Codex Mazarine 3490," 23–37 (excerpts from esp. I.1, II.1, IV.4, and VI.2); N. Schneider, "Eine ungedruckte Quästio zur Erkenntbarkeit des Unendlichen in einem Metaphysik-Kommentar des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 18 (1986): 96–118 at 104–7 (excerpt from II.5); and idem, *Die Kosmologie*, 76–78 (edition of III.9).

Studies of parts of this work include A. Zimmermann, "Allgemeine Metaphysik und Teilmetaphysik nach einem anonymen Kommentar zur aristotelischen Ersten Philosophie aus dem

Quaestiones super primum et secundum librum Metaphysicorum.¹³
Improbatio contra libellum Domini Johannis qui incipit "Quia vir reprobus"
 (1330).¹⁴

SOURCES AND INFLUENCE

Although it is usually claimed that Francis of Marchia was a faithful Scotist, most research has in fact shown that Marchia did not closely follow his frère John Duns Scotus's specific doctrines. Indeed, he was more prone to modify or even discard the Subtle Doctor's theories. Insofar as it is modern, the misrepresentation of Marchia as a faithful Scotist stems in part from A. Teetaert's apparent misreading of a *secondary* work on trinitarian doctrine by Michael Schmaus. In truth, on two of the three points of trinitarian debate with which Schmaus dealt, he claimed that Marchia actually opposed Scotus.¹⁵ It has recently been shown that even on the third point, concerning the

14. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 48 (1966): 190–206; idem, "Die Ratio Anselmi in einem anonymen Metaphysikkommentar des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Analecta Anselmiana*, vol. 4.1, ed. H. Kohlenberger (Frankfurt, 1975), 195–201 (based on VI.13); N. Schneider, "Franciscus de Marchia über die Wirklichkeit der Materie (Metaph. VII q. 5)," *Franziskanische Studien* 71 (1989): 138–58; and idem, "Die Qualität der Zahlen. Die aristotelische Zahlentheorie nach Metaph. V 14 und ihre mittelalterliche Kommentierung und Umdeutung," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 2 (1991): 587–609. Schneider ("Eine ungedruckte Quästio," 97) suggests that the commentary can be dated with great probability to before 1323, since positions from it are cited by John the Canon in his *Physics* commentary, completed in this year.

¹³ Unedited, found in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Fesul. 161, fols. 67ra–73ra (Lohr and others say the work is found on 63ra–73ra, but see the full manuscript description in C. Piana, "Nuovo contributo allo studio delle correnti dottrinali nell'Università di Bologna nel sec. XIV," *Antonianum* 23 [1948]: 221–54 at 223–25; we have not examined this manuscript) and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV] Vat. lat. 3130, fols. 29ra–36vb as well as several fragments (see C. Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," *Traditio* 23 [1967]: 411; and idem, "New Material Concerning Franciscus de Marchia"). See most recently on this work, Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 26–27, who writes that the text, while being too brief to be useful in determining Marchia's views, was of inestimable value in firmly assigning the longer *Metaphysics* commentary to Marchia (see further, *ibid.*, 29 and n. 91). That this short *Metaphysics* commentary may be an abbreviation of the longer commentary is indicated by the fact that some of the question titles of this short commentary and the first two books of the longer commentary coincide (see, e.g., Lohr, "New Material," and Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 29 n. 91). Thanks to Stephen Dumont for help with Marchia's *Metaphysics* commentaries.

¹⁴ N. Mariani, ed., *Francisci de Esculo, OFM, Improbatio contra libellum Domini Johannis qui incipit "Quia vir reprobus,"* Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 28 (Grottaferrata, 1993). Italian trans. N. Mariani, *Contestazione* (Appignano del Tronto, 2001).

¹⁵ See Teetaert, "Pignano (François de)," col. 2108; and cf. M. Schmaus, *Der "Liber pro pugnatorius" des Thomas Anglicus und die Lehrunterschiede zwischen Thomas von Aquin und Duns Scotus, II Teil: Die trinitarischen Lehrdifferenzen*, BGTM 29.1–2 (Münster, 1930), 243–44, 354, 536–37; on 243 and 536–37, Schmaus claims explicitly that Marchia opposes

psychological model of the Trinity, where Schmaus did claim that Marchia followed the Scotist line, Marchia was in no way in agreement with his great predecessor.¹⁶ According to other investigations from the past few years, Marchia dismissed key elements of Scotus's theories on divine foreknowledge, divine ideas, predestination, and the Eucharist.¹⁷ In the area where Marchia is most famous, natural philosophy, his name is usually not even associated with Scotus's.¹⁸

In contrast to Marchia, Landulph Caracciolo, Franciscan bachelor of the *Sentences* at Paris probably in 1318–19 (i.e., immediately preceding Marchia), was a staunch defender of Scotus. However, one thing that Marchia and Caracciolo did share was their rejection of significant aspects of the thought of Peter Auriol, their slightly senior confrère who lectured on the *Sentences* at Paris in 1316–18. Marchia opposed Auriol's position on most if not all of the issues mentioned above in connection with Marchia's independence from Scotus. Moreover, again like Caracciolo, Marchia in his commentary on book I of the *Sentences* did not make use of Auriol's *Scriptum*—i.e., his *Ordinatio*, substantially finished before he read the *Sentences* at Paris—but instead used *reportatio* versions of Auriol's Parisian lectures. In fact, Caracciolo and Marchia may provide the primary evidence that Auriol's *reportationes in primum* had significant historical impact.¹⁹ Scotus and Auriol, then, on many major issues form the immediate background to Marchia's thought.

Despite his troubles with John XXII and his successors, Marchia had an immediate and lasting impact on later medieval philosophy and theology. This impact can be traced both in the adoption and in the rejection of Marchia's ideas, although tracing Marchia's influence is made more difficult because his views often went unattributed. In the context of divine foreknowledge and future contingents, for example, among those who adopted elements of Marchia's theory were the Franciscan bachelors of the *Sentences* at Paris, Aufredo Gonteri Brito, William Rubio, and William of Brienne; the Augustinian Her-

Scotus's view. The other work that Teetaert refers to in this context is Lang's *Die Wege*; neither can this work be read as claiming Marchia to be a faithful Scotist.

¹⁶ See R. L. Friedman, "Francis of Marchia and John Duns Scotus on the Psychological Model of the Trinity," *Picenum Seraphicum*, n.s., 18 (1999): 11–56.

¹⁷ For divine foreknowledge, see C. Schabel, *Theology at Paris 1316–1345: Peter Auriol and the Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents* (Aldershot, 2000), 189–207. On predestination, see *idem*, "La dottrina sulla predestinazione di Francesco di Marchia," *Picenum Seraphicum*, n.s., 20 (2001 [forthcoming]). For the Eucharist, see P. J. J. M. Bakker, *La raison et le miracle: Les doctrines Eucharistiques (c. 1250–c. 1400)*, 2 vols. (Nijmegen, 1999), 1:86–94 and 399–408.

¹⁸ For natural philosophy, see below and especially the works listed in n. 22.

¹⁹ See Detloff, *Die Entwicklung*, 191, discussing I, d. 17; and Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, 192–93, on I, d. 35.

mits Michael of Massa and Gregory of Rimini; and, in the later fifteenth century, Fernando of Cordoba and Francesco della Rovere, who was to become Pope Sixtus IV.²⁰ In addition, all other known Franciscans active at Paris in the decade following Marchia's lectures took his ideas into account, as did some theologians from outside his order, such as James of Pamiers, O.E.S.A. Marchia's early impact even reached the other side of the English Channel: at Oxford perhaps the Franciscans John of Reading and Walter Chatton, and almost certainly their confrère John Rodington, were among his readers. His polemical works written in connection with the controversy with John XXII influenced William of Ockham, his fellow exile at Louis of Bavaria's court. Marchia's name was still current in theological writings on the eve of the Reformation.²¹

Without question, the area of Marchia's thought that has been the focus of the greatest amount of modern attention is his natural philosophy, an area in which he appears to have been highly original. Marchia was clearly very interested in the subject: even in areas of theological debate where his contemporaries generally did not concentrate on science, Marchia often drifts off on tangents involving, e.g., efficient causation. He is best known, however, for the interesting theory of the cause of motion, especially of projectiles, that historians have attributed to him, a theory which foreshadows the "impetus" theory of motion to be found in the works of the later Parisian masters John Buridan, Nicole Oresme, and Albert of Saxony. Nor is this the only one of Marchia's views that reveals just how willing he was to cast aside accepted elements of the Aristotelian worldview: he also held, e.g., that the terrestrial and celestial regions are composed of the same sort of matter and in principle obey the same laws of cause and effect, and further that an actual infinite was possible.²² While many studies, then, point to a highly original thinker who

²⁰ See Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, 207–20, 268, and 325–27.

²¹ For a convenient summary, see Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 31–34, which is based partly on the studies of Ehrle, Lang, and Kürzinger listed above (n. 1) as well as on the works of Maier, and see Lambertini, *La povertà pensata* (n. 7 above), for the polemical writings. Lang, *Die Wege*, 111 n. 2, cautiously suggests Marchia's impact on Chatton, but this requires further study, as does Reading's relationship with Marchia. On Rodington and Marchia, see Constantin Michalski, *Le scepticisme et le scepticisme dans la philosophie du XIV^e siècle* (Krakow, 1926), 40 (rpt. in *idem*, *La philosophie au XIV^e siècle: six études*, ed. Kurt Flasch [Frankfurt, 1969], 108). Moreover, in discussing the latitude of forms, John of Ripa gives arguments of Marchia "contra Burleum," according to F. Ruello (in a note added to A. Combes, "L'intensité des formes d'après Jean de Ripa," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 45 [1970]: 17–147 at 147 n. 79), who refers the reader to Marchia's *Scriptum*, qq. 33–35.

²² His scientific reputation is largely due to many short passages in the major works of Pierre Duhem and Anneliese Maier: Duhem, *Le système du monde*, vols. 6–8 (Paris, 1954–59), indices, s.v. François de Marche (a portion is translated in *idem*, *Medieval Cosmology: Theories of Infinity, Place, Time, Void, and the Plurality of Worlds*, trans. R. Ariew [Chicago, 1985], esp. 200–202 and 321–23); Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalters I* (Rome, 1964), 68–72, *Die Vor-*

had significant impact, nevertheless we are only in the beginning stages of evaluating Marchia's place in later medieval thought. And we will not be able to judge with any great precision how original or how significant Marchia was until his major work, his *Sentences* commentary, is edited.

MARCHIA'S *SENTENCES* COMMENTARY

For all that Marchia's *Sentences* commentary is his most important work, both for understanding his thought and for determining his later impact, the study and especially the editing of it have been slow to get under way. Editing work began with Anneliese Maier. In 1940, in the chapter "Franciscus de Marchia" of her *Die Impetustheorie*, Maier published a transcription of much of the first question of book IV, in which Marchia presents his version of the impetus theory. Parts of this question have even been translated into English and Italian by Marshall Clagett and Graziella Federici Vescovini respectively. No further excerpts from the *Sentences* commentary were printed until 1991, when Notker Schneider's *Die Kosmologie des Franciscus de Marchia* appeared. Schneider included a partial manuscript study for book II of the *Sentences* as well as a critical edition of qq. 29–32 of the main version of that work; in addition, Schneider edited a part of the same question from book IV that Maier had also partially edited. Since then Nazareno Mariani has played a leading role. In his 1998 edition of Marchia's *Physics* commentary, for instance, Mariani included another transcription of parts of the famous first question from book IV.²³

Of much greater significance, however, was Mariani's 1997 publication of Marchia's *Quodlibet*, since this was accompanied with editions of selected questions from Marchia's *Sentences* commentary, based on the Vatican manuscript Chigi B VII 113 supplemented by Vat. lat. 1096 where the Chigi manuscript has lacunae. This publication made available in print no less than

läufer Galileis im 14. Jahrhundert (Rome, 1949), 133–36, 202–3, and 241–47, *Metaphysische Hintergründe der spätscholastischen Naturphilosophie* (Rome, 1955), 200–209 and 250–56 (which discusses Marchia and the early Parisian reaction to Ockham's physics), *An der Grenze von Scholastik und Naturwissenschaft*, 2d ed. (Rome, 1952), 82–87, *Zwischen Philosophie und Mechanik* (Rome, 1958), 350–54, and especially the chapter "Franciscus de Marchia" of "Die Impetustheorie," in *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 161–200. More recently, see Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, and the review article by J.-M. Counet, "La cosmologie de François de Marchia: A propos d'un livre récent," *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 34 (1992): 215–20.

²³ See Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 166–80; M. Clagett, ed. and trans., *The Science of Mechanics in the Middle Ages* (Madison, 1959), 526–30; G. F. Vescovini, *La teoria dell'impeto* (Turin, 1969), 1–21; Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 41–75; and Mariani, *Francisci de Marchia . . . Sententia et compilatio super libros Physicorum*, 66–77.

eighteen questions from the main version of book I (Marchia's *Scriptum*), i.e., roughly 25% of the whole, and an additional two from book II.²⁴ Since then several other questions from book I of Marchia's *Sentences* commentary have been published in whole or in part.²⁵

Nevertheless, these efforts make available only a fraction of Marchia's commentary. The *Scriptum* version of book I alone would fill two large volumes, and an edition of all redactions of all four books would probably require at least ten. Although we have begun the process of critically editing the *Scriptum* of book I, this is likely to take more than a decade, not least because the publication of Peter Auriol's *Reportationes* on book I is a prerequisite for any edition of Marchia's commentary on book I. Moreover, a comprehensive attempt to edit all of Marchia's commentary on the *Sentences* is not envisaged at this time. Therefore, the present question list is intended to facilitate further investigation by providing an overview of the major philosophical, theological, and scientific issues Marchia broached, where they are to be found in his commentary, and which manuscripts (or editions) contain them. On this basis, it should be relatively easy for the scholar to obtain material required for studying or editing Marchia's *Sentences* commentary.

MANUSCRIPTS

The following short list with sigla furnishes an overview of the extant manuscripts containing all or part of Marchia's *Sentences* commentary.²⁶ The short list is followed by brief descriptions of all manuscripts known to contain parts of Marchia's commentary, with references to catalogues where available. Unless stated otherwise, we have inspected in one form or another all manuscripts mentioned.

²⁴ See Mariani, *Francisci de Marchia . . . Quodlibet*, 295–560. For a catalogue of the questions from the *Sentences* commentary edited there, see the question list below and Schabel's review article, "Notes on a Recent Edition of Parts of Marchia's *In primum librum Sententiarum*," *Picenum Seraphicum*, n.s., 19 (2000): 201–6.

²⁵ I.e., R. L. Friedman, "*In principio erat Verbum*: The Incorporation of Philosophical Psychology into Trinitarian Theology, 1250–1325" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1997), 555–72 (preliminary edition of *Scriptum*, d. 27); idem, "Francis of Marchia and John Duns Scotus," 46–56 (excerpt from *Scriptum*, d. 11); C. Schabel, "Il determinismo di Francesco di Marchia," I, *Picenum Seraphicum*, n.s., 18 (1999): 57–95 at 69–95, and II, *Picenum Seraphicum*, n.s., 19 (2000): 3–55 at 18–55; idem, "La dottrina sulla predestinazione" (*Scriptum*, dd. 35–40); and idem, "Francis of Marchia," <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/francis-marchia/primum.html> (I *Reportatio*, qq. 69, 71–73).

²⁶ F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1947), incorrectly claimed that Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 6738 contained book II of Marchia's commentary and that Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF] lat. 16110

Complete Witnesses²⁷(X = entire book; F = fragment; P = *Principium*)

Sigilum and Manuscript	Books Contained:			
	I	II	III	IV
A Admont, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei 178	X	X	X	X
G Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Fol. 334			X	
U Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2257	X			
S Bologna, Collegio di Spagna 45*	X			
F Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale II.II. 182 ^{*28}	X	X	X	
L Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 532	X	X		
M Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 504	X/P	P	P	P
D Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 517		X		X/P
T Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, O. 206, sup. ^{*29}		X	X	
N Naples, Biblioteca nazionale VII C. 23	X	X	X	
Q Naples, Biblioteca nazionale VII C. 27	X			
H Paris, BnF lat. 3071	X	X	X	X
Y Paris, BnF lat. 3072	X	X	X	X
J Paris, BnF lat. 15805				X/P
Z Paris, BnF lat. 15852	X	X	X	X
P Prague, Metropolitni Kapituly 531 (C 99)		X	X	X
K Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II 1007 (S. Bonav. 2)*			X	X/P X
O Tortosa, Archivo capitular 162	X			
R Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 767	X			
B Vatican City, BAV Barb. lat. 791 ³⁰		X	X	X
C Vatican City, BAV Chigi. lat. B VII 113	X	X	X	X
X Vatican City, BAV Ross. 525	X			
E Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 943*	F	X	F	F
V Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 1096	X	X		
W Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. 4826*	F	X	X	X
Total Number of Complete Witnesses:	16	17	13	10

contained books I-IV. Stegmüller (relying on Sbaralea) also reported a manuscript in the library of the Dodici Apostoli convent in Rome containing Marchia's books II-IV; while much of the twentieth-century scholarship has claimed that this manuscript is lost (see Ehrle, *Der Sentenzenkommentar*, 254; Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 164-65, esp. n. 11; and Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 38 n. 7), it is in fact identical to manuscript K in this list.

²⁷ For the manuscripts marked with asterisks, see details in the descriptions below.

²⁸ Stegmüller reports I only. V. Doucet, *Commentaires sur les Sentences: Supplément au répertoire de M. Frédéric Stegmüller* (Florence, 1954), corrects.

²⁹ Stegmüller reports III only; Doucet corrects.

³⁰ Stegmüller reports I also; Doucet corrects.

Fragments Collated

<i>Be</i> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Theol. Q. 48*:	I, d. 22
<i>Pa</i> Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 5*:	II and III abbreviations
<i>Va</i> Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 869:	III <i>Principium</i>
<i>Vb</i> Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 3092:	IV, d. 1–15
<i>Vc</i> Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 4871:	I, d.3, qq. 1–2
(Other reported fragments contained in Valencia, Biblioteca del Cabildo 148)	

In the following brief descriptions of the manuscripts (alphabetically by siglum) and fragments, estimated numbers of lines are based on a count of half a dozen columns.

A = Admont, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei 178

S. XIV, parchment, folio sized, 250 folios, two columns, 51–56 lines per column. 1ra–69vb: Marchia in II. 69vb–70ra: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 70rb–71v blank. 72ra–84ra: Marchia in III. 84ra–122rb: Marchia in IV. 122v–123v blank. 124ra–249va: Marchia in I. 249va–b: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 250 blank. 1r marg. inf.: “Item, hunc librum restituit dominus Henricus episcopus.” 70ra inf.: “Nota: iste laboravit necnon bene continuavit huncque caligabit Henricus episcopus [eius MS] vel sotulabit.” Dr. Johann Tomaschek provided the entry in P. Jakob Wichner’s handwritten *Catalogus codicum Admontensium* of 1887/1888, 110, where the commentary is assigned to Aquinas.

B = Vatican City, BAV Barb. lat. 791

S. XV, paper, 333 × 234 mm. (text 221 × 149 mm.), 162 folios, two columns, 49–51 lines per column. 1ra–89vb: Marchia in II. 90r–v blank. 91ra–110va: (new hand begins) Marchia in III. 110va–162va: Marchia in IV. 162vb blank. 89vb: “Laus tibi Christe quia explicit iste. Nunc scriptor cessat. Qui plus vult scribere, scribat.” 162va, explicit to IV concludes “... scriptum per me, Theodiricum de Almania, ad instantiam reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini, domini mey Sing(-)iii [=Segniensis?] episcopi Modrusiensis gubernatoris Phani, sub annis Domini M^o CCCC^o LXII [lege 1472], tempore sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini, domini Sixti [pape quarti exp. MS] divina providentia pape quarti, amen.” This manuscript was copied for Nicolò Modrusiensis, on whom see F. Lepori, “Ragione naturale e rivelazione in una disputa alla scuola di Rialto: Il ‘De mortalium felicitate’ di Nicolò Modrussiense,” *Medioevo* 13 (1987): 223–301 at 224–27; on this manuscript, see *ibid.*, nn. 8 and 36.

C = Vatican City, BAV Chigi. lat. B VII 113

S. XIV (1327), parchment, 313 × 234 mm. (text 232 × 165 mm.), 238 folios, two columns, 58 lines per column. 1r–2v blank. 3ra–101rb: Marchia in I. 101v–104r blank. 104va–b: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 105ra–165rb: Marchia in II. 165v–166v blank. 167ra–174vb: Marchia in III (quire missing; see n. 48 below). 174vb: *tabula quaestionum* for III. 175ra–235vb: Marchia in IV. 235vb–236ra: *tabula quaestionum* for IV. 236rb–238 blank. 1v (on attached paper, more recent hand): “Magistri Francisci de Marchia Anconitati ordinis minorum Reportatio super quatuor libros *Sentiarum*, codex scriptus anno 1327.”

D = Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 517

S. XIV, parchment, 338 × 240 mm. (text 240 × 183 mm.), iv + 104 folios, two columns, 58–65 lines per column. i–iv: fragment of canon law text. 1ra–35vb: Marchia in II. 36ra–37vb: Marchia *Principium* in IV. 38ra–70va: Marchia in IV. 70va–b: tabula qq. for IV. 71ra–100rb: Peter Auriol, *De principiis naturae*. 100rb inf.: “Guidomarus de Lestavet Brito Leonensis Dyocesis me scripsit anno Domini millesimo CCC^{mo} XXX^{mo} IIII^{mo}. Deo gratias etc.” 100va–b: “Questio est utrum indulgentie tantum valeant quantum sonant”. 101ra–104vb: continuation of canon law text of i–iv. Cf. *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1957), 20–21; and Manuel de Castro, *Manuscritos franciscanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* ([Madrid?]: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia [printed in Valencia], 1973), 54–55 (cat. no. 44).

E = Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 943

S. XV, parchment, 307 × 222 mm. (text 215 × 148 mm.), 120 folios, two columns, 62–72 lines per column. 1ra–45ra: Marchia in II. 46v–115vb: assorted questions from Marchia's I, III, and IV *Sent.* (see next paragraph) interspersed with questions from the *Sentences* commentary of Peter Auriol. 116–120 blank. Cf. A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 2.1, Codices 679–1134 (Vatican, 1931), 377–82.

For the assorted questions from Marchia's I, III, and IV *Sent.*, see the question list (*I Reportatio*, qq. 1, 1b–e, 4–17; *I Scriptum*, qq. 12, 15–17; III, qq. 1, 14; IV, qq. 1–3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 36, 37, 42, 45b, 52, 56, 58, 59, 60, 63a). The versions of these questions contained in *E* sometimes differ significantly from those in the main versions. In cases where questions found in *E* have corresponding versions in both the *Scriptum* and *I Reportatio*, we have cross-referenced these versions and in a number of cases we have recorded the incipit from *E*; note, however, that throughout the question list we have given the foliation of the question in *E* in conjunction with the question from the main versions to which *E* appeared to be most closely related. See also the notes on Marchia's book II, below. In addition, two questions in *E* remain unidentified; they may nevertheless be Marchia's. They are “utrum Deus possit revelare falsum” (46va–49ra) and “utrum actus voluntatis fiat subito in instanti vel fiat in tempore” (49ra–50vb).

F = Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale IL.II. 182

S. XV, parchment, 312 folios, two columns, 59–65 lines per column. 1r–168v: Philip de Monte Calerio, O.F.M., *Postilla super Evangelia*. 169r–255vb: Marchia in I. 258ra–297rb: Marchia in II. 297v blank. 298ra–312ra: Marchia in III. Cf. G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 9 (Forli, 1899), 42.

257r contains the beginning of II, q. 1, but this ends abruptly, and 257v is blank; Marchia's book II begins all over again on 258r and continues from there, ending abruptly just after the beginning of q. 31 on 297r.

G = Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Fol. 334

S. XIV, paper, 290 × 195 mm., 248 folios, two columns, 48–58 lines per column (in Marchia section). 1r: contents. 1v–2v blank. 3v–51v and 61r–137v: Bradwardine's *De*

causa Dei. 52r–55v and 57r–60v: Anon., *Quaestiones in de sensu et sensato Aristotelis*. 56r–v: fragment of another Anon., *Quaestiones in de sensu et sensato Aristotelis*. 138vb–138ra: small addition. 138rb–140v blank. 141r–182v: Anon. in I *Sent.* (the catalogue tentatively assigns it to Marchia, but it is not). 183ra–246vb: Marchia in II. 247r–248v blank. Cf. W. Gehrt, *Die Handschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg. 2^o Cod 251–400e* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 136–38.

H = Paris, BnF lat. 3071

S. XIV, parchment, 335 × 240 mm., 175 folios, two columns, 54–55 lines per column. 1ra–77rb: Marchia in I. 77v–80v blank. 81ra–124va: Marchia in II. 125ra–135va: Marchia in III. 136ra–170vb: Marchia in IV. 171r–172v: Calendar. 173r–174r blank. 174v–175v: *tabula quaestionum* for I–IV. Cf. *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins IV (Nos. 3014 à 3277)* (Paris, 1958), 78–79.

J = Paris, BnF lat. 15805

S. XIV, parchment, 332 × 250 mm., 107 folios. Composite manuscript written by seven scribes. Works by various authors, including Thomas Aquinas, John Pecham, William of Hothum, William of Alnwick, Thaddeus of Parma, Giles of Orléans, Radulphus Brito (?), Thomas Bradwardine, Robert Graystanes, Richard Campsall, Thomas of Hothum, Walter Chatton, William Ockham. 89ra–92ra: Marchia *Principium in III*. 92ra–106rb: Marchia in III. Cf. G. J. Etzkorn, “The Codex Paris Nat. Lat. 15.805,” *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 80 (1987): 321–33, updated for Bradwardine by J.-F. Genest and K. H. Tachau, “La lecture de Thomas Bradwardine sur les *Sentences*,” *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 57 (1990): 301–6, and J.-F. Genest, “Les premiers écrits théologiques de Bradwardine: Textes inédits et découvertes récentes,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the “Sentences” of Peter Lombard*, ed. G. R. Evans, vol. 1 (Leiden, forthcoming), 395–421, and for Campsall by K. Tachau, “Richard Campsall as a Theologian: New Evidence,” in *Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi. Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, ed. B. Mojsisch and O. Pluta (Amsterdam, 1991), 2:979–1002.

K = Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II 1007 (S. Bonav. 2)

S. XV, paper, 350 × 245 mm., iv + 352 + ii folios, one column, 47–48 lines per column. 1r–175r: Marchia in II. 175r–176v: *tabula quaestionum* for II. 176v–229v: Marchia in III. 229v–352: Marchia in IV (incomplete). Cf. O. Schäfer, “*Descriptio codicium franciscalium in bibliotheca centrali nationali Romae asservatorum* (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Fondi minori MSS. S. Bonaventurae),” *Antonianum* 23 (1948): 347–80 at 349–56 (cat. no. 2). We have not examined this manuscript, and we are only able to include information about it in the present article thanks to Jonathan Black who made us aware of Schäfer’s article. Thus all of our information on this manuscript (including foliation of the questions) is derived from Schäfer’s description and is therefore provisional.

The manuscript was formerly contained in the library of the convent Dodici Apostoli in Rome and was described by J. H. Sbaralea, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo aliisve descriptos* (Rome, 1908),

2:258. According to Sbaralea, book IV was complete when he examined it (it now ends abruptly in q. 63) and he reports the following explicit for the fourth book: "Explicita quaestiones Magistri Francisci de Marchia de Ordine Fratrum Minorum super quartum librum Sententiarum."

L = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 532

S. XIV (Marchia text dated 1329), parchment, 295 × 205 mm. (text 210–15 × 140 mm.), 226 folios, two columns, 56 lines per column. 1r: fragment of Anon., *Commentarius in Praedicamenta Aristotelis: De sectione scientiarum*. 1v blank. 2ra–141rb: Marchia in I. 141rb–vb: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 142ra–225vb: Marchia in II. 226ra–b: *tabula quaestionum* for II; 226v blank. Cf. P. Burkhart, *Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Leipzig. Band 2: Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1 (Ms 501–625)* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 67–68; also J. Feller, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Paulinae in Academia Lipsiensi* (Leipzig, 1686), 184, no. 25.

M = Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 504

S. XIV, parchment, 310 × 210 mm. (text 223 × 134 mm.), 178 folios, two columns, 55 lines per column. 1r–2v: philosophical fragments, nearly illegible. 3r–24ra: Marchia, *Principia* in I, IV, II, and III. 24ra–173va: Marchia in I. 174ra–178rb: John of Paris, *Tractatus de incarnatione sive de secretis philosophie*. Cf. *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional 2:10*; and Manuel de Castro, *Manuscritos franciscanos*, 52–53 (cat. no. 42).

N = Naples, Biblioteca nazionale VII. C. 23

S. XIV, parchment, 300 × 215 mm., i + 217 + i folios, two columns, 51–60 lines per column. Provenance, from 1r marg. sup.: "Coll. Lyciensis (S.I.)". 1ra–127va: Marchia in I. 127va–130vb: *tabula quaestionum et conclusionum* for I (130vb: "Explicit super primum Francisci de Marchia"). 131ra–200rb: Marchia in II. 201ra–202rb: *tabula quaestionum et conclusionum* for II. 202v blank. 203ra–216vb: Marchia in III. 217ra–b: *tabula quaestionum et conclusionum* for III (217ra: "Incipit tabula super tertio Sententiarum Francisci de Marchia"). 217v blank. Cf. C. Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, 2 vols., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 7–8 (Quaracchi, 1971), 1:403, no. 240.

O = Tortosa, Archivo capitular 162

S. XIV, parchment, 334 × 240 mm. (text 285 × 185 mm.), 51 + ii (paper) folios, two columns, 83 lines per column. 1r–2v blank (small note on 1r about q. 1). 3ra–51ra: Marchia in I. 51rb–vb (paper from here on) blank. 52r–v: *tabula quaestionum* for I (new hand, one column). 53r: note. 53v blank. Cf. E. Bayetti, *Los códices medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa: Novísimo inventario descriptivo* (Barcelona, 1962), 328–29.

P = Prague, Metropolitni Kapituly 531 (C 99)

S. XIV², parchment, 245 × 180 mm., 262 folios, two columns, 40 lines per column. 1r–v: *tabula quaestionum* for II–IV. 2ra–130va: Marchia in II. 131ra–151ra: Marchia

in III. 151rb–v blank. 152ra–154rb: Anon. (?) *Principium* in III. 154v–154r bis blank. 154va bis–164rb: Anon. (?) in III. 164va–262vb: Marchia in IV. Cf. A. Parera and A. Podlaha, *Soupis Rukopisu Knihovny Metropolitni Kapitoly Pražske* (Prague, 1910), 302–3. For the anonymous (?) commentary and *Principium* on book III, see the section on Marchia's book III, below.

Q = Naples, Biblioteca nazionale VII. C. 27

S. XIV, parchment, 290 × 220 mm., i + 128 + i folios, two columns, 49–52 lines per column. Provenance: S. Giovanni a Carbonara di Napoli (whose emblem is on the back). 1ra–126va: Marchia in I (1r sup.: “Francisci de Marchia in librum *Sent.*”). 126va–b, 128ra–va: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 127ra (inserted): passage from d. 17. 127rb blank. 127va: passage. 127vb: end of d. 23. Cf. Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli* 1:405, no. 243.

R = Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 767

S. XIV, parchment, 356 × 290 mm., i + 262 + i folios, two columns, 49 lines per column. 1r–108v: Peter of Navarre's *Super primum Sententiarum*. 109ra–260vb: Marchia in I. 261v–262r blank. 262v: *Retractatio fratris Bartholomaei, ord. Cist., apud Sanctum Bernardum (jun. 1316)*. 262v: summary. Cf. J. G. Bougerol, *Les manuscrits franciscains de la Bibliothèque de Troyes*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 23 (Grottaferrata, 1982), 49–50; J.-P. Bouhot and J.-F. Genest, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux, du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle, II: Les manuscrits conservés, première partie: Manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques* (Paris and Turnhout, 1997), 641–42, entry K 79.

S = Bologna, Collegio di Spagna 45, E.V. 8

S. XIV, parchment, 315 × 240 mm. (text 225 × 160 mm.), i + 71 folios, two columns, 62 lines per column. Cf. D. Maffei et al., *I Codici del Collegio di Spagna di Bologna* (Milano, 1992), 55–56. A quire is missing between fols. 48 and 49; see next paragraph. 1ra–67ra: Marchia in I. 67rb–71 blank.

What would have been S's fifth quire is now missing, so that S omits questions 41 through 49 of Marchia's *Scriptum*. Question 40 ends on fol. 48vb, which contains, moreover, the *reclamans* “Circa distinctionem 21 ubi Magister agit de modo,” i.e., the beginning of q. 41; thus q. 40 is complete. Fol. 49ra, however, begins “igitur causa ex hoc quod continet. . . . [Par] Sed utrum sit causa instrumentalis [?] actus elicativa . . . ,” i.e., in the middle of art. 2 of q. 50; q. 51 begins on 49vb.

T = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana O. 206, sup.

S. XIV, parchment, 250 × 180 mm., 30 folios, two columns, 42 lines per column. 1ra–11rb (81r–91rb old numbering): Marchia last qq. in II. 11va–b: full *tabula quaestionum* for II. 12r: drawing. 12v blank. 13ra–30rb: Marchia in III. Cf. *Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana. L. Sup.–R. Sup.* (Trezzano, 1978) [publication of a handwritten catalogue, cf. page 370]. T is physically missing its first 80 folios (although the modern foliation does not take this into account); hence the copy of book II in this manuscript begins halfway through q. 44.

U = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria 2257 (cat. no. 1123)

S. XIV, parchment, 412 × 230 mm., 96 folios, two columns, 59 lines per column. 1ra–vb: unknown text, bound upside down. 2ra–va: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 2vb blank. 3ra–96vb: Marchia in I. Cf. L. Frati, *Indice dei Codici Latini Conservati nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Firenze 1909), 449.

V = Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 1096

S. XIV, parchment, 345 × 243 mm. (text 255 × 175 mm.), 189 folios, two columns, 60 lines per column. 1r–113ra: Marchia in I. 113ra–118rb: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 118v blank. 119ra–189ra: Marchia in II. 189ra–va: *tabula quaestionum* for II. 113ra: “Incipit tabula questionum primi libri *Sententiarum Magistri Francisci de Marchia*.” 118rb: “Explicit tabula questionum primi Francisci de Marchia manu Bricii Britonis, Leonensis dyocesis clerici, scripta ac etiam finita die Sabbati ante Ramos Palmarum, Deo gratias.” 189vb: “*Scriptum primi et secundi Sententiarum* magistri Francisci de Marcia.” 189v marg. inf. (more recent hand): “Die XX Decembris MDLXXVII sanctissimus dominus papa Gregorius XIII dedit librum hunc Bibliothecae Vaticanae.” Cf. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini* 2.1:703–4.

W = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek lat. 4826

S. XIV, paper, 290 × 215 mm., 236 folios, two columns, 43–54 lines per column. 1 not extant. 2ra–91ra: Marchia in II. 91ra–va: *tabula quaestionum* for II. 91vb: fragment from earlier question. 92ra–112vb: Marchia in III. 113r–158vb: Anon. in II *Sent.*; 158vb–159ra: *tabula quaestionum* for Anon. in II. 159va–227rb: Marchia in IV (not in sequence). 227v: 18 opinions of Peter Lombard not held by doctors (different hand). 228r–235ra: fragment of Marchia in I. 235rb–va: *tabula quaestionum* for II. 235va: *tabula quaestionum* for III. 235va–236ra: *tabula quaestionum* for Anon. in II. 236rb–va: *tabula quaestionum* for IV. 236va: “Tunc secuntur articuli 18 Magistri *Sententiarum* a doctoribus communiter non tenendi.” 236va: *tabula quaestionum* for fragment of Marchia in I: “de Francisco de Marchia.” 236vb blank. 92r sup.: “Incipiunt questio-nes quedam super tertium *Sententiarum* Francisci de Marchia.” 235va: “Francisci de Marchia tertii libri questiones.” Cf. *Tabulae codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1869), 393.

Besides books II–IV, W contains a fragment of Marchia’s *Scriptum* on I, dd. 3–4; cf. the question list below, qq. 20 (228ra–229va), 21 (229va–230va), 22 (230va–231va), and 24 (231vb–235ra). As noted above, book IV is out of its normal sequence.

X = Vatican City, BAV Ross. 525

S. XIV, parchment, 282 × 210 mm., 120 folios, two columns, 47–50 lines per column. 1ra–119vb: Marchia in I. 119vb–120vb: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 119vb: “Incipit tituli questionum eiusdem primi.” 120vb: “Explicit tabula omnium questionum principali cum quibusdam earumdem questionum articulis huius primi.”

Y = Paris, BnF lat. 3072

S. XV, parchment, 300 × 220 mm., 201 folios, two columns, 59–60 lines per column. 1r–91va: Marchia in I. 91va–b: *tabula quaestionum* for I. 92ra–147rb: Marchia

in II. 147v: *tabula quaestionum* for II. 148ra–162rb: Marchia in III. 162r: *tabula quaestionum* for III. 162v blank. 163ra–201vb: Marchia in IV. The final folios in Y (199r–201v) are mutilated and only partially legible. Cf. *Bibliothèque nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins IV*, 79–80.

Z = Paris, BnF lat. 15852

S. XIV, parchment, 310 × 240 mm., 215 folios, two columns, 58 lines per column. 1–2 blank (some modern notation); 3ra–93vb: Marchia in I. 94 blank. 95ra–153vb: Marchia in II. 154 blank. 155ra–166rb: Marchia in III. 166v blank. 167ra–213ra: Marchia in IV. 213ra–214ra: *tabula quaestionum* for I–IV. 214rb blank. 215r: fragment of an anonymous text. Pernille Harsting kindly inspected the manuscript and provided us with further information about it.

Fragments:

Be = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Q. 48

S. XV, paper, 150 × 100 mm., 180 folios, one column, 49–51 lines per column. Marchia fragment, 81v bis–83r. Cf. V. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 13 = *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 2.1: *Die Handschriften der kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der kurfürstlichen Lande* (Berlin, 1901), 386–87, no. 513.

The fragment consists of 75% of q. 49 of I *Reportatio*, beginning on 81v bis with the heading “Quaestio Francisci de Marchia circa XXII^{ma} distinctionem primi *Sententiarum*,” and ending abruptly on the bottom of 83r at “in se extrema aliqua incompossibilitia,” about one third of the way into a. 2; 83v is blank.

Pa = Pamplona, Biblioteca de la Catedral 5

S. XIV, parchment, 245 × 175 mm., 208 folios, two columns, 47–58 lines per column. 1r–119ra: Aufredo Gonteri Brito in II. 119rb–120vb: *tabula quaestionum* for II. 121ra–196vb: Aufredo Gonteri Brito in III. 197r–201v blank. 202ra–203ra: *tabula quaestionum* for III. 203rb–v blank. 204ra–208vb: nine qq. from II and III *Sent.* of Francis of Meyronnes, beginning “Utrum incarnatio secundum quod accipitur pro humana ratione fundetur in tertia entitate distincta a carne.” 119ra inf.: “Explicit compilatio et ordinatio super secundum librum Sententiarum edita per fratrem Anfredum Goytteum [!] Britonem de ordine fratrum minorum, cum quibusdam dictis magistri fratris Francisci de Marchia et magistri fratris Francisci de Mayronis et fratris Geraldii bachalarii in theologia additis.” The abbreviated Marchia questions are dispersed, and difficult to find. A provisional list follows: II, qq. 5 (23va), 6 (23va), 16 (29va–30rb), 14 (38va–b), 15 (38vb–39rb), 29 (71rb), 31 (71rb–va), 33 (77vb), 34 (77vb–78ra), 35 (78ra), 36 (78ra–b), 17 (79va–b), 18 (79vb–80ra), 20 (80ra–b), 21 (80rb). In addition there may be questions from book III (cf., e.g., 193vb: “Opinio magistri Francisci de Marchia est quod . . .”).

Since the Marchia abbreviations in the Pamplona manuscript are found in Aufredo Gonteri Brito's Parisian commentary on II *Sent.*, it is at least possible that these same abbreviated questions can be found in Brito's Barcelona commentary on II *Sent.*

contained in Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka A 21 (formerly I.F. 184), an early fifteenth-century manuscript of 708 folios which also contains Gonteri's *I Sent.* (Paris version). We have not, however, had access to the relevant parts of the Wrocław manuscript. On both the Pamplona and the Wrocław manuscripts, see V. Doucet, "Der unbekannte Skotist des Vaticanus lat. 1113. Fr. Anfredus Gonteri O.F.M. (1325)," *Franziskanische Studien* 25 (1938): 201–40, esp. 217–22.

Va = Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 869

S. XIV, parchment, 250 × 195 mm., 245 folios, two columns. Contains many works, mostly by Franciscans. 211ra–va: Collatio "Verbum caro factum est . . ." 211va–214vb: Marchia, *Principium* in III. Cf. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini* 2.1:242–54.

Vb = Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 3092

S. XIV, paper, 290 × 220 mm., ii + 148 + i folios; for Marchia: two columns, ca. 60–65 lines per column. Contains a great many small philosophical texts, many by Franciscans, i.e., Scotus, Odonis, Meyronnes, William of Alnwick, and Ockham. 137ra–143vb: fragment of Marchia in IV. Cf. G. J. Etzkorn, *Iter Vaticanum. A Description of Some One Hundred Manuscripts of the Vaticanus Latinus Collection* (Leiden, 1996), 26–33, esp. 31.

Vc = Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 4871

S. XIV, parchment, 340 × 245 mm., ii + 170 + i folios. Contains a great many small philosophical texts, many by Franciscans, i.e., Richard of Conington, Martin of Alnwick, Hugh of Novocastro, James of Ascoli, Robert Cowton, Peter de Falco, and questions by Marchia on the *Metaphysics*. 100ra–101vb: fragment of Marchia's *I Reportatio* (d. 3, qq. 1–2). Cf. Etzkorn, *Iter Vaticanum*, 171–80, esp. 173–74.

REDACTIONS AND VERSIONS OF MARCHIA'S *SENTENCES* COMMENTARY

Marchia's Principal Lectures

Madrid, Biblioteca nacional 504 (*M*) contains all four of the Principal Lectures that Marchia delivered as part of his requirements as a bachelor *Sententiarum*. In addition, there are three other witnesses for Marchia's *Principium* on book III of the *Sentences* (*J*, *K*, and *Va*) and one (*D*) for that on book IV. *P* may contain another redaction of the book III *Principium*, but more probably it is not Marchia's (see the notes on book III below). Note that the sequence in which the lectures are found in *M* offers support for the theory that Marchia read the books of the *Sentences* in the following order: I, IV, II, III (as Anneliese Maier has already suggested).³¹ This was not uncommon at the time.

³¹ Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, 180, and *Metaphysische Hintergrund*, 200.

Book I

It has been realized since the early twentieth century that parts of Marchia's *Sentences* commentary have come down to us in more than one redaction.³² Examination of the manuscripts of Marchia's first book confirms that there are indeed two separate redactions, and further that they are preserved in three broad versions: pure *Scriptum* or *ordinatio* (the main version of the text), pure *Reportatio*, and at least two "mixed" versions.

Pure *Scriptum*:

Incipit: Quaeritur utrum theologia sit de Deo tamquam de primo subiecto. Videtur quod non. . . .

Final question: Circa d. 40^{am} quaero utrum praedestinatio habeat aliquam causam ex parte praedestinatorum. . . .

This is the *ordinatio* version of Marchia's commentary on book I of the *Sentences*. It is called a *Scriptum* in *Z* (93vb) and in *M* (173va): "explicit *Scriptum* super primum *Sententiarum* Francisci de Marchia . . ."; in addition, a note in *V* calls it a *Scriptum* (189vb). This term is adopted for ease of reference. The *Scriptum* version of book I is by far the most widely represented, being found in its entirety in *FMNOSUVYZ*. In addition, *ACLR* contain the *Scriptum* in a modified form; see below under "mixed" versions.

Pure *Reportatio*:

Incipit: Circa prologum *Sententiarum* quaero primo utrum ens simpliciter simplex possit esse subiectum alicuius scientiae viatoris. Videtur quod non. . . .

Final question: . . . utrum teneamur conformare voluntatem nostram divinae voluntati in quocumque volito vel nolito ab ipsa. . . .

The pure *Reportatio* version is found in its entirety in manuscripts *HQX*. In the question list below, in addition to the actual questions, we give text in which Marchia describes the articulation within each of the questions. We can note here that up to but not including d. 20 (q. 47 of the question list) the Paris (*H*), Naples (*Q*), and Vatican (*X*) manuscripts carry the same basic text, with, however, many differences in word order and choice. Up to this point in the text, *H* offers numeration (incorrect in the case of the Prologue) of the questions within a mult question distinction, and so in this respect at least it seems

³² Teetaert, "Pignano (François de)," gives this opinion and takes into account earlier work, esp. by Ehrle and Michalski. For later thoughts on the double redaction, see Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 162–65.

to be a smoother or more refined version. With that said, *Q* and *X* often offer the superior reading, and there are still apparent problems with the text. Starting with d. 20, however, *Q* and *X* (and the fragment of q. 49 contained in *Be*) continue to agree well with each other, but begin to diverge from *H* to such an extent that it seems likely that we are dealing with different reports of the same lectures. The number and the subjects of the questions are the same in all the manuscripts, and the way that each question is initially posed is close enough for comparison, but the bodies of corresponding questions are very different. From d. 20 onwards, it is the text offered by *QX* that seems more refined (in fact the case seems to be that the *QX* text remains relatively consistent throughout the *Reportatio*, while the Paris text deteriorates markedly after d. 19). An extreme example of the way the manuscripts diverge is given in the question list below at questions 67a and 67b. The fact that more than a column is left blank in *H* immediately after d. 19 (see q. 46 below) also seems to suggest a change at this point.

Until d. 20 the question list presented below is a composite from the three manuscripts. After that point we have relied almost exclusively on the apparently superior *QX* text.

“Mixed” versions:

There are at least two “mixed” versions of Marchia’s book I. The major one is represented in manuscripts *A*, *C*, and *L*. This mixed version is characterized by its first question being the first question from the *Reportatio*; following this is the entire text from the *Scriptum* in nearly exactly the same order that it is found in the pure *Scriptum* tradition, with the exception of one added question (q. 22a in the *Scriptum* question list below) not found in either of the other two versions. In a number of places in the Vatican manuscript (*C*) the text breaks off, sometimes in mid-sentence, with a scribal note to “seek” (“quaere”) the remainder (qq. 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 60). As will be clear below, an analysis of shared and unshared variant readings in d. 2, q. 3 and dd. 35–38 suggests that *L* was copied from *C*, and that *A* was copied from *L*.

A second mixed version is found in *R*, which seems in fact to be an isolated case, and not a representative of a tradition as such. *R* starts with the entire *Reportatio* prologue (although incomplete in the last question), then jumps to question three of the *Scriptum* (from the prologue) presenting thereafter the remainder of the *Scriptum*. *R* does not contain the added question (q. 22a) found in the other mixed version.

The foliation of the questions found in the mixed version manuscripts has been included with the corresponding questions in the pure versions.

Manuscript Study.

Chris Schabel has made a manuscript study for d. 35 of Marchia's *Scriptum*, published in "Il determinismo," I, 66–68. We reproduce the data arrived at in that article through the preparation of a critical edition of the text from all manuscripts and offer a possible scenario that would explain the stemma arrived at. This scenario, it should be noted, takes into account not just the data concerning variant readings for d. 35 of the *Scriptum* but also general observations on all the versions of Marchia's book I, including groupings of question titles and explicits, and further editing work on especially dd. 36–38 and 40 of the *Scriptum*. We hope that this material can aid the reader in making a better informed selection of manuscripts to be used when studying Marchia's book I of the *Sentences*, although (unless otherwise noted) the results offered below apply only to the final questions of the *Scriptum* (dd. 35–40).

Table of approximate number of variants for d. 35 of the *Scriptum*
(except expunged or corrected words)

In the table, "om" gives the number of omissions and "wds" the total number of words contained in all omissions combined. The table provides unshared variants and total variants for each manuscript and manuscript grouping. For example, manuscript *A* has 6 unshared omissions totaling 14 words omitted, and another 44 unshared variants. But along with *L* (*AL*) it has 5 further omissions not shared with the others, totaling 25 words, and 30 other variants; along with *C* and *L* (*ACL*) it has 8 further omissions (not including the last 16 lines of d. 35) totaling 39 words, and 18 other variants. In addition, there are omissions and variants shared with other manuscripts by chance, not listed here, which bring *A*'s totals to 30 omissions for 119 words and 105 other variants. This gives a picture of the quality of the text that *A* provides.

Siglum of MS	Unshared Variants		Total Variants (Shared + Unshared)	
	Om/Wds	Other	Om/Wds	Other
<i>A</i>	6 >> 14	44	30 >> 119	105
<i>C</i>	1 >> 1	3	19 >> 52	32
<i>F</i>	39 >> 168	81	105 >> 417	177
<i>L</i>	1 >> 1	4	22 >> 86	59
<i>M</i>	13 >> 28	47	49 >> 145	101
<i>N</i>	70 >> 320	105	125 >> 532	197
<i>O</i>	16 >> 17	38	74 >> 250	157
<i>R</i>	14 >> 48	43	68 >> 224	146
<i>S</i>	12 >> 12	28	60 >> 192	127
<i>U</i>	28 >> 113	78	47 >> 177	94
<i>V</i>	26 >> 86	44	101 >> 313	249
<i>Y</i>	12 >> 81	58	70 >> 266	180
<i>Z</i>	3 >> 5	3	70 >> 237	127

Sigla of MSS	Shared variants	
	Om/Wds	Other
AL	5 >> 25	30
ACL	8 >> 39 (+16 ll.)	18
FMNORSVYZ	8 >> 17	9
FNO	5 >> 5	1
FNOSVZ	23 >> 90	32
FO	5 >> 35	17
FOSVZ	7 >> 26	10
FOVZ	1 >> 4	7
MRY	17 >> 84	25
RY	23 >> 64	62
VZ	15 >> 45	33

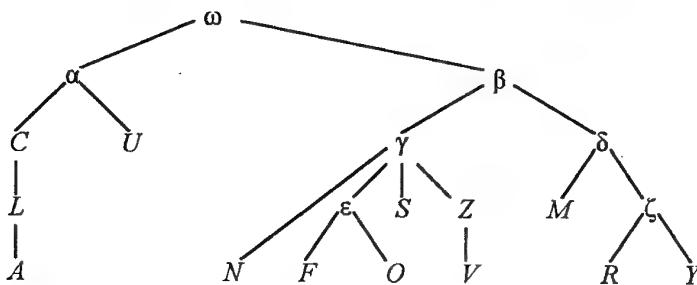
Last sixteen lines contained in
FNOS

MRY

UVZ

(Like ACL, U omits the last sixteen
lines but fills them in the margin in
in the same hand, perhaps from Z)

Possible stemma for *Scriptum* d. 35, allowing for interpolations and contamination:



A possible scenario explaining the two redactions, the mixed versions, and the two main sides of the stemma is as follows: the *Reportatio* (HQX) stems from Marchia's Paris lectures on the *Sentences* in 1319–20, and this is supported by Q's explicit: "Explicit lectura fratris Francisci de Marchia super primum, secundum reportationem factam sub eo tempore quo legit *Sententias Parisius*, anno Domini MCCCXX." As mentioned above, QX carry the same text, while H's text differs slightly for the first two thirds of book I and more sharply for the latter third, so that it can be called a different *reportatio*, probably from the same lectures.

Marchia began working his *Reportatio* into an *ordinatio*, the *Scriptum*, but he left many sections incomplete, perhaps intending himself to fill in the gaps with passages from the *Reportatio*, because the *lacunae* often involve merely responses to the principal objections, near the end of questions. One possible reason for the incomplete nature of the *Scriptum* is Marchia's trouble with Pope John XXII over the issue of Apostolic Poverty, which may have caused him to abandon his project; Marchia may also have simply become too busy. At any rate, the left side of the *Scriptum* stemma, ACLU, has the incomplete

text, and *C* preserves both the gaps and notes to seek, “quaere,” some of the missing sections, labelled “A,” “B,” “C,” and so on. These sections were to come from the *Reportatio* version recorded in *QX*, and no doubt there once was a witness of the *Reportatio* that had letters in the margins, “A,” “B,” “C,” etc., next to the text to be copied into the *Scriptum*. From the left side of the stemma, *U* later copied many of the sections into the margin, either directly from a *Reportatio* manuscript or, more likely, since *U* had access to at least one witness from the right side of the stemma, from one of the completed *Scriptum* witnesses from that side. *C* was not completed, and a collation for dd. 35–38 suggests that *L* (dated 1329) very probably stems from *C* (dated 1327), and further that *A* most likely stems from *L*. One indication of this is that, in the portions of the text investigated thus far, whereas *A* has variants not shared by either *C* or *L*, the only instances in which *L* and *A* share a variant reading that is not also found in *C* are errors found in *L* that would seem to have been copied by *A*. Further, while *L* retains some of the gaps in the text found in *C*, these are reduced in size, and *A* removes them altogether. The most simple explanation, then, is that *L* was copied from *C*, and *A* from *L*. This finding was confirmed by a collation of the three manuscripts for 205 lines of *Scriptum*, q. 18 (ed. Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 553–58, ll. 369–574). The same type of evidence of one-way dependence can be shown for *V* and *Z* at least with respect to d. 35. One of the early *Scriptum* manuscripts was in fact supplemented with the *Reportatio*, as directed, but in contrast to *ACL*, which retained the first question of the *Reportatio* prologue and added q. 22a, the new version omitted the first question and q. 22a. This manuscript served as the exemplar for the right side of the stemma, the manuscripts of which in places incorporate text from the *Reportatio* (*QX* version) where the *Scriptum* was left incomplete, with the exception of the strange case of *R* mentioned above under “mixed” versions; not only the collation of dd. 35–40, but also question explicits throughout the work confirm that the *Scriptum* text found in *R* is closely related to that found in *Y*. Interestingly, *M* changed exemplar after q. 11 (see the notes to that question), which explains why it is very close to *RY* in the latter part of the book but, on the basis of question explicits, does not share common features with the two other manuscripts in the first part of the book (e.g., qq. 7–10). The other odd manuscript is *U*, which does not agree with *ACL* inasmuch as it does not retain the first question of the *Reportatio* prologue or add q. 22a, yet both editing work from the latter part of the *Scriptum* and many question explicits throughout the work point towards a close relationship between *U* and *ACL* (see also the notes to individual questions). The fact that the right side of the stemma is also quite well defined suggests that the *pecia* system was *not* used for Marchia’s *Scriptum*.

There are other differences between the two sides of the stemma. In dd. 35–40 the order is different: the right side has a question on divine ideas (q. 59) between dd. 36 and 38, as d. 37; the left side (including *U*) has d. 36 followed by d. 38 and only then the question on divine ideas, as d. 39. In general, the reading of the right “completed” side of the stemma, taken as a whole, is slightly better than the left, incomplete side. Each individual manuscript on the right side, however, is poor in comparison to *C* and the manuscripts that we believe stem from it, *L* and *A*. For the right side, *M* and *S* are the best manuscripts for the last distinctions but have many unshared variants and omissions.

Book II

Anneliese Maier was the first to offer compelling evidence that Marchia’s commentary on book II of the *Sentences* is found in two different redactions, and Notker Schneider has since confirmed this fact.³³ One version is contained exclusively in Vat. lat. 943 (*E*), a manuscript composed of scattered questions from Peter Auriol and Marchia, but containing what looks to be a complete series of questions from a version of Marchia’s book II; following Maier,³⁴ we call this the B version of book II. Where it has been studied, the text differs so significantly from that in the main version of Marchia’s book II (hereafter called the A version) that we have to assume that the two versions have fundamentally different origins, although why and how this is the case is a matter for speculation only at this point. Here, we provisionally consider the two versions as two *reportationes*, leaving aside the question of whether or how much they have been reworked.³⁵ In comparison to the questions in Marchia’s A version, those contained in the B version of book II are on the whole shorter. But as Schneider has noted, this brevity is often obtained through dropping more or less formal elements in the medieval *quaestio* structure, e.g., preliminary objections and the *sed contra*; on the other hand, Marchia’s own position is often more elaborately presented in the B version than in the A version.³⁶ Thus, while it seems certain that the B version of book II did not

³³ Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, esp. 163–64; Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, esp. 37–39.

³⁴ E.g., Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 190; and *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, 68.

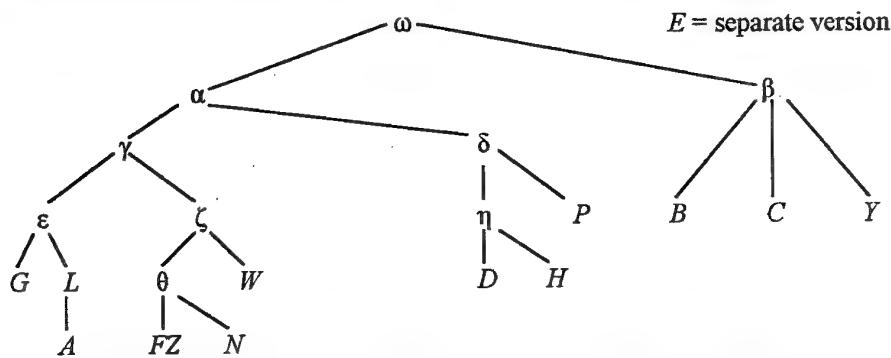
³⁵ The only explicit evidence for the type of text that we are dealing with in Marchia’s book II—i.e., whether a *reportatio* or a text reworked to some extent by Marchia—is a note in *V* which calls the work a *Scriptum* (see the manuscript description above); what is problematic about this note is that *V* contains an *abbreviated* text of the questions in the A version (see below). Nevertheless, just on formal criteria at least the A version of Marchia’s book II seem too polished to be a pure *reportatio*, so perhaps it is indeed a *Scriptum*. (Note that the explicit to book II contained in *K* claims that William Rubio was the *reportator* of Marchia’s Parisian lectures on that book; see further on this the section on book IV below.)

³⁶ Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 38–39; see also Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 190.

enjoy any widespread diffusion, it nevertheless appears that it will be of some significance for precisely determining Marchia's position on many issues. We have included a list of the book II questions contained in *E*; the numeration follows Pelzer's in his description of the manuscript.

The *A* version is represented in all of the other manuscripts containing book II that we have consulted, although the *D* and *H* manuscripts in not a few instances share a rather different text (and occasionally altogether different questions) in relation to the rest of the manuscripts—perhaps indicating that they have their roots in a different *reportatio* or in a very different manuscript tradition (cf., e.g., qq. 1, 8–9, 16a). For example, for the first ca. 65% of q. 16, a. 5, *D* and *H* carry a text that is recognizably the same as that found in the other manuscripts, although it has clearly been reworked in some way; the last ca. 35% of the text has been heavily abbreviated in *DH*, so that all told some 20% of the article has been elided. Moreover, there is some evidence that *P* is related to *DH* (see below).

Here we provisionally modify the partial stemma that Notker Schneider arrived at in his study of Marchia (*Die Kosmologie*, 39), changing the sigla in accordance with our usage. On the basis of the manuscripts available to us, we have collated *ADHPYZ* against Schneider's edition of q. 29 (pp. 41–45), which employed *BCGLNW*, and we have also collated *ABCDEFGHLNYZ* for the whole of q. 16, a. 5, which roughly equals q. 29 in size:



(*V* is an abbreviation of the *A* version of II *Sent.*; *K* has not been available to us)

Schneider (p. 38) considered *BC* a group, and in his edition he occasionally went against *BC*'s readings. Thus, he treated their variants as common errors, and, as his stemma implies, he believed that *BC* must share a common exemplar for their group. Our collation shows that *Y* also belongs to this group, but because *BCY* share no obvious errors in q. 16, a. 5, each of them may instead stem directly from the archetype. Moreover, each individual witness of *BCY*

has very few errors, so although we posit them to be independent of each other, further research may show that the relationship within the group is slightly different.

Schneider did not examine any of the manuscripts belonging to the group *DHP*. A small number of common errors among *ADFGHLPWZ* suggests that *DHP* should not be placed on the same side of the stemma as *BCY*, but this is provisional. Generally *DHP* retain a better text than *AFGLNWZ*, although (as mentioned above) for the last third of q. 16, a. 5, *DH* (*P* was not available) abbreviate heavily. Within *DHP*, *DH* form a clear subset with idiosyncratic wording, while *P* is more difficult to place at this point.

AFGLNWZ share many variants and serious errors, including a 14-line omission *per homeoteleuton* in q. 29 (Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 44–45, ll. 128–42). Schneider grouped together *GL* and *NW*, and adding the remaining manuscripts we seem to have two groupings: *AGL* and *FNWZ*. In the first group, *G* reads against *AL*. It is most likely that *A* stems from *L*, as appears to be the case for at least part of book I (see the manuscript study for book I, above). In the second group, *FNZ*, which for book I belong to the general subgroup *FNOSVZ*, seem to read against *W*. For our stemma to hold, we must accept that both *N* and *Z* have been contaminated from the *BCY* grouping (especially in the case of *N*).³⁷ Alternative stemmata would also have to admit a degree of contamination. Further, it is hard to see the exact relationship among *FNZ*. Probably *FZ* form another subset.

As noted above, the *V* manuscript is an abbreviation of the main version of book II. In q. 29, for example, it carries the same basic text as the *A* version but with many variant readings and abbreviated passages (e.g., ca. half of the last twenty lines are elided). It is not clearly related to any of the other manuscripts; it carries, for instance, the text in Schneider's ll. 128–42 that is omitted *per homeoteleuton* in most manuscripts, but it carries it in an abbreviated form. The abbreviated nature of the text of book II found in this manuscript is especially puzzling inasmuch as the version of book II contained there is referred to as a "Scriptum" in a note in the manuscript (fol. 189v).

It should be noted that Schneider understandably did not provide a full

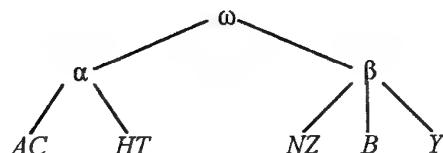
³⁷ A preliminary collation of *BCYZ* for book II, q. 12 (a text roughly 4.5 times the size of q. 29 or q. 16, a. 5) in no way contradicts the results offered here. The collation of q. 12 yields the following number of major variants (additions and omissions of more than 5 words) specific to one manuscript: *B* none; *C* 1 (six-word omission); *Y* 2; *Z* 5. *BCY* do not share any major variants, nor does *Z* share any with *B* or *C*, but *YZ* share three major additions (8, 33, and 17 words respectively); moreover, *Z* has a major erroneous addition that is closely related to the text found only in *Y*. Thus, we can provisionally say on the basis of this collation that, if *Z* is in fact contaminated from *BCY*, the contamination would appear to stem from a manuscript closely related to *Y* (several minor variants make it clear that it cannot be *Y*).

apparatus criticus, so for the detailed relationships we rely on the q. 16, a. 5, collation, for which *P* and *W* were unavailable to us. In any case, the stemma does not necessarily hold for other parts of book II.

Books III and IV

As Anneliese Maier has suggested,³⁸ it seems almost certain that we are dealing with *reportationes* in the written versions of Marchia's books III and IV. This is confirmed by the fact that explicits in *B*, *C*, *H*, and *Y* claim that book III is a *reportatio*, while explicits to book IV in *B*, *C*, *H*, and *P* state that this also is a *reportatio*. It should be noted, however, that each of these texts is described as "editus" in an explicit (for book III, see the explicit in *T*; for book IV, that in *P*); thus, Marchia may well have reworked some of the extant versions of these books. With the exception of just a few questions, these two books are totally unresearched at the present time, and as far as we are aware there has never been a major manuscript study for either. Given the immature state of the research on books III and IV, we have opted not even to attempt to determine the nature of the different versions of the text, awaiting the day when serious manuscript work with these texts makes any conjecture more educated. Thus, in the list below, we have basically grouped all of the questions in each of the books together as though they belonged to only one major version. Despite this, it should be noted that texts of the same question found in different manuscripts are sometimes so diverse that we are forced at least to posit that there were two or more different reports of the same lectures.

In book III, the texts of the incipits of questions in *W* diverge significantly in many cases from the other manuscripts we have consulted, and this may well indicate that *W* contains a distinct *reportatio* of Marchia's commentary on book III. In the questions in which *W*'s incipit deviates greatly from that of the other manuscripts, we have recorded the alternative wording of *W*'s incipit in the notes. On the other hand, a collation of *ABCHNTYZ* for q. 13 revealed that those eight witnesses carry the same text, falling into roughly the following groups (it is not possible to be more specific at this point):³⁹



³⁸ Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 163–64.

³⁹ William Duba has graciously made available to us the critical edition of this question

It appeared that the text in *B* was reworked in some way (possibly corrected against a second manuscript) as was that in *N* (although *N* was by far the least reliable among those examined). The manuscripts that provided the most reliable texts of all in q. 13 were *C*, *H*, and *Y* (not necessarily in that order).

Moreover, a collation of a part of this question with *P* suggests that *P* too belongs to the *BNYZ* grouping. The situation with the contents of *P* is rather complicated, however. *P* contains Marchia's book III on fols. 131ra–151ra; 151rb–v are left blank. Then on 152ra–154rb there is a *Principium* for book III which is different from the one surviving in *JKMVA*. It begins thus:

Circa principium tertii libri quaero utrum Verbum divinum potuerit sine aliqua contradictione assumere individuum generis humani non assumendo individuum speciei humanae. Videtur quod non . . . circa istam quaestionem sunt tria videnda: primum utrum individuum generis ex natura rei extra intellectum distinguitur ab individuo speciei; secundo, in quibus habet locum vera contradictio et in quibus non; tertio, utrum hoc implicit contradictionem, videlicet assumi individuum generis non assumpto aliquo individuo alicuius speciei illius generis.

The question ends prematurely with “tertio ad rem quod ideo Philosophus non posuit.” Then 154r bis is left blank. Another commentary on book III begins on 154va bis, and contains eight questions whose incipits match the first eight questions of Marchia's book III (verbatim in the last ones),⁴⁰ before continuing with Marchia's book IV. This state of affairs would seem to suggest that the *Principium* and these eight questions are Marchia's, although a different version, since the wording of the first question, like that of the *Principium*, differs from the main version, as a short collation revealed. Question 8, however, on the Immaculate Conception, “whether the Blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin,” is first answered in the *negative* here, implying that the author is *not* an immaculatist, whereas in Marchia's book III the question is first answered affirmatively because Marchia *is* an immaculatist. Moreover, in q. 8 of the second commentary, the arguments for and against are reversed in relation to those presented in the first commentary which we know to be Marchia's, so that we seem to have a direct rebuttal of Marchia. If this is the case, then rather than yet another, partial witness to Marchia's book III, we have an attack on Marchia's book III by another author. Of course more research will be needed to clarify this matter.

With regard to book IV, merely on the basis of common questions omitted,

that he is preparing for future publication, as well as his preliminary conclusions on the basis of his continuing work with the manuscripts.

⁴⁰ 1: 154va bis–156rb; 2: 156rb–vb; 3: 157ra–b; 4: 157rb–vb; 5: 157vb–159ra; 6: 159ra–161rb; 7: 161rb–163ra; 8: 163ra–164rb.

one can discern two broad manuscript traditions: *ACPWZ* and *BDHKY* (moreover, variants in many question incipits confirm these groupings), although there seems to be some contamination between these two traditions. In cases where we have been certain that the two broad traditions have different but parallel questions, we have noted this in the question list (see, e.g., qq. 42 and 42a, 57 and 59). The situation in book IV is even more complex, however, since these broad traditions are not strictly followed in the texts of the questions themselves. For example, a collation of part of book IV, q. 1 showed that *ABDHY* preserve a much shorter text (roughly 50% the size) than that found in *CPZ*.⁴¹ It seems likely that the shorter text is an abbreviation of the longer, since there is a great deal of verbatim overlap between the two versions and the material is presented in the same order; however, it cannot be ruled out at present that the shorter text is simply a more succinct report of the same lecture. In any case, all of this data together would seem to suggest that, as in the case of book I, some of the manuscripts carrying Marchia's book IV contain "mixed" versions of the text. Just on the basis of the data given above, we can suggest that it is quite likely that *A* carries one of these mixed versions. It is noteworthy that the special relationship between *D* and *H*, remarked on above in connection with book II, seems to be preserved in parts of book IV; see, e.g., qq. 9, 23, and 66a.

The explicit to book IV contained in *P* claims that the text was "reportatus" by William Rubio, O.F.M., and "editus" by Marchia at *Paris*, while the explicit to the same book in *C* claims that the *Reportatio* of that book was "made by brother William (Rubio)" in 1323; as noted above (n. 35) Rubio is also credited as Marchia's Parisian *Reportator* in the explicit to book II in *K*. It seems incontestable, then, that Rubio—from whom we have a large *Sentences* commentary printed in Paris in 1518—provided the notes from which descend at least some of the *Reportatio* versions of Marchia's *Sentences* commentary.⁴² Moreover, on the basis of the explicits it seems that all written versions of the *Sentences* commentary date to the period between 1320 and 1323 and are from Paris.

⁴¹ Interestingly, the scribe who copied the *B* manuscript seems to have had both versions of IV, q. 1, since he includes part of each version here, before he eventually settles on the short version.

Roberto Lambertini confirms, on the basis of his work with book IV, dd. 20–21 of Marchia's commentary in *B* and *C*, that the texts of parallel questions in the two manuscripts diverge significantly, so that it seems likely that we are dealing with two different *reportationes* or versions of the text; see the question list below, IV, q. 37 and Lambertini's *La povertà pensata*, esp. 196–206.

⁴² See on this also Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 164–65.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE QUESTION LIST

The question list is not meant to be a critical edition, and the small number of variants should not be taken to imply that the manuscripts are in close agreement; we have thought it best, however, to mask over most of the variant readings, since they would merely clutter the list and would add very little of value. In the cases where we have included variants, this is for one of the following reasons: 1) we have overruled all manuscript copies of the text in question; 2) we were unsure as to which reading should be preferred; 3) inclusion of variants suggested a possible grouping of the manuscripts—this is especially the case with the list for book IV. We have normalized orthography throughout (with the exception of the list for the B version of book II, which survives in only one witness), and we have used an asterisk to mark a *lectio incerta*. Besides the questions, we have listed all the explicits to each book.

In addition to providing the list of questions, after every question we have indicated where it is to be found in the manuscripts containing it, along with notes about any major anomalies in the text of the question in any particular manuscript (e.g., incomplete text; that the question's beginning is unmarked or difficult to find); the manuscripts are listed in alphabetical order, unless a group of manuscripts exhibits some shared characteristic (e.g., an omitted question) in which case the group is listed all together in first place (see, e.g., IV, q. 8). Whenever applicable we have also indicated any edition of a significant part of the question (*Ed.*) and any studies taking the question into account (*Lit.*). We list no secondary source twice; thus, if a work contains an edition of a question, it should be taken for granted that it may also contain a study of the text edited, despite the fact that we do not explicitly indicate this. Conversely, many studies contain excerpts from the question being analyzed. Note that we refer to secondary sources with abbreviated titles; for full references see the notes to this introduction.

The question list is arranged in the following order:

- 1) *Principia* (DJKMVa)
- 2) *Scriptum super primum librum Sententiarum* (ACEFLMNORSUVWXYZ)
- 3) *Reportatio super primum librum Sententiarum* (ABeCEHLQRVcX)
- 4) *Reportatio A super secundum librum Sententiarum* (ABCDGFHKLNPVTWYZ)
- 5) *Reportatio B super secundum librum Sententiarum* (E)
- 6) *Reportatio super tertium librum Sententiarum* (ABCEFHKJKNPTWYZ)
- 7) *Reportatio super quartum librum Sententiarum* (ABCDEHKPVbWXYZ)

PRINCIPIA

I) Quaeritur utrum ens simpliciter simplex possit esse subiectum alicuius scientiae. Quod non . . . Respondeo: in ista quaestione sic est procedendum: primo videbitur quid sit simplex simpliciter in generali; secundo utrum simpliciter simplex compatitur secum aliquam non-identitatem ex natura rei; tertio utrum simpliciter simplex compatiatur secum aliquam distinctionem ex natura rei; quarto ex his utrum talis non-identitas et distinctio sufficiat ad rationem scientiae. . . .

M 3ra–10rb.

IV) Circa principium quarti quaero utrum aliqua virtus sacramentalis possit cooperari instrumentaliter ad gratiae creationem. Et videtur quod sic. . . . Respondeo: in ista quaestione sunt videnda tria secundum tria quae continentur in ipsa, scilicet subiectum, praedicatum, et medium copulans utrumque. Et ideo primo videndum est quid sit virtus sacramentalis quae ponitur in subiecto quaestionis; secundo quid sit creatio gratiae quae ponitur in praedicato; et tertio quid sit cooperari instrumentaliter quod ponitur in compositione utriusque. Et quarto ex his videbitur utrum aliqua virtus sacramentalis. . . .

D 36ra–37vb (incomplete; ends in a. 3); *M* 10rb–14ra.

II) Circa secundum librum quaero utrum creatio sit demonstrabilis. Quod non . . . Respondeo: hic sunt duo videnda: primo quid sit creatio; secundo utrum sit demonstrabilis. . . .

M 14rb–19rb.

III) Circa tertium quaero utrum Verbum divinum absque contradictione potuerit assumere individuum generis subalterni praeter individuum speciei specialissimae. Et videtur quod non. . . . Respondeo: hic sunt tria videnda. Primo in quibus habeat locum vera contradictio; secundo utrum individuum generis ex natura rei distinguatur ab individuo speciei; tertio utrum absque aliqua contradictione Verbum potuerit assumere individuum generis sine individuo speciei . . . non est ordo simpliciter essentialis sed accidentalis, sicut patet III *Metaphysicae*.

J 89ra–92ra; *K* 176v–187r, *M* 19rb–24ra; *Va* 211va–214vb (preceded by *collatio* “Verbum caro factum est . . .” on 211ra–va).

(For the possibility that *P* contains Marchia's *Principium* on III, see the discussion of book III in the introduction above.)

SCRIPTUM SUPER PRIMUM LIBRUM SENTENTIARUM

Question explicits are taken from *ACFLMNORUVYZ* (we have not had *S* available to us; in qq. 20–22 and 24 explicits in *W* agree with all other manuscripts consulted). We have given explicits primarily to differentiate between manuscripts containing “complete” and those containing “truncated” texts of questions. Where more than one explicit is presented, the first represents what we take to be the end of the fullest version of the text; the second (and third) is the explicit of any truncated versions. In most cases we have attempted to estimate the amount of text missing from the truncated versions; see the manuscript notes to the individual questions for this information (when *ACL* share an explicit, see the note to *C* for the approximate extent of the missing text; when *RY* share an explicit, see the note to *R*).

Prologue

1) Quaeritur utrum theologia sit de Deo tamquam de primo subiecto. Videtur quod non . . . per interemptionem minoris.

A 126vb–128vb; *C* 5ra–6rb; *E* (cf. *I Reportatio*, q. 8); *F* 169ra–170rb; *L* 4vb–6vb; *M* 24ra–26rb; *N* 1ra–3ra; *O* 3ra–va; *R* deest; *S* 1ra–2ra; *U* 3ra–4va; *V* 1ra–2rb; *Y* 1ra–2rb; *Z* 3ra–4rb.
Ed.: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 377–88 (App. IV, 1.1).

2) Quaeritur utrum aliqua alia scientia ab ista sit de Deo tamquam de primo subiecto. Et videtur quod non . . . de quolibet numero.

A 128vb–131va; *C* 6rb–8rb; *E* (cf. *I Reportatio*, q. 11); *F* 170rb–172ra; *L* 6vb–10ra; *M* 26rb–29vb; *N* 3ra–6ra; *O* 3va–4va; *R* deest; *S* 2ra–3vb; *U* 4va–6va; *V* 2rb–4va; *Y* 2rb–4rb; *Z* 4rb–6rb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 361–76 (App. III, 1.1).

3) Quaeritur utrum theologia nobis revelata a Deo sit scientia proprie dicta. Videtur quod non. . . Responso: hic possunt formari tres quaestiones. Prima quaestio: utrum theologia viae procedat ex per se notis vel tantum ex creditis. Et quod tantum ex creditis videtur. . . Secunda quaestio quae potest hic formari: utrum theologia viae procedat ex veris necessariis vel tantum ex veris contingentibus. Non ex veris necessariis videtur. . . Quod autem non ex utrisque videtur, quia ex necessariis et contingentibus. . . Ad quaestionem principalem . . . respectu alterius requiratur [fides et add. *ACL*] habitus scientificus (*ACLMNRUVYZ*) sunt revelata a prima causa veritatis etc. (*O*)/ certitudinem quam opinio (*F*).⁴³

A 131va–135ra; *C* 8ra–9vb (ends on “natura subiecti et praedicati”; text completed in marg. inf.); *F* 172ra–173va (omits ca. 30+ lines of text); *L* 10ra–12va; *M* 29vb–32vb; *N* 6ra–8vb; *O* 4va–5va (omits last ca. 7 lines of full text); *R* 121rb–124ra; *S* 3vb–5rb; *U* 6va–8ra (ends

⁴³ Kürzinger, *Alfonsus Vargas*, 60, lists as the third *quaestio* of the three that Marchia says can be formed here: “utrum theologia nobis revelata sit habitus scientificus in nobis,” but in *L* this seems to be merely a restatement of the principal question as part of Marchia’s response to that: “Responso: ista quaestio non quaerit de theologia viae acquisita vel possibili acquiri per ingenium humanum, quia talen habitum posset acquirere unus infidelis, sed quaerit praecise de theologia nobis revelata; nec quaerit de theologia revelata in se, sed quantum ad nos, utrum scilicet theologia nobis revelata sit habitus scientificus in nobis” (*L* 10va). Thus it appears that the third question that Marchia had in mind is the principal question (this is born out in other manuscripts as well).

on *F* explicit; text completed in marg. inf.); *V* 4va–6va; *Y* 4rb–6ra; *Z* 6rb–8rb. *Lit.*: Lang, *Die Wege*, 89–97 (from *L*); Kürzinger, *Alfonso Vargas*, pp. 141–46, 158–63 (from *L*).

4) Quaeritur utrum scientia dicatur practica ab operatione elicita intellectus vel ab operatione imperata. Et quod ab operatione elicita videtur . . . practica non indifferens (*FMNORUVYZ*)/ ex defectu subiecti (*ACL*).

A 135ra–136rb; *C* 9vb–10va (ends in 6-line gap; omits last ca. 15 lines of full text); *F* 173va–174va; *L* 12va–13vb; *M* 32vb–34rb; *N* 8vb–10rb; *O* 5va–6ra; *R* 124ra–125rb; *S* 5rb–6ra; *U* 8ra–9ra (ends on *ACL* explicit; text completed in marg. inf.); *V* 6va–7vb; *Y* 6ra–7ra; *Z* 8rb–9rb.

5) Secundo quaeritur utrum scientia practica et speculativa distinguantur per se et primo ex obiecto vel ex fine. Et quod ex obiecto videtur . . . non ex parte obiecti.

A 136rb–137vb; *C* 10va–11vb; *E* (cf. I *Reportatio*, q. 4); *F* 174va–175va; *L* 13vb–15va; *M* 34rb–36rb; *N* 10rb–12ra; *O* 6ra–va (missing last 5 words of text); *R* 125rb–127ra; *S* 6ra–7ra; *U* 9ra–10rb; *V* 7vb–9ra; *Y* 7ra–8rb; *Z* 9rb–10va.

6) Quaeritur utrum theologia nobis revelata sit practica vel speculativa. Et quod practica videtur . . . qualiter servire Deo debeamus (*FMNOVZ*)/ si sit practica (*ACLRUY*).

A 137vb–139ra; *C* 11vb–12vb (ends in 13-line gap; omits last ca. 50 lines of full text); *E* (cf. I *Reportatio*, q. 7); *F* 175va–176va; *L* 15va–17ra; *M* 36rb–38ra; *N* 12ra–13va; *O* 6va–7ra; *R* 127rb–128rb (11-line gap at 128rb and 14-line gap at 128va); *S* 7ra–8ra; *U* 10rb–11ra; *V* 9ra–10rb; *Y* 8rb–9ra (9- and 11-line gaps on 9ra); *Z* 10va–11va.

Distinctio 1

7) Circa d. 1^{am} quaero primo utrum actus volendi et actus nolendi differant specie. Videatur quod non . . . rationibus formalibus sicut ex praemissis patet et expressius patebit inferius [sicut . . . inferius *om.* *ACL*] (*ACFLMNOUVZ*)/ requirit actus contrarios (*RY*).

A 139ra–va; *C* 12vb–13rb (ends on *RY* explicit, followed by 12-line gap; text completed in marg.); *E* (cf. I *Reportatio*, q. 15); *F* 176va–177ra; *L* 17ra–va; *M* 38ra–vb; *N* 13va–14ra; *O* 7ra–b; *R* 128va–129ra (omits last ca. 6 lines of full text); *S* 8ra–b; *U* 11ra–va (ends on *RY* explicit; text completed in marg.); *V* 10rb–vb; *Y* 9ra–va; *Z* 11va–12ra.

8) Secundo quaeritur utrum in voluntate sit aliquis actus tertius praeter actum volendi et nolendi realiter distinctus ab utroque. Et videtur quod non . . . affirmandi et negandi (*ACFLMNOUVZ*)/ unus actus non est alias (*RY*).

A 139va–140rb; *C* 13rb–vb (ends on *RY* explicit, followed by 11-line gap; text completed in marg.); *E* (cf. I *Reportatio*, q. 16); *F* 177ra–va; *L* 17va–18rb; *M* 38vb–39vb; *N* 14ra–15ra; *O* 7rb–va; *R* 129ra–130ra (omits last ca. 6 lines of full text); *S* 8rb–vb; *U* 11va–12ra (ends on *RY* explicit; text completed in marg.); *V* 10vb–11va; *Y* 9va–10ra; *Z* 12ra–vb.

9) Tertio quaeritur utrum prima libertas voluntatis consistat in actu volendi et nolendi vel in ipso actu tertio voluntatis. Et quod in actu tertio videtur . . . primus actus simpliciter (*ACFLMNOUVZ*)/ de libertate contradictionis (*RY*).

A 140rb–141rb; *C* 13vb–14va (ends on *RY* explicit, followed by 9-line gap; text completed in marg.); *E* (cf. I *Reportatio*, q. 17); *F* 177va–178rb; *L* 18rb–19rb; *M* 39vb–40vb; *N* 15ra–vb; *O* 7va–b; *R* 130ra–vb (omits last ca. 8 lines of full text); *S* 8vb–9rb; *U* 12ra–va (ends on *RY* explicit; text completed in marg.); *V* 11va–12rb; *Y* 10ra–vb; *Z* 12vb–13rb.

10) Quarto quaeritur utrum libertas contradictionis primo respiciat actum volendi per modum actus vel per modum obiecti. Et quod primo per modum obiecti videtur . . . de productione Spiritus Sancti (*ACLMNUVZ*)/ participatione alterius actus. Et sic ad illud (*FORY*).

A 141rb–142ra; *C* 14va–15rb; *F* 178rb–vb (omits last 4 words of *RY* explicit); *L* 19rb–20rb; *M* 40vb–41vb; *N* 15vb–16vb; *O* 7vb–8ra (omits last 4 words of *RY* explicit); *R* 130vb–131vb

(omits last ca. 5 lines of full text); *S* 9rb–vb; *U* 12va–13rb (ends on *RY* explicit; text completed in marg.); *V* 12rb–13ra; *Y* 10vb–11rb; *Z* 13rb–14ra.

11) *Quinto quaeritur utrum libertas contradictionis voluntatis respiciat necessario actum volendi finem. Et quod non videtur . . . et contingenter conservat.*

A 142ra–144ra; *C* 15rb–16va; *F* 178vb–180ra; *L* 20rb–22rb; *M* 41vb–44ra (note in marg.: “*Hic mutatum est exemplar*”); *N* 16vb–18vb; *O* 8ra–vb; *R* 131vb–133vb; *S* 9vb–10vb; *U* 13rb–14va; *V* 13ra–14va; *Y* 11rb–12va; *Z* 14ra–15rb.

12) *Sexto quaeritur utrum libertas contradictionis se extendat ad actum volendi ultimum finem in Patria. Et videtur quod non . . . per hoc ad probationes.*

A 144ra–146vb; *C* 16va–18va (ends in 30-line gap); *E* 102vb–104vb; *F* 180ra–182ra; *L* 22rb–25ra; *M* 44rb–47vb (ends with note “*deficiunt solutiones*”); *N* 18vb–21va; *O* 8vb–9va; *R* 133vb–136vb; *S* 10vb–12va; *U* 14va–16vb; *V* 14va–17ra; *Y* 12va–14vb; *Z* 15rb–17rb.

13) *Septimo quaeritur utrum voluntas creata viatoris eodem actu velit finem et illud quod est ad finem. Et videtur quod sic . . . sed tantum in habitu iuxta hoc quaeratur consimiliter de principio et conclusione utrum intelligatur simul vel non [iuxta . . . non om. *ACL*].*

A 146vb–150va; *C* 18vb–21rb; *E* (cf. *I Reportatio*, q. 14); *F* 182ra–184rb; *L* 25ra–28vb; *M* 47vb–52ra; *N* 21va–25ra; *O* 9va–10vb; *R* 136vb–140va; *S* 12va–14va; *U* 16vb–19rb; *V* 17ra–19vb; *Y* 14vb–17ra; *Z* 17rb–19va. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 525–42 (App. VII, 2.1).

14) *Occasione dictorum quaeritur utrum intellectus in ultimo instanti discursus syllogistici in quo intelligit conclusionem, intelligat actu praemissas. Videtur quod sic . . . quae sunt ad finem.*

A 150va–153ra; *C* 21rb–23rb; *E* (cf. *I Reportatio*, q. 13); *F* 184rb–185vb; *L* 28vb–31vb; *M* 52ra–55rb; *N* 25ra–28ra; *O* 10vb–11vb; *R* 140va–143rb; *S* 14va–15vb (followed on 15vb–16ra by what appears to be q. 14 of Marchia’s *I Reportatio*); *U* 19rb–21rb; *V* 19vb–22rb; *Y* 17ra–19ra; *Z* 19va–21va. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 304–16 (App. I, 2.1).

15) *Ultimo circa distinctionem primam quaeritur utrum voluntas eodem actu quo vult finem delectetur in eo. Quod sic videtur . . . est gratia alterius, igitur habet aliam operationem praeter dilectionem [igitur . . . dilectionem om. *FMORY*, in marg. *U*].*

A 153ra–154ra; *C* 23rb–24ra (ends in 2-column gap); *E* 102ra–vb; *F* 185vb–186rb; *L* 31vb–32va; *M* 55rb–56ra; *N* 28ra–vb; *O* 11vb–12ra; *R* 143rb–144rb; *S* 16ra–va; *U* 21rb–vb; *V* 22rb–vb; *Y* 19ra–vb; *Z* 21va–22ra.

Distinctio 2

16) *Circa d. 2^{am}, in qua Magister agit de Dei unitate et personarum pluralitate, quaeritur primo utrum in universitate entium sit dare aliquod ens universaliter perfectum. Et videtur quod non . . . dare talem imperfectionem (*FMNOVZ*)/ causa multorum virtualiter (*ACL*)/ ab ente primo (*ERUY*).*

A 154ra–156va; *C* 24va–26rb (omits last 22 lines; explicit = Mariani, p. 426, l. 475); *E* 104vb–106va; *F* 186rb–188ra; *L* 32va–35ra; *M* 56ra–59va; *N* 28vb–31va; *O* 12ra–vb; *R* 144rb–146va (omits last 62 lines; explicit = Mariani, p. 425, l. 435); *S* 16va–18ra; *U* 21vb–23vb; *V* 22vb–25ra; *Y* 19vb–21rb; *Z* 22ra–24rb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 414–27 (App. IV, 3.1).

17) *Secundo quaeritur utrum ex causalitate ultimi finis omnium possit concludi sufficienter causalitas primi efficientis omnium. Et videtur quod non . . . ad ipsum finaliter quia si (*ACFLNORUVYZ*).*

A 156va–159vb; *C* 26rb–28va (ends in 1-column gap); *E* 106va–108vb (cf. *I Reportatio*, q. 22, a. 3); *F* 188ra–190ra; *L* 35ra–38va; *M* 59va–62ra (ends on “*sola causa finalis*”; omits ca. 2 columns of text); *N* 31va–34vb; *O* 12vb–14ra; *R* 146va–150ra; *S* 18ra–20ra; *U* 23vb–26rb;

V 25ra–28ra; Y 21rb–23va; Z 24rb–26va. *Lit.:* Maier, *Metaphysische Hintergründe*, 283–84 n. 18 (from C).

18) Tertio quaeritur utrum ex infinitate motus extensiva possit concludi infinitas virtutis intensiva in primo motore. Et quod sic videtur . . . ut dictum est superius expresse (FMNOVZ) patet in praecedenti articulo quod movere per tempus infinitum non est infinitae virtutis intensivae [quod movere . . . intensivae *om.* U] (ACLRUY).

A 159vb–163vb; *C* 28vb–31va (ends in 7-line gap; omits last 11 lines of full text, explicit = Mariani, l. 640); *F* 190ra–192vb; *L* 38va–42va; *M* 62ra–66va (beginning unmarked, omits beginning of question); *N* 34vb–38vb; *O* 14ra–15rb; *R* 150ra–154rb; *S* 20ra–22rb; *U* 26rb–29rb; *V* 28ra–31rb; *Y* 23va–26rb; *Z* 26va–29rb. *Ed.:* Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 543–60 (App. IX, 1.1). *Lit.:* Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, 68–69 (from C), and *Metaphysische Hintergründe*, 250–55 (from C); C. Schabel, “On the Threshold of Inertial Mass? Francesco d’Appignano on Resistance and Infinite Velocity” (forthcoming).

19) Occasione dictorum in praecedenti quaestione, quaero utrum prima causa possit producere extra se aliquem effectum actu infinitum. Videtur quod non . . . simpliciter minor illa.

A 163vb–166vb; *C* 31va–33va (ends in 17-line gap); *F* 192vb–194va; *L* 42va–45va; *M* 66va–69vb; *N* 38vb–41vb; *O* 15rb–16va; *R* 154rb–157va; *S* 22rb–24ra; *U* 29rb–31rb; *V* 31rb–33vb; *Y* 26rb–28rb; *Z* 29rb–31rb. *Ed.:* Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, 68–69 (from C); Schneider, “Eine ungedruckte Quästio,” 103 (from C).

Distinctio 3

20) Circa d. 3^{am}, ubi Magister agit de cognitione Dei ex creaturis, quaero primo quid est illud quod intellectus noster primo attingit de substantia sensibili; et secundo quid attingit de accidentibus; et tertio quid attingit de ipso Deo. Prima igitur quaestio est utrum intellectus noster naturaliter habeat aliquem conceptum proprium de substantia sensibili vel non. Et videtur quod sic . . . patet per praedicta.

A 166vb–168va; *C* 33va–34vb; *F* 194va–195va; *L* 45va–47rb; *M* 69vb–71vb; *N* 41vb–43rb; *O* 16va–17ra; *R* 157va–159ra; *S* 24ra–vb; *U* 31rb–32va; *V* 33vb–35rb; *W* 228ra–229va; *Y* 28rb–29va; *Z* 31rb–32rb. *Ed.:* Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 507–15 (App. VII, 1.1).

21) Secundo quaero utrum substantia prius intelligatur a nobis quam accidens. Et quod sic videtur . . . accidens non substantia.

A 168va–169rb; *C* 34vb–35va (ends in 10-line gap); *F* 195va–196rb; *L* 47rb–48rb; *M* 71vb–72vb; *N* 43rb–44rb; *O* 17ra–b; *R* 159ra–160rb (initial missing); *S* 24vb–25rb; *U* 32va–33rb; *V* 35rb–36ra; *W* 229va–230va; *Y* 29va–30ra; *Z* 32rb–33ra.

22) Tertio quaeritur utrum intellectus noster habeat de accidentibus naturaliter aliquem conceptum proprium essentiali. Quod non videtur . . . sua principia superiora.

A 169rb–170va; *C* 35va–36rb (ends in 9-line gap); *F* 196rb–197ra; *L* 48rb–49va; *M* 72vb–74rb; *N* 44va–45va; *O* 17rb–vb; *R* 160rb–161rb; *S* 25rb–26ra; *U* 33rb–34rb; *V* 36ra–37ra; *W* 230va–231va; *Y* 30ra–31ra; *Z* 33ra–vb.

*22a) Quarto utrum intellectus noster prius natura intelligat universale quam singulare. Quod universale videtur . . . ibi addere “fere” (ACL).

FMNORSUVYZ deest; *A* 170va–172ra; *C* 36rb–37va; *L* 49va–51ra. *Ed.:* Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 516–24 (App. VII, 1.2).

23) Circa secundam partem tertiae distinctionis quaero utrum Trinitas personarum possit concludi ex creaturis. Videtur quod sic, quia vestigium . . . in via [hoc patetur, sed hoc non patitur *add.* ACL] ut experimur.

A 172rb–173vb; *C* 37va–38va (ends on “quod videtur inconveniens”; text completed in

marg.); *F* 197ra–198ra; *L* 51ra–52vb; *M* 74rb–76ra; *N* 45va–47rb; *O* 17vb–18rb; *R* 161va–163ra; *S* 26ra–27ra; *U* 34rb–35rb (ends on “quod est inconveniens”; text completed in marg.); *V* 37ra–38va; *Y* 31ra–32ra; *Z* 33vb–34vb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 351–59 (App. II, 1.1).

Distinctio 4

24) Circa d. 4^{am}, ubi Magister agit quomodo Pater genuit Filium, quaero utrum formalis terminus generationis divinae sit essentia vel relatio vel suppositum. Quod non relatio videtur . . . nec secundum rationem.

A 173vb–177vb; *C* 38va–41rb; *F* 198ra–200vb; *L* 52vb–56vb; *M* 76ra–80va; *N* 47rb–51va; *O* 18rb–19vb; *R* 163ra–166va; *S* 27ra–29ra; *U* 35rb–38rb; *V* 38va–41vb; *W* 231vb–235ra; *Y* 32ra–34vb; *Z* 34vb–37va. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 324–45 (App. I, 3.1).

Distinctio 6

25) Circa d. 6^{am}, ubi Magister agit utrum Pater genuerit Filium voluntate, quaero utrum actualis volitio Filii praesupponatur in Patre eius generationi. Et videtur quod sic . . . de distinctione attributorum.

A 177vb–179rb; *C* 41rb–42rb; *F* 200vb–201vb; *L* 56vb–58rb; *M* 80va–82rb; *N* 51va–53ra; *O* 19vb–20rb; *R* 166va–169rb; *S* 29ra–vb; *U* 38rb–39va; *V* 41vb–43ra; *Y* 34vb–35vb; *Z* 37va–38va.

Distinctio 7

26) Circa d. 7^{am}, quaero utrum Filius in divinis possit generare alium Filium. Quod sic videtur . . . in primo et secundo articulo.

A 179rb–181vb; *C* 43va–44rb; *F* 201vb–203rb; *L* 58va–61rb; *M* 82rb–85rb; *N* 53ra–55vb; *O* 20rb–21rb; *R* 169rb–172rb; *S* 30ra–31rb; *U* 39va–41va (ends on “ab alio simpliciter”; text completed in marg.); *V* 43ra–45rb; *Y* 35vb–37va; *Z* 38va–40rb.

Distinctio 8

27) Circa d. 8^{am}, ubi Magister agit de immutabilitate Dei, quaero primo utrum ens independens subiective ab alio habeat aliquid commune univocum cum dependentibus ab ipso. Et videtur quod non . . . uno secundum intellectum.

A 181vb–184rb; *C* 44rb–46rb; *F* 203rb–205rb; *L* 61rb–64ra; *M* 85rb–88va; *N* 55vb–58vb; *O* 21rb–22rb; *R* 172rb–175rb; *S* 31rb–32vb; *U* 41va–43va (ends on “intentione communi entis”; text completed in marg.); *V* 45rb–47vb; *Y* 37va–39rb; *Z* 40rb–42ra. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 429–43 (App. V, 1.1).

28) Secundo quaero utrum ens simpliciter independens ab alio effective habeat aliquid commune univocum cum aliis entibus ab ipso dependentibus. Quod sic videtur . . . ens quam creatura.

A 184rb–190rb; *C* 46rb–50rb; *F* 205rb–208vb; *L* 64ra–69vb; *M* 88va–95rb; *N* 58vb–64vb; *O* 22rb–24rb; *R* 175rb–181va; *S* 32vb–35vb; *U* 43va–48ra (ends on “concludo ad principium”; text completed in marg.); *V* 47vb–52va; *Y* 39rb–43ra; *Z* 42ra–45vb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 477–505 (App. VI, 1.1–3), omits a. 2.

Distinctio 10

29) Circa d. 10^{am}, ubi Magister agit de processione Spiritus Sancti, quaero utrum Spiritus Sanctus procedat a Patre et Filio libere vel naturaliter. Et quod naturaliter videtur . . . necessitas repugnat libertati.

A 190rb–192va; *C* 50rb–51vb; *F* 208vb–210rb; *L* 69vb–72ra; *M* 95rb–97vb; *N* 64vb–66vb; *O* 24rb–25ra; *R* 181va–183vb; *S* 35vb–37ra; *U* 48ra–49vb; *V* 52va–54rb; *Y* 43ra–44rb; *Z* 45vb–47rb. *Lit.*: Schmaus, *Der Liber propugnatorius*, 243–44 (from *V*).

Distinctio 11

30) Circa d. 11^{am}, in qua Magister agit de modo procedendi Spiritus Sancti, quaero utrum productio Spiritus Sancti distinguatur a productione Filii ratione productivi principii vel aliunde. Et quod aliunde videtur . . . ut dictum est (ACFLMORVYZ) naturaliter spirat active (U).

A 192va–195ra; *C* 51vb–53rb (ends on *U* explicit; text completed in marg. inf.); *F* 210rb–211vb; *L* 72ra–74rb; *M* 97vb–100rb; *N* 66vb–69ra (omits last 14 words of full text); *O* 25ra–vb; *R* 183vb–186va; *S* 37ra–38rb; *U* 49vb–51rb (omits last ca. 40 lines of full text); *V* 54rb–56va; *Y* 44rb–45vb; *Z* 47rb–49ra. *Ed.*: Partial in Friedman, “Francis of Marchia,” 45–56. *Lit.*: Schmaus, *Der Liber propugnatorius*, 354 (from *V*).

Distinctio 12

31) Circa d. 12^{am}, ubi Magister agit de processione [ordine processionis *ACL*] Spiritus Sancti a Patre et Filio, quaero utrum Spiritus Sanctus per prius procedat a Patre quam a Filio. Et videtur quod sic . . . de prioritate originis (FMNORUVYZ) a Patre quam a Filio (*ACL*).

A 195ra–197va; *C* 53rb–54vb (ends in 20-line gap; omits last ca. 5 lines of full text); *F* 211vb–213rb; *L* 74rb–76vb; *M* 100rb–103ra; *N* 69ra–71rb; *O* 25vb–26vb; *R* 186va–189ra; *S* 38rb–39rb; *U* 51rb–53ra; *V* 56va–58rb; *Y* 45vb–47rb; *Z* 49ra–50vb.

Distinctio 13

32) Circa d. 13^{am} quaero utrum Pater et Filius spirent Spiritum Sanctum naturaliter vel libere. Et quod naturaliter videtur . . . sed libertate contradictionis.

A 197va–200ra; *C* 54vb–56va (ends on “sanctis patribus” with 25-line gap; text completed in marg.); *F* 213rb–215ra; *L* 76vb–79rb; *M* 103ra–105vb; *N* 71rb–73vb; *O* 26vb–27va; *R* 189ra–192ra; *S* 39rb–40vb; *U* 53ra–54vb; *V* 58rb–60va; *Y* 47rb–49ra; *Z* 50vb–52va.

Distinctio 17

33) Circa d. 17^{am}, ubi Magister agit de dilectione Dei, quaero primo utrum habitus charitatis sit ratio necessaria ad vitam aeternam. Et videtur quod sic . . . homines salvos fieri.

A 200rb–201va; *C* 56va–57vb; *F* 215ra–216ra; *L* 79rb–81ra; *M* 106ra–107vb; *N* 73vb–75ra; *O* 27va–28rb; *R* 192ra–193vb; *S* 40vb–42ra (may contain next question with beginning unmarked); *U* 54vb–56ra; *V* 60va–61vb; *Y* 49ra–50ra; *Z* 52va–53va. *Lit.*: Dettloff, *Die Entwicklung*, 190–92 (from *V*).

34) Secundo iuxta hoc quaeritur utrum habitus charitatis sit necessarius ad salutem viatoris. Et videtur quod non . . . oppositum gravius peccat.

A 201vb–202va; *C* 57vb–58rb; *F* 216ra–va; *L* 81ra–82ra; *M* 107vb–108vb (beginning unmarked); *N* 75ra–76ra; *O* 28rb–va; *R* 193vb–194vb (beginning unmarked); *S* deest? (see q. 33); *U* 56ra–vb; *V* 61vb–62va; *Y* 50ra–va; *Z* 53va–54rb. *Lit.*: Dettloff, *Die Entwicklung*, 190–92 (from *V*).

35) Tertio quaeritur utrum in augmentatione charitatis gradus charitatis praecedens maneat in adventu sequentis gradus. Et videtur quod non . . . ex actu priori.

A 202va–203vb; *C* 58rb–59vb; *F* 216va–217va; *L* 82ra–83va; *M* 108vb–110rb; *N* 76ra–77rb; *O* 28va–29ra; *R* 194vb–196rb (beginning unmarked); *S* 42ra–vb; *U* 56vb–57vb; *V* 62va–63vb; *Y* 50va–51va (beginning unmarked); *Z* 54rb–55rb. *Lit.*: Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 51 (from *V*), 328 (from *C*).

36) Deinde quaeritur de augmento charitatis, utrum charitas augeatur per essentiam.

Et videtur quod non . . . nisi in subiecto [et hanc ille intendit *add. ACL*].

A 204ra–va; *C* 59rb–vb (ends on “sicut et difficile”; text completed in marg.); *F* 217va–218ra; *L* 83va–84rb; *M* 110rb–111ra; *N* 77rb–vb; *O* 29ra–b; *R* 196rb–197rb; *S* 42vb–43rb; *U* 57vb–58va; *V* 63vb–64rb; *Y* 51va–52ra; *Z* 55rb–vb.

37) Tertio quaeritur utrum charitas augeatur per additionem vel per simplicem actuationem. Et videtur quod per actuationem . . . maius perfectione intensiva.

A 204va–207vb; *C* 59vb–62ra (ends in 12-line gap); *F* 218ra–220ra; *L* 84rb–87vb; *M* 111ra–114va; *N* 77vb–80va; *O* 29rb–30va; *R* 197rb–200va; *S* 43rb–45ra; *U* 58va–60va; *V* 64rb–67ra; *Y* 52ra–54ra; *Z* 55vb–57vb.

Distinctio 18

38) Circa d. 18^{am}, ubi Magister quaerit an Spiritus Sanctus sit donum, quaero utrum donum sit proprium Spiritus Sancti. Et videtur quod non . . . cognoscere Trinitatem personarum.

A 207vb–209vb; *C* 62ra–63rb (ends in 17-line gap); *F* 220ra–221rb; *L* 87vb–90ra; *M* 114va–116va; *N* 80vb–82va; *O* 30va–31rb; *R* 200va–202vb; *S* 45ra–46ra; *U* 60va–62ra; *V* 67ra–68va; *Y* 54ra–55rb; *Z* 57vb–59rb.

Distinctio 19

39) Circa d. 19^{am} quaero utrum una persona divina sit in alia convertibiliter. Et quod non videtur . . . est secundum quid.

A 209vb–210ra; *C* 63va–b (ends on “mutuo ad invicem” with 1-column gap; text completed in marg. inf.); *F* 221rb–va; *L* 90ra–b; *M* 116vb–117rb; *N* 82va–b; *O* 31rb; *R* 202vb–203ra (two columns blank after text); *S* 46ra–b; *U* 62ra–b (ends on “mutuo ad invicem”, text completed in marg.); *V* 68va–69ra; *Y* 55rb–va (text ends, then gap until 56ra); *Z* 59rb–va.

Distinctio 20

40) Circa d. 20^{am}, ubi Magister agit de aequalitate divinarum personarum, quaero utrum divinae personae sint aequales secundum perfectionem. Et videtur quod non . . . patet per praedicta.

A 210ra–214vb; *C* 64ra–67rb (ends in 11-line gap); *F* 221va–224vb; *L* 90rb–95vb; *M* 117rb–122va; *N* 82vb–87ra; *O* 31rb–33ra; *R* 203va–208vb; *S* 46rb–48vb; *U* 62rb–66ra; *V* 69ra–73ra; *Y* 56ra–59ra; *Z* 59va–62vb.

Distinctio 21

41) Circa d. 21^{am}, ubi Magister agit de modo exclusionis divinarum personarum, quaero utrum haec sit vera: “solus Pater est Deus.” Et videtur quod sic . . . nemo novit filium nisi pater, verum est (*FMNORVYZ*)/ in definitione alterius (*ACL*).

A 214vb–216ra (ends with 4/5 column blank); *C* 67va–68rb (ends in one column + 18-line gap; omits last ca. 40 lines of full text); *F* 224vb–226ra; *L* 95vb–97rb (scribal note “hic est defectus notabilis”); *M* 122va–124va; *N* 87ra–88va; *O* 33ra–vb; *R* 208vb–210vb; *S* deest (missing quire); *U* 66ra–67ra; *V* 73ra–74vb; *Y* 59ra–60rb; *Z* 62vb–64ra.

Distinctio 22

42) Circa d. 22^{am}, ubi Magister agit de diversitate divinorum nominum secundum duplarem differentiam divinorum nominum, quaero duo principaliter. Primo utrum nomina dicta de Deo negative seu privative dicantur de ipso formaliter. Secundo utrum nomina dicta de Deo positive sive affirmative [sive affirmative *om. ACL*] dicantur de eo formaliter. Circa primum arguitur quod sic . . . ipso formaliter dicantur (*FMNORUVYZ*)/ circa se (*ACL*).

A 216rb–217va; *C* 68vb–69vb (ends with “Quaere A” and 27-line gap; omits last ca. 45 lines

of full text); *F* 226ra–227rb; *L* 97rb–99ra; *M* 124va–127ra; *N* 88va–90rb; *O* 33vb–34va; *R* 210vb–212vb; *S deest* (missing quire); *U* 67ra–68vb (ends on *ACL* explicit; text completed in marg. inf.); *V* 74vb–76va; *Y* 60rb–61va; *Z* 64ra–65rb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 389–97 (App. IV, 2.1), ends at *ACL* explicit.

43) *Ad secundum quaesitum arguitur quod dicta de Deo positive convenient sibi formaliter . . . eminenter vel indifferenter [et hoc dicitur ad illud quod prius arguebatur, etc. add. *FNOUVZ*].*

A 217va–219vb (beginning unmarked; 1/3 column blank after end of text); *C* 70ra–72rb (ends in 40-line gap); *F* 227rb–229va; *L* 99ra–102rb (beginning unmarked; 1/2 column blank after end of text); *M* 127ra–131ra; *N* 90rb–92vb; *O* 34va–35vb; *R* 212vb–216ra; *S deest* (missing quire); *U* 68vb–70vb; *V* 76va–79ra; *Y* 61va–63va; *Z* 65rb–67rb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 398–413 (App. IV, 2.2).

Distinctio 24

44) *Circa d. 24^{am}, ubi Magister agit de numero personarum et ceteris numeralibus, incipiendo a principio numerorum, quaero primo de uno quod est principium numeri utrum reperiatur in divinis vel non. Et quod non videtur . . . argumentum in oppositum.*

A 219vb–222rb (1/5 column blank after end of text); *C* 72rb–74va (ends in 12-line gap); *F* 229va–231va; *L* 102va–105va (15-line gap after end of text); *M* 131ra–134vb; *N* 92vb–95va; *O* 35vb–37ra; *R* 216ra–219rb; *S deest* (missing quire); *U* 70vb–73ra; *V* 79ra–81va; *Y* 63va–65rb; *Z* 67rb–69rb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 444–58 (App. V, 2.1).

45) *Secundo quaero utrum numerus in divinis sit forma absoluta vel respectiva. Et quod respectiva videtur . . . ad species numerorum.*

A 222rb–223rb (1/5 column blank after end of text); *C* 74va–75rb (ends in 16-line gap); *F* 231va–232va; *L* 105va–107ra (19-line gap after end of text); *M* 134vb–136rb; *N* 95va–96vb; *O* 37ra–va; *R* 219rb–220va; *S deest* (missing quire); *U* 73ra–74ra; *V* 81va–82va; *Y* 65rb–66ra; *Z* 69rb–70rb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 459–64 (App. V, 2.2).

46) *Tertio quaero utrum numerus in divinis sit formaliter extra animam. Et videtur quod sic . . . causa omnis creaturae.*

A 223rb–225ra; *C* 75rb–76vb (ends with “Quaere B” and 19-line gap); *F* 232va–234ra; *L* 107ra–109rb; *M* 136rb–138vb; *N* 96vb–98va; *O* 37va–38rb; *R* 220va–222vb; *S deest* (missing quire); *U* 74ra–75va; *V* 82va–84rb; *Y* 66ra–67rb; *Z* 70rb–71vb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 465–75 (App. V, 2.3).

Distinctio 25

47) *Circa d. 25^{am} et 26^{am}, ubi Magister agit de proprietatibus constitutivis personarum, quaero utrum divinae personae constituantur in esse personali per absoluta vel per respectiva. Et quod per absoluta videtur, quia prima supposita constituuntur in esse per primas rationes constitutivas. Sed supposita divina sunt prima supposita, et primae rationes constitutivae sunt absolutae, quia absolutum est prius respectivo. Igitur etc . . . actualitatem quam relatio [actualitatem quam illud, ideo etc. *RY*].*

A 225ra–b; *C* 76vb–77ra (ends in 2-column gap); *F* 234ra–va; *L* 109rb–vb; *M* 138vb–139rb; *N* 98va–99ra; *O* 38rb–va; *R* 222vb–223rb; *S deest* (missing quire); *U* 75va–76ra; *V* 84rb–va; *Y* 67rb–vb; *Z* 71vb–72ra. *Lit.*: Schmaus, *Der Liber propugnatorius*, 536 (from *V*).

Distinctio 26

48) *Circa d. 26^{am} [27^{am} *ACFLMNORUY*], ubi Magister agit de notionibus paternitatis et filiationis, quaero utrum paternitas et filiatio in divinis sint relationes reales vel rationis tantum. Et quod rationis videtur . . . dicta ecclesia approbat (*ACFLNORUVZ*)*

quia post actum generationis non plus (*MY*).

A 225va–227ra; *C* 77vb–79ra (ends with “Quaere C” and 27-line gap); *F* 234va–235vb; *L* 109vb–112ra; *M* 139va–140rb (omits last ca. 2/3 of the question); *N* 99ra–100vb; *O* 38va–39rb; *R* 223rb–224vb; *S* *deest* (missing quire); *U* 76ra–77va; *V* 84va–86rb; *Y* 67vb–68rb (gap after text until 68vb); *Z* 72ra–73rb.

Distinctio 27

49) Circa d. 27^{am} [28^{am} *ACLMRY*], ubi Magister quaerit utrum paternitas et generatio sit eadem notio, quaero utrum paternitas et generatio in divinis sint idem formaliter vel distincta. Et quod distincta videtur . . . patet per praedicta (*MNORVYZ*)/ et generationis activae (*U*)/ sapientia quam essentia (*ACL*).

A 227rb–228rb; *C* 79ra–80ra (ends with “Quaere D” and ca. 2-column gap; omits 121 lines of text; explicit = Friedman, 1. 240); *F* 235vb–237rb (ends on “saepe dictum est”; omits last 8 words of full text); *L* 112ra–113rb; *M* 140va–143ra; *N* 100vb–102vb; *O* 39rb–40ra; *R* 224vb–227ra; *S* *deest* (missing quire); *U* 77va–78va (omits 114 lines of text; explicit = Friedman, 1. 247); *V* 86rb–88ra; *Y* 68vb–70rb; *Z* 73rb–74rb. *Ed.*: Friedman, *In principio*, 555–63 (App. 10), ll. 1–362.

50) Circa secundam partem d. 27^{ae}, in qua Magister agit de Verbo et Spiritu Sancto, quaero utrum Verbum in divinis procedat a Patre per actum intellectus. Et videtur quod non . . . patet ex dictis (*FNORVYZ*)/ productionis ad intra (*M*)/ quam econverso etc. (*ACLU*).

A 228rb–230ra; *C* 80va–82ra (ends with “Quaere E” and 27-line gap; omits last 39 lines of full text; explicit = Friedman, 1. 746); *F* 237rb–239ra; *L* 113rb–115va; *M* 143ra–146ra (omits last 7 lines of full text; explicit = Friedman, 1. 777); *N* 102vb–105ra; *O* 40ra–41ra; *R* 227ra–229vb; *S* 49ra–vb (missing beginning of text; new quire on 49ra begins “Igitur causa ex hoc quod continet . . .” = a. 2, Mariani, p. 301, l. 211); *U* 78va–80ra; *V* 88ra–90ra; *Y* 70rb–72ra; *Z* 74vb–76rb. *Ed.*: Friedman, *In principio*, 563–72 (App. 10), ll. 363–785; Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 295–303 (App. I, 1.1), omits a. 3.

Distinctio 29

51) Circa d. 29^{am}, in qua Magister agit de ratione principii ad extra et ad intra, quaeruntur tria. Primo utrum tres personae sint unum principium productivum creaturae; secundo utrum Pater et Filius sint unum principium Spiritus Sancti. Et arguitur ad utramque quaestionem primo quod non . . . tertio quaero utrum “principium” dicatur univoce in Deo de principio ad intra et de principio ad extra. Et videtur quod non . . . idem penitus indistinctum (*FMNORVYZ*)/ in omni corpore (*ACLU*).

A 230ra–231ra; *C* 82rb–83ra (omits last ca. 13 lines of full text); *F* 239ra–vb; *L* 115va–116vb; *M* 146rb–148ra; *N* 105ra–106rb; *O* 41ra–va; *R* 229vb–231rb; *S* 49vb–50vb; *U* 80ra–81ra; *V* 90ra–91rb; *Y* 72ra–73ra; *Z* 76rb–77rb.

Distinctio 30

52) Circa d. 30^{am}, in qua Magister agit de relatione Dei ad creaturam, quaero utrum Dei ad creaturam sit aliqua relatio realis. Et videtur quod sic . . . realiter et non e converso (*FMNORVYZ*)/ in genere determinato (*ACLU*).

A 231ra–233ra; *C* 83ra–84vb (ends with “Quaere F” and 31-line gap; omits last ca. 40 lines of full text); *F* 239vb–241va; *L* 116vb–119rb; *M* 148ra–151va; *N* 106rb–108vb; *O* 41va–42va; *R* 231rb–234rb; *S* 50vb–52va; *U* 81ra–82va; *V* 91rb–93rb; *Y* 73ra–74vb; *Z* 77rb–79ra.

Distinctio 31

53) Circa d. 31^{am}, in qua Magister agit de relationibus communibus trium personarum,

quaero utrum identitas, similitudo, et aequalitas personarum divinarum sint relationes reales vel tantum rationis. Et quod reales videtur . . . relatio communis in Deo (ACFLNORVYZ)/ hoc album determinatur (M).

A 233rb–236vb; *C* 85ra–88rb (“Quaere G” on 87rb; 18-line gap on 87va; ends with 28-line gap); *F* 241va–244va; *L* 119rb–124ra; *M* 151va–156ra (omits ca. 1/4 of text; followed by 3 1/4 blank columns); *N* 108vb–112vb; *O* 42va–44rb; *R* 234rb–239va; *S* 52va–55va; *U* 82va–85vb (ends on “perfectionem sine imperfectione”; omits last 8 words of text); *V* 93rb–97va; *Y* 74vb–78ra; *Z* 79ra–82rb.

Distinctio 33

54) Circa d. 33^{am} quaero tria. Primo utrum relatio originis comparata ad essentiam divinam transeat realiter in ipsam; secundo utrum transeat formaliter in ipsam; tertio utrum transeat totaliter in ipsam. Et arguo per unicum membrum . . . et hoc est verum (FNORVYZ)/ transit secundum quid (ACLU).

A 236vb–238rb; *C* 88va–89vb (ends in 33-line gap; omits last ca. 40 lines of text); *F* 244va–246ra; *L* 124rb–126ra; *M* deest (blank; see q. 53); *N* 112vb–114va; *O* 44rb–45ra; *R* 239va–241vb; *S* 55va–56vb; *U* 85vb–87ra; *V* 97va–99rb; *Y* 78ra–79va; *Z* 82rb–83va.

Distinctio 34

55) Circa d. 34^{am} quaero tria. Primo utrum relatio in Deo sit totaliter eadem essentiae divinae; secundo utrum relatio sit totaliter eadem personae constitutae; tertio utrum essentia sit totaliter eadem personae. Et arguo per unicum membrum ad omnes quod sic . . . sive in primo modo (FNORUVYZ)/ ista distinctio non est per (ACLU).

A 238rb–239vb (small gap at end); *C* 89vb–91rb (ends with “Quaere H” and 7-line gap; omits last ca. 30 lines of text); *F* 246ra–247va; *L* 126ra–128rb; *M* deest (blank; see q. 53); *N* 114va–116rb; *O* 45ra–46ra; *R* 241vb–244va; *S* 56vb–58rb; *U* 87ra–88va (ends on ACL explicit; text completed in marg. inf.); *V* 99rb–101ra; *Y* 79va–81rb; *Z* 83va–85ra. *Lit.:* Schmaus, *Der Liber propugnatorius*, 536–37 (from V).

56) Occasione dictorum queritur utrum essentia divina et relatio distinguantur se ipsis. Et videtur quod non . . . simpliciter distincta secundum quid (ACFLMNORVYZ)/ ab essentia potest tamen distingui (U).

A 239vb–241rb; *C* 91rb–92vb (ends on *U* explicit; text completed in marg.); *F* 247va–248va; *L* 128va–130rb; *M* 157ra–159ra; *N* 116rb–117vb; *O* 46ra–va; *R* 244va–246rb; *S* 58rb–59rb; *U* 88va–89va (omits the last 8 lines of text = text in marg. *C*); *V* 101ra–102va; *Y* 81rb–82va; *Z* 85ra–vb.

Distinctio 35

57) Circa d. 35^{am}, in qua Magister agit de praescientia Dei respectu futurorum, quaero primo ex parte obiecti utrum futurum contingens antequam ponatur in esse sit determinatum in re ad alteram partem contradictionis. Et videtur quod non . . . stante indeterminatione de possibili (FMNORUVYZ)/ per istam potentiam (ACLU).

A 241rb–243ra; *C* 92va–94ra (ends in 15-line gap; omits last 16 lines of text in critical edition); *F* 248va–250ra; *L* 130rb–132va; *M* 159ra–162ra; *N* 117vb–119va; *O* 46va–47rb; *R* 246rb–249ra; *S* 59ra–60va; *U* 89va–91rb (ends on ACL explicit; text completed in marg.); *V* 102va–104rb; *Y* 82va–84ra; *Z* 85vb–87rb. *Ed.:* Schabel, “Il determinismo,” I, 69–95. *Lit.:* Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, 193–95, 199–204.

Distinctio 36

58) Circa d. 36^{am}, in qua Magister agit de notitia contingentium, quaero utrum effectus contingens sit determinate scibilis per causas contingentes. Et videtur quod non

. . . obiective et virtualiter (*FMNORUVYZ*)/ primo nec secundo (*ACL*).

A 243ra–246ra; *C* 94rb–96vb (ends in 37-line gap; omits last 15 lines of text in critical edition); *F* 250ra–252rb; *L* 132va–136vb; *M* 162ra–166vb; *N* 119va–122va; *O* 47rb–48vb; *R* 249ra–253rb; *S* 60va–63ra; *U* 91rb–93vb (ends on *ACL* explicit; text completed in marg.); *V* 104rb–107va; *Y* 84ra–86vb; *Z* 87rb–89va. *Ed.*: Schabel, “Il determinismo,” II, 18–44. *Lit.*: Schwamm, *Das göttliche Vorherwissen*, 241–46 (from *N* and *V*); Maier, *Die Vorläufer*, 241–44 (from *C*; Maier calls this d. 38); Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, 195–99, 204–7.

Distinctio 37

59) Circa d. 37^{am} [39^{am} *ACL*] quaero utrum in Deo sint ideae infinitae. Et videtur quod non . . . rationem essentiae inducantur (*FMNORUVYZ*)/ actum intellectus (*ACL*).

A 246vb–247rb (2/5 column blank); *C* 98rb–vb (ends with 2 2/3 column blank [99r blank]; most of this question is omitted); *F* 252rb–253rb; *L* 137vb–138rb (ends with note “hic deficit multum”); *M* 166vb–169rb; *N* 122va–124ra; *O* 48vb–49va; *R* 253rb–255va; *S* 63ra–64ra; *U* 94va–b (inserted after q. 60, to which it is related); *V* 107va–109ra; *Y* 86vb–88rb; *Z* 89va–90vb. *Ed.*: Schabel, “La dottrina sulla predestinazione” (forthcoming).

Distinctio 38

60) Circa d. 38^{am}, in qua Magister agit de praedestinatione et praescientia, quaero utrum praescientia Dei respectu futurorum contingentium imponat necessitatem libero arbitrio humano. Et videtur quod sic . . . modo praedictorum modorum (*FMNORUVYZ*)/ per ipsam (*ACL*).

A 246ra–vb; *C* 97ra–98ra (a full third of the text is omitted; “Quaere I” on 97va and 1-column gap; ends with “Quaere N” and 1/3-column gap); *F* 253rb–254rb; *L* 136vb–137vb; *M* 169rb–170vb; *N* 124ra–125rb; *O* 49va–50ra; *R* 255va–257rb; *S* 64ra–65ra; *U* 93vb–94va (first gap found in *C* is completed in *U* in marg. inf.); *V* 109ra–110rb; *Y* 88rb–89rb; *Z* 90vb–91vb. *Ed.*: Schabel, “Il determinismo,” II, 45–55. *Lit.*: Schwamm, *Das göttliche Vorherwissen*, 246–52 (from *N* and *V*); Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, 207.

Distinctio 40

61) Circa d. 40^{am} quaero utrum praedestinatio habeat aliquam causam ex parte praedicatorum. Et videtur quod sic . . . solutio per praedicta etc. (*FMORUVYZ*)/ operandum bonum (*ACL*).

A 247va–249va; *C* 99va–101rb (last seventh of the text is omitted; ends in gap); *F* 254rb–255vb; *L* 138rb–141ra; *M* 170vb–173va (1 1/3 column blank); *N* 125rb–127va (omits last line of full text); *O* 50ra–51ra; *R* 257va–260vb; *S* 65ra–67ra; *U* 94vb–96vb; *V* 110rb–113ra; *Y* 89rb–91va; *Z* 91vb–93vb. *Ed.*: Schabel, “La dottrina sulla predestinazione” (forthcoming).

Lit.: C. Schabel, “Parisian Commentaries from Peter Auriol to Gregory of Rimini, and the Problem of Predestination,” in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the “Sentences” of Peter Lombard*, ed. Evans, 1:229–35 (forthcoming).

F: Explicit primus liber Francisci de Marchia supra [!] *Sententias*.

MZ: Explicit Scriptum super primum *Sententiarum* Francisci de Marchia. Deo gratias. . .

N: Explicit primus *Sententiarum* fratris Francisci de Marchia Ordinis Fratrum Minorum.

O: Explicit primus magistri Francisci de Marchia. Deo gratias.

R: Explicit iste liber. Sit scriptor crimine liber.

S: Explicit primus liber *Sententiarum* magistri Francisci de Marchia Ordinis Fratrum Minorum.

U: Explicit primus magistri Francisci de Marchia de Ordine Minorum.

V: Et hoc de quaestione et de toto primo libro *Sententiarum*.

Y: Explicit Totum.

(*ACL* have no explicit/colophon.)

REPORTATIO SUPER PRIMUM LIBRUM SENTENTIARUM

(Unless otherwise noted, question explicits are from *QX*)

Prologus

1) Circa prologum *Sententiarum* quaero primo [Circa . . . primo *om. ACL*] utrum ens simpliciter simplex possit esse subiectum alicuius scientiae viatoris. Videtur quod non. . . In ista quaestione quatuor sunt videnda. Primum quid est simpliciter simplex. Secundum utrum simpliciter simplex compatiatur secum aliquam non-identitatem ex natura rei. Tertium utrum compatiatur secum aliquam distinctionem ex natura rei. Quartum utrum talis distinctio vel non-identitas sufficiat ad rationem scientiae et maxime respectu viatoris . . . per se adaequate (*ACL*)/ qualem in essentia habent (*HQX*).

A 124ra–126vb; *C* 3ra–4vb (ends in 11-line gap); *E* 95rb–97ra (cf. *Principium in I*); *H* 1ra–2va; *L* 2ra–4vb; *Q* 1ra–3rb; *R* 109ra–111ra; *X* 1ra–3ra.

1b = a. 4, pars 1) Utrum haec distinctio secundum quid salvet principium primum, cuius virtute tenet omnis forma syllogistica. Et videtur quod non. . . Responsio: hic tria sunt videnda. Primum est de forma huius principii in se, videlicet “quaecumque uni et eidem sunt eadem, inter se sunt eadem”. Secundo de eius sufficientia. Tertio quomodo tenet in divinis et quomodo non . . . filius est hic Deus.

E 97ra–b; *H* 3rb–va (= a. 4, pars 3); *Q* 4ra–va (= a. 4, pars 3); *R* 111ra–va; *X* 3ra–va.

1c = a. 4, pars 2) Utrum praedicta distinctio secundum quid in divinis salvet primum principium scientificum, videlicet quod impossibile est idem simul esse et non esse. Videtur quod non. . . Responsio: primo videndum est quomodo istud principium “impossibile est idem eidem simul inesse et non inesse” tenet in se. Secundo quomodo tenet specialiter in divinis . . . quod sit idem paternitati.

E 97va–b; *H* 2va–3ra (= a. 4, pars 1); *Q* 3rb–va (= a. 4, pars 1); *R* 111va–112ra; *X* 3va–b.

1d = a. 4, pars 3) Utrum haec distinctio secundum quid salvet formam syllogisticam in divinis. Videtur quod non . . . ut ostensum est supra.

E 97vb–98ra; *H* 3ra–b (= a. 4, pars 2); *Q* 3va–4ra (= a. 4, pars 2); *R* 112ra–va; *X* 3vb–4rb.

1e = a. 4, pars 4) Ultimo quaeritur utrum modificatio terminorum impedit formam syllogisticam in divinis. Videtur quod sic . . . quaestionis nego minorem utriusque. Ad probationem dico (*QRX*).

E 98ra–b; *H* 3va–4ra; *Q* 4va–5ra; *R* 112va–b (small gap at end); *X* 4rb–vb.

2) Utrum theologia quam habemus de Deo simpliciter simplici nobis hic in via revelata procedat ex principiis per se notis vel tantum creditis. Videtur quod tantum ex creditis. . . Responsio: hic quatuor sunt videnda. Primum principale quaesitum. Secundum utrum procedat ex principiis necessariis aut contingentibus. Tertium utrum sit

scientia proprie dicta. Quartum utrum sit scientia subalterna alicui . . . argumentum principale patet superius.

H 4ra–5rb; *Q* 5ra–6va; *R* 112vb–114va; *X* 4vb–6rb.

3) Tertio quaero utrum scientia practica dicatur practica ab operatione elicita vel imperata. Videtur quod ab elicita et non ab imperata. . . . Responso: hic primo praemittam quandam distinctionem. Secundo ex ista distinctione descendam ad quaestionem. Tertio ex dictis concludo correlaria . . . nobilius eo quod est ad ipsum.

H 5rb–vb; *Q* 6va–7ra; *R* 114va–115rb; *X* 6rb–7ra.

4) Quarto quaero utrum speculativa et practica distinguantur principaliter ex obiecto vel ex fine. Videtur quod ex obiecto. . . . Responso: primo ponam intellectum quaestio[n]is. Secundo descendam ad eius solutionem . . . sub respectu vel ratione obiecti.

E 108vb–109va (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 5); *H* 5vb–6va; *Q* 7ra–8rb; *R* 115rb–116rb; *X* 7ra–8ra.

5) Utrum practicum et speculativum sint differentiae immediatae. Videtur quod non . . . aliqua notitia practica ordinari.

E 109va–b (“utrum divisio in practicam et speculativam sit divisio per immediata. Videtur quod non . . .”); *H* 6va; *Q* 8rb; *R* 116rb; *X* 8ra.

6) Utrum istae sint differentiae essentiales vel accidentales. Videtur quod accidentales . . . ad formas quae sunt materiae fines.

E 109vb (“utrum istae differentiae, scilicet practicum et speculativum, sint differentiae essentiales vel [habituum MS] accidentales. Videtur quod accidentales . . .”); *H* 6va; *Q* 8rb–va; *R* 116rb–va; *X* 8ra.

7) Octavo [!] quaero utrum theologia viae sit practica vel speculativa. Videtur quod practica . . . obiecti praxim aliquam sicut illa.

E 109vb–110va (cf. *Scriptum* q. 6); *H* 6va–7rb; *Q* 8va–9rb; *R* 116va–117rb; *X* 8rb–vb.

8) Nono [!] quaero utrum theologia sit de Deo ut de primo eius obiecto vel subiecto. Videtur quod non. . . . Responso . . . primo hic videndum est quid (est) primum subiectum in natura. Secundo quid in scientia, et quomodo se habet subiectum scientiae ad obiectum potentiae. Tertio illud de quo quaeritur, videlicet quid est primum subiectum theologiae . . . infinitum simpliciter primum.

E 110va–111va (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 1); *H* 7rb–8rb; *Q* 9rb–10va; *R* 117rb–118vb; *X* 8vb–10rb.

9) Decimo [!] quaero utrum Deus sit subiectum in theologia sub ratione absoluta vel relativa. Videtur quod sub relativa . . . ut ad obiectum ut dictum est.

E 111va–b; *H* 8rb–va; *Q* 10va–b; *R* 118vb; *X* 10rb.

10) Undecimo [!] quaero utrum Deus sit subiectum theologiae sub ratione absoluta essentiali vel attributali. Videtur quod sub attributali . . . nego minorem.

E 111vb; *H* 8va; *Q* 10vb; *R* 118vb–119ra; *X* 10rb–va.

11) Duodecimo [!] quaero utrum aliqua alia scientia a theologia sit de Deo ut de primo subiecto. Videtur quod non . . . diversis principiis ut superius dictum est.

E 111vb–113rb (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 2); *H* 8va–10ra; *Q* 10vb–12vb; *R* 119ra–120vb (incomplete; ends on “praesupponant ipsum esse” with 2 blank columns, then *Scriptum*, q. 3); *X* 10va–12rb.

Distinctio 1

12) Circa d. 1^{am} quaero utrum eodem actu quo voluntas fruitur fine, utatur his quae sunt ad finem. Circa istam quaestionem sunt videnda quatuor. Primum est utrum eodem actu quo intellectus noster intelligit propositionem, intelligat terminos propositionis. Secundo utrum eodem actu quo intelligit conclusionem, intelligat principia.

Tertio propositum quod quaeritur, videlicet utrum voluntas viatoris eodem actu quo fruitur fine, utatur his quae sunt ad finem. Quarto ex his infertur utrum actus fruendi et utendi sint idem actus vel diversi. Quantum ad primum arguitur quod sic . . . intelligendi simplicibus terminorum.

E 98rb–100ra; *H* 10ra–11va; *Q* 12vb–14vb; *X* 12rb–14va.

13) Secundo quaero utrum intellectus simul in eodem instanti intelligat actu principium et conclusionem. Videtur quod sic . . . Responsio: hic primo exponam quaestione. Secundo ponam eius solutionem . . . generatione et alteratione.

E 100ra–101va (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 14); *H* 11va–13rb; *Q* 14vb–16rb; *X* 14va–16rb.

14) Tertio quaero utrum voluntas in eodem instanti velit finem et ea quae sunt ad finem. Videtur quod sic . . . Responsio: ad cuius evidentiam sic procedam. Primo enim praemittam quandam distinctionem de actibus voluntatis. Secundo ex ista dicam ad quaestione . . . sed in habitu non, quia actus eiusdem potentiae specie sint idem specie.

E 101va–102rb (“utrum sit idem actus numero volendi finem et ea quae sunt *ad finem*”); cf. *Scriptum*, q. 13, III *Sent.*, q. 11, a. 2); *H* 13rb–va; *Q* 16rb–va; *S* 15vb–16rb (?; see manuscript note above at *Scriptum*, q. 14); *X* 16rb–va.

15) Quarto quaero utrum actus volendi et nolendi differant specie. Videtur quod non. . . Hic primo excludam unam opinionem. Secundo dicam aliter ad quaestione . . . ex suis rationibus formalibus.

E 113rb–vb (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 7); *H* 13va–b; *Q* 16va–17ra; *X* 16va–17ra.

16) Quinto quaero utrum in voluntate sit aliquis tertius actus alius ab actu volendi et nolendi. Videtur quod non . . . in quadam alia quaestione.

E 113vb–114ra (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 8); *H* 13vb–14rb; *Q* 17ra–va; *X* 17ra–va.

17) Sexto quaero utrum prima libertas voluntatis consistat in actu volendi vel nolendi vel in illo simplici praevio istis. Videtur quod in illo praevio. . . Responsio: hic primo praemittam quandam distinctionem de libertate. Secundo dicam ad quaestione . . . ut supra ostensum est.

E 114rb–va (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 9); *H* 14rb–vb; *Q* 17va–b; *X* 17va–18ra.

18) Septimo quaero utrum libertas contradictionis primo respiciat per modum actus vel per modum obiecti primo istos actus voluntatis praedictos. Hic primo excludam unam opinionem. Secundo dicam aliter ad quaestione . . . aliquam actionem aliam a se ipsa.

H 14vb–15ra; *Q* 17vb–18ra; *X* 18ra–va.

19) Octavo quaero utrum voluntas viatoris necessario velit ultimum finem sive bonum sibi ostensum in communi. Videtur quod sic . . . Responsio, ubi sic procedendum est. Primo excludam unam opinionem. Secundo dicam ad quaestione . . . de hoc non quaeritur.

H 15ra–16ra; *Q* 18ra–19rb; *X* 18va–19vb.

20) Nono quaero utrum voluntas comprehensoris in Patria velit necessario divinam essentiam nude et aperte visam, vel contingenter. Videtur quod necessario. . . Responsio: haec quaestio non quaerit utrum Deus possit necessitare voluntatem, sed de voluntate sibi derelicta, utrum possit suspendere actum suum circa Deum aperte visum vel necessario eligat ipsum. Ideo primo praemittam unam distinctionem. Secundo dicam ad quaestione . . . per hoc ad probationes.

H 16ra–17vb; *Q* 19rb–21ra; *X* 19vb–21vb.

Distinctio 2

21) Circa d. 2^{am} quaero primo utrum in universitate entium sit dare aliquod ens universaliter perfectum. Videtur quod non. . . . Responsio: hic primo ostendam quid intelligitur nomine entis universaliter perfecti. Secundo descendam ad quaestionem . . . non aliquid positivum.

H 17vb–19ra; *Q* 21ra–22va; *X* 21vb–23rb.

22) Secundo quaero utrum primum ens sit causa finalis omnium. Videtur quod non. . . . Iuxta hoc quaero secundo utrum causalitas finis sit prior causalitate efficientis. Videtur quod sic. . . . Tertio quaero utrum ex causalitate finali omnium possit concludi causalitas effectiva primi respectu eorum. Videtur quod non. . . . Quarto quaero utrum primum efficientis sit causa omnium exemplaris. Circa istas quaestiones sunt quinque videnda. Primo utrum sit aliqua continentia extrinseca prior continentia causalium. Secundo utrum causalitas finis sit prior quoad notitiam nostram causalitate efficientis. Tertio utrum finis habeat rationem causae in ordine suo ut habet esse in intentione agentis vel prout habet esse extra in effectu. Quarto utrum Deus sit causa finalis omnium. Quinto utrum ex causalitate finis possit concludi eius causalitas effectiva . . . ad ipsum finaliter.

E (cf. *Scriptum*, q. 17); *H* 19ra–21rb; *Q* 22va–25rb; *X* 23rb–26ra.

Distinctio 3

23) Circa d. 3^{am} quaero utrum ex infinitate motus extensiva secundum durationem possit concludi infinitas intensiva primi motoris. Videtur quod sic. . . . Secundo quaero utrum ex finitate motus aeterni intensiva possit concludi finitas potentiae primi motoris. Videtur quod sic. . . . Tertio quaero utrum infinitas intensiva primi motoris possit concludi aliunde quam ex motu aeterno. Videtur quod non. . . . Quarto quaero utrum primum movens sit infinitae virtutis intensive. . . . Et ita sunt hic duo videnda. Primum utrum ex infinitate motus extensiva quantum ad eius perpetuitatem possit concludi infinitas intensiva primi motoris. Secundum utrum ex finita eius velocitate intensive possit concludi quod virtus eius sit finita intensive . . . finitus et non aliter.

H 21rb–23rb; *Q* 25rb–27vb; *Vc* 101ra–vb⁴⁴ (incomplete), *X* 23ra–28vb.

24) Secundo quaero utrum Deus possit producere aliquem effectum actu infinitum. Videtur quod non. . . . Secundo quaero utrum possit facere infinitam magnitudinem in actu. Videtur quod non. . . . Tertio quaero utrum possit facere infinitum actu secundum multitudinem. Videtur quod non. . . . Quarto quaero utrum possit facere infinitum intensive. Circa istas quaestiones sic procedam. Primo praemittam distinctionem. Secundo recitabo opiniones. Tertio dicam aliter ad quaestionem . . . infinitum alterius rationis.

H 23rb–25ra; *Q* 27vb–30va; *Vc* 100ra–101ra (incomplete; ends on 100vb but continues with additional text discussing the opinions of Peter Auriol and Francis Meyronnes); *X* 28vb–31rb. *Lit:* Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, 68–72 (from *Vc*).

25) Tertio quaero utrum Trinitas personarum possit concludi ex creaturis. Videtur quod sic. . . . Responsio: ibi quatuor sunt videnda. Primo quid sit vestigium. Secundo

⁴⁴ G. Etzkorn in *Iter Vaticanum Franciscanum: A Description of Some One Hundred Manuscripts of the Vaticanus Latinus Collection* (Leiden and New York, 1996), 174, lists this question as anonymous, “Qq. super librum IV Physicorum.”

quomodo ab imagine distinguitur. Tertio quomodo creatura est vestigium quantum ad essentialia. Quarto quae situm . . . pro isto statu.

H 25ra–26ra; Q 30va–32ra; X 31rb–32vb.

26) Iuxta predicta queritur utrum quaelibet creatura sit vestigium Trinitatis. Videtur quod non. . . . Ad evidentiam eius . . . primo videndum est quid possumus pro statu isto de creaturis cognoscere, et ex hoc apparebit secundo quid ex his quae de creaturis cognoscimus possumus de Deo cognoscere . . . quaero primo utrum intellectus noster habeat pro statu isto aliquem conceptum proprium et essentiale substantiae, et accipio in tota ista quaestione “conceptum” non pro actu concipiendi, sed pro re [ratione *H*] concepta ex parte obiecti. Et videtur primo quod non . . . Responsio: primo praemittam distinctionem de conceptu. Secundo dicam ad quaestionem . . . econverso ipsum de alio.

H 26ra–27ra; Q 32ra–33rb; X 32vb–34ra.

Distinctio 4

27) Viso quid intellectus potest attingere de substantiis, ad videndum utrum Trinitas personarum cadat sub primo obiecto intellectus nostri, quantum ad 4^{am} d., restat primo videre utrum intellectus noster habeat de accidentibus proprium conceptum essentiale. Videtur quod non. . . . Responsio: primo praemittam distinctionem. Secundo dicam ad quaestionem. Tertio excludam dubia . . . est falsa figurae dictionis.

H 27ra–vb; Q 33rb–34rb; X 34ra–35ra.

28) Viso quid intellectus noster attingat de substantiis et quid de accidentibus, quaero de ordine quo ista attingit, utrum scilicet intellectus noster prius naturaliter intelligat substantiam quam accidens vel e converso. Videtur quod prius substantiam. . . . Responsio: in ista quaestione sic procedam. Primo enim praemittam unam distinctionem. Secundo dicam ad quaestionem. Tertio excludam dubia . . . quam ipsa substantia.

H 27vb–28va; Q 34rb–35va; X 35ra–36rb.

29) Utrum Trinitas personarum cadat sub primo obiecto naturali adaequato intellectus nostri. Videtur quod non. . . . Responsio: hic sic procedam. Primo distinguam de obiecto adaequato intellectus nostri. Secundo ex dictis in quaestionibus aliis inferam breviter solutionem huius quaestions . . . assignari de quo alias.

H 28va–b; Q 35va–36ra; X 36rb–va.

Distinctio 5

30) Circa 5^{am} d. quaero utrum divina essentia sit formalis terminus generationis divinae. Videtur quod non. . . . Secundo quaero utrum divina relatio sit formalis terminus generationis. Videtur quod non. . . . Tertio quaero utrum suppositum divinum sit per se terminus generationis. Videtur quod non. . . . Quarto quaero utrum essentia divina generet vel generetur. Circa istas quaestiones quatuor sunt videnda. Primum utrum relatio in creaturis sit per se terminus alicuius actionis. Secundo utrum forma substantialis sit per se terminus generationis; ex hoc enim apparebit utrum divina essentia sit terminus generationis divinae, cum ipsa se habeat ad suppositum sicut forma in creaturis se habet ad compositum. Tertio utrum differentia individualis qua individuum est ab alio distinctum numeraliter sit per se terminus vel principium generationis. Quarto ex his videbitur quid sit formalis terminus generationis divinae . . . est essentia generatur [non accipiendo coniunctim, sed divisim, ut videtur *add. H*].

H 28vb–31rb; Q 36ra–39ra; X 36va–40rb.

Distinctio 6

31) Circa d. 6^{am} quaero primo utrum Deus Pater producat Filium praevolendo et pra-intelligendo ipsum. Videtur quod sic. . . . Secundo quaero utrum Filius sit genitus praecognitus. Videtur quod sic. . . . Tertio quaero utrum Filius genitus sit volitus antecedenter. Videtur quod sic. . . . Ultimo quaero utrum sit productus volitus consequenter . . . per primum actum.

H 31rb–32va; *Q* 39rb–40vb; *X* 40rb–42ra.

Distinctio 7

32) Circa d. 7^{am} quaero primo utrum in Filio sit potentia generandi. Videtur quod sic. . . . Responso: hic primo videbitur utrum sint plures Filii in divinis. Ex quo secundo apparebit quaesitum, videlicet si Filius habeat potentiam generandi. Tertio utrum potentia generandi cadat sub omnipotentia. Quarto utrum essentia divina sit principium generandi . . . possibile esse ab alio.

H 32va–34rb; *Q* 40vb–43rb; *X* 42ra–44va.

Distinctio 8

33) Circa d. 8^{am} quaero utrum ens subiective independens, sicut substantia, cum nono aliis generibus hoc modo dependentibus habeat aliquam univocitatem. Videtur primo quod non. . . . Hic sic procedam. Primo ostendam differentiam quae est inter univocum et aequivocum. Secundo videbitur quot sunt gradus univocationis. Tertio utrum ens habeat passiones, differentias, et individua propria. Quarto ex praedictis apparebit utrum ratio entis communis 10 generibus sit in se una sive univoca . . . uno secundum intellectum.

H 34rb–36rb; *Q* 43rb–45vb; *X* 44va–47va.

34) Secundo quaero utrum repugnet divinae simplicitati habere aliquid univocum cum creaturis. Videtur quod sic. . . . In ista quaestione sic est procedendum. Primo enim videbitur in generali quid est perfecte univocum; secundo utrum Deo et creaturae sit aliqua intentio una realiter communis extra intellectum; tertio utrum substantiae et accidenti sit aliqua talis intentio communis, videlicet univoca extra intellectum; quarto utrum Deo et creaturae sit aliquid commune secundum rationem univocam . . . ens quam creatura.

H 36rb–39va; *Q* 45vb–50rb; *X* 47va–52rb.

Distinctio 9

35) Circa d. 9^{am} quaero primo utrum generatio in divinis sit generatio univoce cum generatione in creaturis. Videtur primo quod sic. . . . Secundo quaero utrum divina generatio sit univoca in se vel aequivoca. Videtur quod aequivoca. . . . Tertio utrum divina generatio sit aeterna. Videtur quod non. . . . Quarto sine argumentis quaero utrum divina generatio sit generatio simpliciter. Ad istas quaestiones patet quid sit dicendum ex praecedenti quaestione . . . alterum ut fuit dictum de alia (*QX*)/ dictum distinctione septima (*H*).

H 39va–b; *Q* 50rb–vb; *X* 52rb–va.

Distinctio 10

36) Circa d. 10^{am} quaero primo utrum Spiritus Sanctus procedat a Patre et Filio naturaliter vel libere. Videtur quod naturaliter. . . . Secundo quaero utrum Spiritus Sanctus procedat necessario vel contingenter. Videtur quod procedit libere et contingenter. . . .

Tertio quaero utrum modus agendi necessario et modus agendi libere se compatiantur sive sint compossibles in eodem principio productivo respectu eiusdem producti. Videlur quod non. . . . Circa ista sic est procedendum, sunt enim tria videnda, incipiendo ab imagine creata quae nobis secundum Augustinum manifestior est. Primo est videndum quomodo voluntas nostra libera est respectu sui actus. Secundo quomodo voluntas divina respectu sui. Tertio quomodo Spiritus Sanctus procedit libere et tamen necessario. Ex quibus patebit quarto quomodo isti duo modi sunt compossibles ad invicem in eodem . . . per idem patet ad alias duas.

H 39vb–41rb; *Q* 50vb–52vb; *X* 52ra–54va.

Distinctio 11

37) Circa d. 11^{am} quaero primo utrum productio Filii et Spiritus Sancti sint realiter distinctae. Videlur quod non. . . . Secundo quaero utrum distinctio istarum productionum arguat necessario vel dependeat ex distinctione principiorum vel sit aliunde. Videlur quod aliunde. . . . Tertio quaero utrum ex distinctione istarum productionum possit concludi distinctio principiorum. Videlur quod non. . . . Quarto quomodo istae productiones se habent ad principia. . . . Et ideo occasione istius fundamenti doctorum sic procedam. Primo enim videbitur utrum idem principium omnino indistinctum in creaturis possit habere plures actus seu effectus alterius rationis secundum speciem, et tamen determinatos non infinitos. Secundo utrum idem principium in creaturis possit habere modum producendi per modum naturae et per modum producendi libere, et haec respectu eiusdem obiecti. Tertio utrum idem principium in Deo possit habere utrumque istorum modorum duorum agendi . . . de quo dicetur aliter non.

H 41rb–42vb; *Q* 52vb–55ra; *X* 54va–56vb.

Distinctiones 12–13

38) Circa d. 12^{am} et 13^{am} quaero primum utrum Spiritus Sanctus prius spiretur a Patre quam a Filio. Videlur quod sic. . . . Secundo quaero utrum in divinis sit aliquis ordo naturae. Videlur quod sic. . . . Tertio utrum sit ibi aliquis ordo prioritatis. Videlur quod non. . . . Quarto utrum ibi sit ordo prioritatis secundum ordinem. Circa ista sic est procedendum. Primo enim videbitur utrum in divinis sit aliquis ordo; secundo utrum ibi sit ordo alicuius prioritatis; tertio principale quae sit utrum Spiritus Sanctus prius aliquo modo spiretur a Patre quam a Filio . . . de prioritate [durationis non autem add. *H*] originis.

H 43ra–44va; *Q* 55rb–57vb; *X* 57ra–59rb.

Distinctiones 14–16

39) Circa d. 14^{am} et 15^{am} et 16^{am}, quaero primo utrum Spiritus Sanctus mittatur a se ipso. Videlur quod sic. . . . Secundo quaero utrum mittatur libere a Patre et Filio. Videlur quod non. . . . Tertio quaero utrum Spiritus Sanctus spiretur libere. Videlur quod sic. . . . Quarto quaero utrum Pater mittatur a se vel ab alio. Ad evidentiam istorum primo praemitto. . . . His ergo praemissis, est hic sic procedendum quantum ad aliquas duas quaestiones difficiles. Primo enim videndum est utrum voluntas divina sit libera respectu actus mere essentialis. Secundo utrum respectu actus notionalis. Tertio utrum respectu actus includentis utrumque istorum . . . sed libere communicata.

H 44va–46ra; *Q* 57vb–60ra; *X* 59rb–61rb.

Distinctio 17

40) Circa d. 17^{am} quaero primo utrum habitus charitatis sit necessarius ad salutem viatoris. Videtur quod non. . . . Responsio: primo dabo intellectum quaestio[n]is. Secundo respondendo ad quaestio[n]em excludam unam opinionem. Tertio dicam aliter . . . non habens habitum.

H 46ra–vb; *Q* 60ra–61ra; *X* 61rb–62rb.

41) Secundo quaero utrum habitus charitatis sit Deo ratio acceptandi habentem ipsum. Videtur quod non. . . . Secundo quaero utrum charitas sit necessaria ratio acceptandi. Videtur quod sic. . . . Responsio: primo dabo intellectum quaestio[n]is. Secundo dicam ad ipsam . . . patet ex dictis superius in quaestio[n]e.

H 46vb–47va; *Q* 61ra–62rb; *X* 62rb–63va.

42) Tertio quaero utrum in augmento formae accidentalis gradus praeexistens corrumatur. Videtur quod sic . . . acquirendo aliud novum ubi.

H 47va–48va; *Q* 62rb–63va; *X* 63va–65ra. *Lit.*: Duhem, *Le système* 7:500–1, 517 (from *H*).

43) Quarto quaero utrum forma accidentalis augeatur per essentiam suam. Videtur quod non. . . . Responsio: primo excludam tres modos dicendi. Secundo dicam aliter . . . variatur nisi in subiecto.

H 48va–49ra; *Q* 63vb–64rb; *X* 65ra–vb. *Lit.*: Duhem, *Le système* 7:517–18 (from *H*).

44) Quinto quaero utrum forma accidentalis augeatur per additionem alicuius positivi. Videtur quod non . . . patet per dicta.

H 49ra–51rb; *Q* 64rb–67va; *X* 65vb–68vb. *Lit.*: Duhem, *Le système* 7:518–20 (from *H*).

Distinctio 18

45) Circa d. 18^{am} quaero utrum donum sit proprium Spiritus Sancti. Videtur quod non. . . . Hic sic procedendum est. Primo enim videbitur quid sit donum in generali. Secundo quid importetur per nomen Spiritus Sancti. Tertio utrum donum sit proprium Spiritus Sancti. Quarto si est proprietas constitutiva ipsius . . . alicui personae proprium.

H 51rb–52va; *Q* 67va–69va; *X* 68vb–70rb.

Distinctio 19

46) Circa d. 19^{am} quaero utrum divinae personae sint in se mutuo per circumincepcionem. Videtur quod non. . . . Responsio: ad cuius evidentiam est sciendum quod “esse in alio” dicit duo, scilicet distinctionem eius quod est in alio ab illo in quo est, et cum hoc aliquam unitatem inter ipsam . . . relativa aliquiliter distinguantur.

H 52va–53ra (texts ends abruptly after 3 full paragraphs, part of 52va and all 52vb are blank; gap marks beginning of text highly divergent from *QX*); *Q* 69va–b; *X* 70rb–va.

Distinctio 20

47) Circa d. 20^{am} quaero utrum divinae personae sint inter se aequales secundum perfectionem et magnitudinem et secundum infinitatem. Videtur quod non . . . circa istam quaestio[n]em, quia constat quod quantum ad essentialia non potest attendi aliqua inaequalitas, cum eadem numero sit in omnibus, quia si aliqua inaequalitas esset inter personas divinas illa haberet esse quantum ad relationes sive notionalia personis propria, ideo sic procedo. Primo enim videbitur utrum relatio secundum suam rationem formalem ut distinguatur ab essentia dicat aliquam perfectionem. Secundo utrum secundum suam propriam formalem rationem ut distinguatur ab ipsa essentia habeat propriam entitatem. Tertio ex illis poterit videri utrum relatio divina ut distincta ab

essentia habeat propriam infinitatem aliam ab infinite essentiae vel sit tantum infinite essentiae infinita . . . patet per dicta statim.

H 53ra–54va (beginning of text highly divergent from *QX*—likely another *reportatio* altogether); *Q* 69vb–75rb; *X* 70va–74va.

47a) Utrum solus Pater sit tantus quam sunt tres personae. Videtur quod non, quia in tribus personis includantur plures perfectiones quam in Patre, quia plures relationes et quaelibet dicit aliquam perfectionem. . . . Filius perfecte continet essentiam. Ideo etc.

QX deest; H 54va–55ra.

Distinctio 21

48) Circa d. 21^{am} quaero utrum haec propositio sit vera: “solus Pater est Deus” vel ista: “solus Filius est Deus.” Videtur quod sic. . . . Responso: ubi sic est procedendum, quia enim privatio cognoscitur per habitum et exclusio, de qua hic quaeritur, est quaedam privatio, privat enim sive excludit a termino cui additur esse aliud; ideo ad videndum hoc, videlicet quomodo dictio exclusiva excludit aliud ab eo cui additur, quia hic additur termino relativo, puta Patri et Filio, primo videbitur quomodo unum relativum includat aliud oppositum sibi correspondens; secundo quomodo excludat aliud . . . vel Pater et cui verum est.

H 55ra–vb; *Q* 75rb–77ra; *X* 74va–76rb.

Distinctio 22

49) Circa d. 22^{am} quaero utrum nomina dicta de Deo negative vel privative dicantur de ipso formaliter. Videtur quod sic. . . . Responso: hic sunt duo videnda: primo, incipiendo a notioribus, qualiter illa quae dicuntur negative et privative dicantur de creaturis; secundo qualiter de Deo . . . de ipso formaliter dicantur.

Be 81v bis–83r; *H* 55vb–56va; *Q* 77ra–79ra; *X* 76rb–78rb.

50) Secundo quaero iuxta hoc utrum nomina dicta de Deo formaliter dicantur de ipso. Videtur quod sic. . . . Responso: hic sunt videnda quatuor. Primo videndum est quid sit esse in aliquo formaliter; secundo videndum est quaedam distinctio eorum quae positive dicuntur de Deo; tertio videndum est quid esset hic dicendum ad quaestionem istam secundum principia aliorum; quarto quid dicendum est secundum veritatem . . . Philosophi patet per idem.

H 56va–58ra; *Q* 79ra–82ra; *X* 78rb–81rb.

Distinctio 23

51) Circa d. 23^{am} quaero utrum “persona” vel “suppositum” dicatur de tribus personis secundum substantiam vel secundum relationem. Videtur quod secundum substantiam. . . . Responso: supponendo dictam beati Augustini . . . causatur privative.

H 58ra; *Q* 127vb (82ra marg.: “hic deficit una quaestio—quaere eam in principio huius libri.” The inserted sheet is now bound at the end of the manuscript); *X* 81rb–va.

Distinctio 24

52) Circa d. 24^{am} quaero utrum numerus sit in Deo extra animam. Videtur quod non. . . . Responso: ubi sic est procedendum; primo enim videndum est utrum forma numeri sit absoluta vel relativa; secundo utrum numerus sit forma extra animam vel tantum in anima . . . sed tantum materialiter.

H 58ra–59ra; *Q* 82ra–84rb; *X* 81va–83va.

53) Utrum in divinis reperiatur unum quod est principium numeri et unum quod con-

vertit cum ente. Videtur quod non. . . Circa istam quaestionem sic est procedendum, quia enim sicut dicit Commentator contra Avicennam X *Metaphysicae*, commento 3, arguens Avicennam nesci ut distinguere inter unum quod convertitur cum ente et unum quod est principium numeri, cum tamen aliquo modo sit distinguendum ut inferius videbitur, ex quo sequitur quod sit duplex unum, ideo primo videndum est de uno quod est principium numeri. Secundo de uno quod est convertibile cum ente, quale videlicet sit istud unum, utrum videlicet positivum aliquid dicat vel tantum privativum. Tertio utrum unum quod est convertibile cum ente sit in aliquo genere determinato vel non . . . ut alias fuit dictum.

H 59ra–60ra; *Q* 84rb–87ra; *X* 83va–86va.

Distinctio 26

54) Circa d. 26^{am} quaero utrum paternitas et filiatio in divinis sint relationes reales. Videtur quod non. . . Circa istam quaestionem sic est procedendum. Primo enim videndum est utrum istae relationes in creaturis sint relationes reales. Secundo quomodo distinguantur a generatione activa et passiva. Tertio utrum in divinis sint relationes reales . . . patet ex superioribus dictis.

H 60ra–61ra; *Q* 87ra–89rb; *X* 86va–88vb.

Distinctio 27

55) Circa d. 27^{am} quaero utrum divinae personae constituantur in esse personali per origines vel per relationes consequentes (puta per paternitatem et filiationem etc.) vel per aliqua absoluta. Videtur quod constituantur et distinguantur per origines. . . Secundo arguitur quod non constituantur per relationes consequentes. . . Responso: Circa materiam istam sic est procedendum. Primo enim videndum est quomodo generatio actio et paternitas, et filiatio et generatio passiva, et idem de spiratione activa et passiva, sint in divinis. Secundo utrum generatio activa et paternitas ut sunt ibi distinguantur ex natura rei vel sint idem totaliter, et idem de generatione passiva et filiatione. Tertio ex hoc aliqualiter apparebit quomodo ista constituant personas, et quomodo non . . . ad secundam et tertiam patet per dicta.

H 61ra–vb; *Q* 89rb–92ra; *X* 88vb–91va.

56) Utrum Verbum in divinis vel in nobis procedat per actum intellectus, et Spiritus per actum voluntatis. Videtur quod non. . . Circa istam quaestionem tria sunt vindenda. Primo quid sit verbum in nobis. Secundo utrum verbum nostrum procedat per actum intellectus. Tertio utrum Verbum divinum procedat per actum intellectus et Spiritus Sanctus per actum voluntatis . . . ad alia omnia patet ex dictis.

H 61vb–63ra; *Q* 92ra–94va; *X* 91va–94ra.

Distinctio 29

57) Circa d. 29^{am} quaero primo utrum Pater et Filius sint unum principium Spiritus Sancti, et Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sint unum principium creaturae. Videtur quod non. . . Responso: et primo praemittam unam distinctionem. Secundo dicam ad quaestionem . . . propter rationem iam dictam.

H 63ra–vb; *Q* 94va–96vb; *X* 94ra–96rb.

58) Utrum ratio principii dicatur de principio ad intra et extra univoce vel aequivoce, et etiam ratio principiati. Videtur quod aequivoce. . . Responso: ad cuius evidentiam

est sciendum et intelligendum quod principium accipitur dupliciter, uno enim modo accipitur principium formaliter, puta quantum ad relationem principii, alio modo fundamentaliter quantum ad illud super quod fundatur ipsa relatio formaliter importata per principium . . . numero penitus indistinctum.

H 63vb–64ra (beginning unmarked); *Q* 96vb–97rb; *X* 96rb–vb.

Distinctio 30

59) Circa d. 30^{am} quaero primo utrum Dei ad creaturam sit aliqua relatio realis. Videtur quod sic. . . . Circa istam quaestionem quatuor sunt videnda. Primo enim videbitur de modis relationum in communi. Secundo in speciali videbitur et (de) modis diversis quibus ponatur Deum referri ad creaturam. Tertio quo illorum modorum referatur, vel si nullo illorum. Quarto videbitur utrum referatur secundum relationem rationis et quo modo . . . superius fuit dictum.

H 64ra–65ra; *Q* 97rb–99va; *X* 96vb–98vb.

Distinctio 31

60) Circa d. 31^{am} quaero primo utrum identitas, similitudo, et aequalitas divinarum personarum sint relationes reales. Videtur quod sic. . . . In quaestione ista sunt videnda quatuor. Primo enim videbitur de fundamentis istarum relationum. Secundo de mediis fundandi ipsas. Tertio utrum sint reales in creaturis. Quarto utrum sint reales in divinis . . . eos ponere in divinis.

H 65ra–67ra (fourth article, on 66ra–67ra, is a separate question: “utrum istae relatione(s) dicantur de Deo secundum substantiam vel secundum relationem. Quod secundum substantiam videtur . . .”); *Q* 99va–104va; *X* 98vb–102vb.

Distinctio 32

61) Circa d. 32^{am} et d. 33^{am} quaero primo utrum Pater et Filius diligent se Spiritu Sancto. Responsio: ad cuius evidentiam est sciendum quod “Patrem et Filium diligere se Spiritu Sancto” potest tripliciter intelligi . . . in eius effectu.

H 67ra; *Q* 104va–b; *X* 103ra.

Distinctio 33

62) Circa d. 33^{am} quaero utrum quaelibet relatio originis in divinis ut comparatur ad essentiam transeat in essentiam realiter, formaliter, et totaliter vel maneat omnimodo vel aliquo istorum ab essentia distincta. Et videtur quod totaliter transeat. . . . Circa istam quaestionem sunt duo videndum. Primo videbitur de entitate relationis in creaturis. Secundo de identitate relationis cum essentia in divinis . . . et hoc est verum.

H 67ra–vb; *Q* 104vb–106vb; *X* 103ra–104va.

Distinctio 34

63) Circa d. 34^{am} quaero utrum relatio in divinis sit eadem totaliter cum ipsa essentia, et relatio cum persona. Videtur quod sic. . . . Circa istam quaestionem sic procedam. Primo recitabo duos modos distinguendi et arguam contra utrumque. Secundo dicam aliter . . . sive in primo modo.

H 67vb–68vb; *Q* 106vb–109rb; *X* 104va–106rb.

64) Utrum personae divinae et relationes inter se vel ab essentia distinguantur se ipsis vel aliquo sui. Videtur quod se ipsis. . . . Circa istam quaestionem sic est procedendum. Primo enim videbitur quid sit aliquid distingui se ipso ab alio. Secundo utrum

essentia et relatio distinguantur se ipsis. Tertio utrum personae divinae inter se. Ex quo quarto apparebit utrum sint eadem se ipsis vel aliquo sui tantum . . . et ita non se tota.

H 69ra–vb; *Q* 109rb–112ra; *X* 106rb–108rb.

Distinctio 35

65) Circa d. 35^{am} quaero primo utrum effectus contingens ad utramque partem contradictionis sit determinatus in re ad alteram partem contradictionis vel sit indeterminatus ad utramque. Videtur quod non sit determinatus ad utramque partem. . . . Circa istam quaestionem sic est procedendum. Primo enim ponam unum modum dicendi. Secundo arguam contra eum. Tertio dicam aliter . . . indeterminate de possibili superius est dictum.

H 70ra–vb; *Q* 112ra–113vb; *X* 108rb–109vb. *Lit.:* Schabel, *Theology at Paris*, 203 (from *QX*).

Distinctio 36

66) Circa d. 36^{am} quaero primo utrum futurorum contingentium sit aliqua notitia scientifica, certa, determinata, et infallibilis. Videtur quod non. . . . Circa istam quaestionem quatuor sunt videnda. Primo quomodo contingentia sit in rebus. Secundo utrum effectus contingens sit determinate cognoscibilis per causas contingentes. Tertio utrum Deus habeat certam notitiam futurorum contingentium. Quarto quomodo sive per quid Deus cognoscat determinate ipsa futura contingentia . . . tantum obiective et virtualiter.

H 70vb–71vb; *Q* 113vb–118rb; *X* 109vb–112ra. *Lit.:* Schwamm, *Das göttliche Vorherwissen*, 241–46 (from *Q*).

Distinctio 37

67a) Circa d. 37^{am} quaero utrum Deus sit in omnibus rebus per essentiam, praesentiam, et potentiam. Respondeo quod sic. Ad cuius evidentiam est sciendum quod . . . indistincta, sic ad quaestionem.

Q 118rb–va; *X* 112ra.

67b) Circa d. 37^{am}, quaeritur utrum Deus cognoscat omnia alia a se, utrum intelligat futura contingentia, utrum distincte intelligat omnia singulare . . . per se ipsum.

H 71vb–73ra.

Distinctio 38

68) Circa d. 38^{am} quaero utrum praedestinatio futurorum contingentium imponat necessitatem rebus praedestinatis, et praescientia rebus praescitis et libero arbitrio. . . . Circa istam quaestionem sic procedam. Primo distinguam de necessitate. Secundo descendam ad quaestionem . . . aliquo praedictorum modorum.

H 73ra–74ra; *Q* 118va–120rb; *X* 112ra–115rb (misbound; fols. 112 and 113, 114 and 115 transposed). *Lit.:* Schwamm, *Das göttliche Vorherwissen*, 246–52 (from *Q*).

Distinctio 39

69) Circa d. 39^{am} quaero utrum in Deo sit plures vel infinitae ideae. Videtur quod non. . . . Circa istam quaestionem sic procedam. Primo enim excludam aliquos modos dicendi. Secundo dicam aliter . . . rationem essentiae se dicantur.

H 74ra–vb; *Q* 120rb–122ra; *X* 115rb–116ra. *Ed.:* Schabel, “Francis of Marchia” (from *QX*).

Distinctiones 40–41

70) Circa d. 40^{am} et 41^{am} quaero utrum praedestinatio electorum et praescientia malo-

rum habuerit aliquam causam ex parte ipsorum. Videtur quod non. . . . Circa quaestioneum istam sic procedam. Primo enim praemittam distinctionem quandam ad intellectum quaestioneis. Secundo descendam ad quaestioneum . . . patet solutio per praedicta.

H 74vb–76va; *Q* 122ra–124vb; *X* 116ra–118rb.

Distinctiones 42–44

71) Circa d. 42^{am}, 43^{am}, et 44^{am} quaero primo utrum ratio possibilis et impossibilitatis creatureum sumatur ex parte Dei vel ex parte creatureum. Videtur primo quod ex parte creatureum. . . . Circa istam quaestioneum primo videndum est quomodo Deus sit omnipotens. Secundo unde sumatur possibilis et impossibilitas quarumdam rerum secundum quam dicimus quod Deus non potest peccare vel mentire vel huiusmodi . . . rationes factas in oppositum.

H 76va–77ra; *Q* 124vb–125vb; *X* 118rb–119ra. *Ed.*: Schabel, “Francis of Marchia” (from *QX*).

Distinctiones 45–48

72) Circa d. 45^{am}, 46^{am}, 47^{am}, 48^{am} quaero primo utrum voluntas Dei semper impleatur. Videtur quod sic . . . ad argumenta patet.

H 77ra; *Q* 125vb–126ra; *X* 119ra–b. *Ed.*: Schabel, “Francis of Marchia” (from *QX*).

73) Secundo quaero iuxta hoc utrum teneamus conformare voluntatem nostram divinae voluntati in quocumque volito vel nolito ab ipsa. Hic ad istam quaestioneum respondetur convenienter et bene quod si bene intelligatur distinguendo de voluntate Dei . . . in saecula saeculorum amen. amen. amen.

H 77rb; *Q* 126ra–va; *X* 119rb–vb. *Ed.*: Schabel, “Francis of Marchia” (from *QX*).

- H*: Explicit primus liber magistri Francisci de Marchia de Ordine Fratrum Minorum. Deo gratias.
- Q*: Explicit *Lectura Fratris Francisci de Marchia* super primum, secundum *Reportationem* factam sub eo tempore quo legit *Sententias Parisiis*, anno domini MCCCXX.
- X*: Explicit primus *Sententiarum* magistri Francisci Rubey de Ordine Fratrum Minorum.

REPORTATIO A SUPER SECUNDUM LIBRUM SENTENTIARUM

1) Circa principium secundi libri *Sententiarum* quaero primo utrum creatio actio sit demonstrabilis de Deo. Videtur quod sic . . . circa quaestioneum illam sic est procedendum. Primo est hic videndum quid est creatio actio vel etiam creatio passio. Secundo utrum creatio actio sit demonstrabilis de Deo. . . .⁴⁵

A 1ra–5ra; *B* 1ra–5va (ends abruptly on “Ad primum quando arguitur,” with marginal note

⁴⁵ *H* and *D* read “Utrum creatio sit demonstrabilis de Deo. Et videtur quod non. . . . Respondeo: hic sunt duo videnda, primo enim videndum est quid sit creatio actio et creatio passio; secundo utrum creatio actio sit demonstrabilis de Deo.” Cf. *Principium in II*.

“hic deficit”); *C* 105ra–108rb; *D* 1ra–2rb; *F* 258ra–261ra; *G* 183ra–186vb; *H* 81ra–82ra; *K* 1r–9r, *L* 142ra–147ra (ends with “ad ista respondeo. Ad primum quando arguitur” and 34-line gap); *N* 131ra–134vb; *P* 2ra–8rb; *V* 119ra–122va; *W* 2ra–6vb (on 6vb there is a 32-line gap until the end of the column, with this explicit “Ad illa. Ad primum, quando arguitur. Require solutiones istorum alibi”); *Y* 92ra–95ra; *Z* 95ra–98ra.

2) *Utrum creatio sit possibilis subiective et obiective. Videtur primo quod non sit possibilis subiective. . . . Respondeo: primo videbitur si creatio sit possibilis subiective. Secundo utrum sit possibilis obiective. Tertio utrum sit demonstrabilis. . . .*

A 5ra–7vb; *B* 5va–8vb; *C* 108rb–110va; *D* 2rb–3rb; *F* 261ra–263ra; *G* 186vb–189va; *H* 82ra–vb; *K* 9v–15r, *L* 147rb–150va; *N* 134vb–137va; *P* 8rb–12vb; *V* 122va–125ra; *W* 7ra–10rb; *Y* 95ra–97rb; *Z* 98ra–100rb.

3) *Utrum omnia alia a primo ente indigeant actuali conservatione ab ipso. Videtur quod non. . . .*

A 7vb–8rb; *B* 8vb–9vb; *C* 110vb–111rb; *D* 3rb–va; *F* 263ra–vb; *G* 189va–190rb; *H* 82vb–83rb; *K* 15r–16v, *L* 150va–151va; *N* 137va–138ra; *P* 12vb–14ra; *V* 125ra–vb; *W* 10rb–11rb; *Y* 97rb–98ra; *Z* 100rb–101ra. *Ed:* Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 346–50 (App. I, 4.1).

4) *Utrum creatio et conservatio sint idem realiter. Videtur quod non. . . .*

A 8rb–9rb; *B* 9vb–11ra; *C* 111rb–112rb; *D* 3va–4rb; *F* 263vb–264va; *G* 190rb–191rb; *H* 83rb–vb; *K* 16v–18v, *L* 151va–152vb; *N* 138rb–139ra; *P* 14ra–15va; *V* 125vb–126vb; *W* 11rb–12rb; *Y* 98ra–vb; *Z* 101ra–vb.

5) *Utrum duratio rei differat ab ipsa re durante. Respondeo quod non differt ab ea aliquo modo secundum rem. . . .*

A 9rb–vb; *B* 11ra–vb; *C* 112rb–vb; *D* 4rb–va; *F* 264va–265ra; *G* 191rb–vb; *H* 83vb–84ra; *K* 18v–20r, *L* 152vb–153va; *N* 139rb–vb; *P* 15va–16va; *V* 126vb–127rb; *W* 12rb–13ra; *Y* 98vb–99rb; *Z* 101vb–102rb.

6) *Utrum tempus differat a motu secundum rem. Respondeo et dico quod non. . . .*

A 9vb–10ra; *B* 11vb–12ra; *C* 112vb; *D* 4va–b; *F* 265ra–b; *G* 191vb–192ra; *H* 84ra; *K* 20r–v, *L* 153va–b; *N* 139vb–140ra; *P* 16va–b; *V* 127rb–va; *W* 13ra–b; *Y* 99rb–va; *Z* 102rb–va. *Lit.:* Duhem, *Le système* 7:392–94 (from *H*, called q. 4; English translation in Duhem, *Medieval Cosmology*, 321–23).

7) *Utrum creatureae ad Deum sit aliqua relatio realis. Videtur quod non. . . .*

A 10ra–11ra; *B* 12ra–13rb; *C* 112vb–113va; *D* 4vb–5ra; *F* 265rb–266ra; *G* 192ra–vb; *H* 84ra–va; *K* 20v–22r, *L* 153vb–154vb (extensive marginalia; mentions of Scotus and Henry [of Ghent?]); *N* 140ra–vb; *P* 16vb–18rb; *V* 127va–128rb; *W* 13rb–14rb; *Y* 99va–100ra; *Z* 102va–103rb.

8) *Utrum praedicta relatio realis creatureae ad Deum differat realiter ab ipsa creatura. Videtur quod non. . . .*

DH deest (cf. q. 8–9); *A* 11ra–12rb; *B* 13rb–15ra; *C* 113va–114vb; *F* 266ra–267rb; *G* 192vb–194ra; *K* 22r–25r, *L* 154vb–156va; *N* 140vb–142ra; *P* 18rb–20va; *V* 128rb–129vb; *W* 14va–16ra; *Y* 100ra–101rb, *Z* 103rb–104rb.

9) *Utrum relatio creatureae ad Deum ut ad causam efficientem sit eadem cum relatione creatureae ad ipsum Deum ut ad causam finaliem vel distinguatur ab ipsa. . . .*

DH deest (cf. q. 8–9); *A* 12rb; *B* 15ra; *C* 114rb; *F* 267rb; *G* 194ra–b; *K* 25r, *L* 156va–b; *N* 142ra; *P* 20va; *V* 129vb; *W* 16ra; *Y* 101rb; *Z* 104rb.

*8–9) *Utrum relatio qua creatura refertur ad Deum sit idem cum ipsa creatura. Quod sic. . . .*

D 5ra–vb; *H* 84va–85ra; *deest in omnibus aliis MSS.*

10) Utrum creatura sit immediate producta a Deo per intellectum et voluntatem et per actum intelligendi et volendi vel per aliquam aliam potentiam executivam et eius actum. Videtur primo quod per aliam potentiam ab intellectu et voluntate et per alium actum ab actu intelligendi et volendi. . . .

A 12rb–14rb; *B* 15ra–17vb; *C* 114vb–116va; *D* 5vb–7rb; *F* 267rb–269ra; *G* 194rb–196ra; *H* 85ra–86rb; *K* 25r–29v; *L* 156vb–159rb; *N* 142ra–144ra; *P* 20va–23vb; *V* 129vb–131vb; *W* 16ra–18va; *Y* 101rb–103ra; *Z* 104va–106ra.

11) Utrum creatio actio sit in Deo vel in creatura vel in utroque. Videtur quod in creatura. . . .

A 14rb–17va; *B* 17vb–22rb; *C* 116vb–119va; *D* 7rb–9rb; *F* 269ra–272rb; *G* 196ra–199ra; *H* 86rb–88rb; *K* 29v–36v; *L* 159rb–163rb; *N* 144rb–147rb; *P* 23vb–29va; *V* 131vb–135rb; *W* 18va–22ra; *Y* 103ra–106ra; *Z* 106ra–109ra.

12) Utrum creatio cuiuscumque rei creabilis fuerit possibilis ab aeterno, et utrum fuerit de facto. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 17va–20rb; *B* 22rb–25vb; *C* 119va–122ra; *D* 9rb–10va; *F* 272rb–274va; *G* 199ra–201va; *H* 88rb–89vb; *K* 36v–42v; *L* 163va–166vb; *N* 147rb–150ra; *P* 29va–34rb; *V* 135rb–138rb; *W* 22ra–25ra; *Y* 106ra–108rb; *Z* 109ra–111rb. *Lit.*: Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, 68–71 (from *C*), and *Die Vorfäuser*, 202–3 (from *C*); R. L. Friedman, “Francesco d’Appignano on the Eternity of the World and the Actual Infinite” (forthcoming) (from collation of *BCYZ*).

13) CIRCA PRIMAM PARTEM SECUNDI LIBRI, in qua Magister agit de creatura mere spirituali, quaero utrum angelus vel anima sit compositus ex materia et forma. Et arguo primo de angelo quod sic. . . .

A 20rb–22ra; *B* 25vb–28ra; *C* 122ra–123vb; *D* 10va–11rb (text diverges from other MSS); *F* 274va–276rb; *G* 201va–203rb; *H* 89vb–90vb (text diverges from other MSS); *K* 42v–47r; *L* 166vb–169ra; *N* 150ra–152ra; *P* 34rb–37rb; *V* 138rb–140rb; *W* 25ra–27ra; *Y* 108rb–109vb; *Z* 111rb–112vb.

14) Viso de creatura mere spirituali quantum ad eius entitatem, restat videre de eius unitate. Et quantum ad hoc quaero utrum in substantiis separatis possint esse plura individua in eadem specie. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 22ra–23va; *B* 28ra–30ra; *C* 123vb–125ra; *D* 11rb–vb (text diverges from other MSS); *F* 275rb–277vb; *G* 203rb–204va; *H* 90vb–91va (text diverges from other MSS); *K* 47r–51r; *L* 169ra–170vb; *N* 152ra–153va; *P* 37rb–40ra; *V* 140rb–142ra; *W* 27ra–28va; *Y* 109vb–111ra; *Z* 112vb–114ra.

15) Utrum angeli sint compositi ex actu et potentia. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 23va–26rb; *B* 30ra–33vb; *C* 125ra–127va; *D* 11vb–12vb; *F* 277vb–280rb; *G* 204va–207ra; *H* 91va–92vb; *K* 51r–57v; *L* 170vb–174ra; *N* 153va–156rb; *P* 40ra–45ra; *V* 142ra–145ra; *W* 28va–31va; *Y* 111ra–113va; *Z* 114ra–116rb.

16) Utrum angelus per se sit in loco, vel tantum per accidens. Videtur quod tantum per accidens. . . . Secundo quaero utrum plures angelii possint esse simul in eodem loco. Videtur quod non. . . . Tertio quaero utrum angelii possint moveri localiter. Videatur quod non. . . . Ultimo quaero utrum *⟨angeli⟩* possint moveri in instanti vel in tempore et utrum motu continuo vel indivisibili. Circa istas quaestiones sic est procedendum: primo videbitur de prima, quae est fundamentum omnium aliarum. . . .

A 26rb–28vb; *B* 33vb–37rb; *C* 127va–129vb; *D* 12vb–13vb (text diverges from other MSS); *F* 280rb–282rb; *G* 207ra–209va; *H* 92vb–94rb (text diverges from other MSS); *K* 57v–64r; *L* 174ra–177rb; *N* 156rb–159ra; *P* 45ra–49vb; *V* 145ra–148ra; *W* 31va–34va; *Y* 113va–115va;

Z 116va–118va. *Ed.*: (a. 5) Schabel, “Francis of Marchia” (from *ABCDEFGHIJKLMNXYZ*). *Lit.*: C. Schabel, “On the Threshold of Inertial Mass? Francesco d’Appignano on Resistance and Infinite Velocity” (forthcoming).

16a) *Posset quaeri utrum anima intellectiva sit forma hominis. Quod non probo. . . .*
D 14vb–15ra; *H* 95va–b; *deest in omnibus aliis* MSS.

17) *Quaesito de creatura spirituali quantum ad eius entitatem et unitatem, quaero de eius potentii. Et primo quaero utrum potentiae sensitivae in homine et in aliis animalibus sint eiusdem speciei. Videtur quod sic. . . .*
A 28vb–29va; *B* 37rb–38rb; *C* 129vb–130va; *D* 15ra–b; *F* 282rb–283ra; *G* 209va–210rb; *H* 95vb–96rb; *K* 64r–66r; *L* 177rb–178ra; *N* 159ra–160ra; *P* 49vb–50rb; *V* 148ra–vb; *W* 34va–35rb; *Y* 115vb–116rb; *Z* 118va–119ra.

18) *Utrum intellectus sive anima intellectiva sit immortalis. Videtur quod non . . . ideo non potest esse idem cum anima intellectiva incorruptibili existente.*
A 29va–b; *B* 38rb–va; *C* 130va–b; *D* 13vb (cf. IV, q. 61a); *F* 283ra; *G* 210rb–va; *H* 94rb (cf. IV, q. 61a); *K* *deest*; *L* 178ra–b; *N* 160ra; *P* 50rb–51va (cf. IV, q. 61a); *V* 148vb–149ra; *W* 35rb–va; *Y* 116rb–va (cf. IV, q. 61a); *Z* 119ra–b.

19) *Sed est tunc dubium utrum immortalitas animae possit naturaliter de ipsa anima demonstrari a priori vel a posteriori. Videtur quod sit a priori . . . ut ostensum fuit prolixius in primo libro.*
A 29vb–31rb; *B* 38va–40va; *C* 130vb–132ra; *D* 13vb–14vb (beginning unmarked; cf. IV, q. 61b); *F* 283ra–284va (beginning unmarked); *G* 210va–211va; *H* 94va–95va (beginning unmarked; cf. IV, q. 61b); *K* *deest*; *L* 178rb–180rb; *N* 160ra–161vb (beginning unmarked); *P* 51va–54va; *V* 149ra–150vb (ends a few lines early with “maior est falsa”); *W* 35va–37rb; *Y* 116va–117vb (cf. IV, q. 61b); *Z* 119rb–120va (beginning unmarked). *Lit.*: Michalski, “Le *criticisme*,” 40–41, rpt. in *La philosophie au XIV^e siècle*, 108–9 (from *Z*, called q. 17).

20) *Utrum intellectus et voluntas in homine et angelo sint eiusdem rationis. Videtur quod sic. . . .*
A 31rb–35ra; *B* 40va–45va; *C* 132ra–135rb; *D* 15rb–17ra; *F* 284va–287vb; *G* 211va–215ra; *H* 96rb–98vb; *K* 66r–76r; *L* 180rb–184vb; *N* 161vb–165vb; *P* 54va–61vb (ends on “ad rationes alterius partis” with 24-line gap); *V* 150vb–155va; *W* 37va–42rb; *Y* 117vb–120vb; *Z* 120vb–123vb.

21) *Utrum idem sit obiectum intellectus et voluntatis. Videtur quod non. . . .*
A 35ra–36rb; *B* 45va–47ra; *C* 135rb–136rb; *D* 17ra–vb; *F* 287vb–289ra; *G* 215ra–216rb; *H* 98vb–99va; *K* 76r–79r; *L* 185ra–186va; *N* 165vb–166vb; *P* 62ra–64rb; *V* 155va–156vb; *W* 42rb–43vb; *Y* 120vb–121vb; *Z* 123vb–124vb.

22) *Utrum angelus possit causare effective aliquam formam substantialem materialem. Videtur quod sic. . . .*
A 36rb–37va; *B* 47ra–48vb; *C* 136rb–137va; *D* 17vb–18va; *F* 289ra–290ra; *G* 216rb–217rb; *H* 99va–100va; *K* 79r–82v; *L* 186va–188ra; *N* 166vb–168rb; *P* 64va–67ra (ends on “se-
cundo potest aliter dici sic” with 29-line gap); *V* 156vb–157vb; *W* 43vb–45rb; *Y* 121vb–122vb; *Z* 124vb–126ra.

23) *Quaesito de creatura spirituali quantum ad eius substantiam et quantum ad eius potentias, restat nunc quaerere de ipsa quantum ad eius operationem. Et quantum ad hoc quaero primo utrum angelus intelligat componendo et dividendo et per discursum syllogisticum vel non. Videtur primo quod non. . . .*
A 37va–39rb; *B* 48vb–51ra; *C* 137va–139ra; *D* 18va–19va; *F* 290ra–291va; *G* 217va–219ra;

H 100va–101vb; *K* 82v–87r; *L* 188ra–190ra; *N* 168rb–170ra; *P* 67rb–70rb; *V* 157vb–159va; *W* 45rb–48rb (46v and 47v blank); *Y* 122vb–124rb; *Z* 126ra–127va.

24) *Utrum voluntas daemonis sit obstinata sic quod necessario velit malum ex immobili apprehensione intellectus vel ex aliquo habitu necessitante voluntatem [habitu necessario vel voluntate inclinante BCGV] ad malum. Videtur primo quod non. . . .*

A 39rb–41ra; *B* 51ra–53rb; *C* 139ra–140va; *D* 19va–20va; *F* 291va–293ra; *G* 219rb–221ra; *H* 101vb–103ra; *K* 87r–91v; *L* 190ra–192rb; *N* 170ra–171vb; *P* 70rb–73vb; *V* 159va–161va; *W* 48rb–51ra; *Y* 124rb–125vb; *Z* 127va–129ra.

25) *Utrum obiectum aliquod materiale possit aliquid causare in intellectu angeli. Videtur quod sic. . . .*

A 41ra–42ra; *B* 53va–54va; *C* 140va–141rb; *D* 20va–21ra; *F* 293ra–va; *G* 221ra–vb; *H* 103ra–vb; *K* 91v–94r; *L* 192rb–193va; *N* 171vb–172va; *P* 73vb–75rb; *V* 161va–162rb; *W* 51ra–52rb; *Y* 125vb–126va; *Z* 129ra–vb. *Ed.*: Mariani, *Quodlibet*, 317–23 (App. I, 2.2).

26) *Utrum angelus loquens alteri causet in illo cui loquitur actum intelligendi. Videtur quod sic. . . .*

A 42ra–43ra; *B* 54va–55vb (ends with “sequitur alia quaestio frater Adrianus scripsit”); *C* 141rb–142rb; *D* 21ra–va; *F* 293va–294rb; *G* 221vb–222va; *H* 103vb–104va; *K* 94r–96v; *L* 193va–194vb; *N* 172va–173va; *P* 75va–77rb; *V* 162rb–163rb; *W* 52rb–53rb; *Y* 126va–127rb; *Z* 130ra–vb.

27) *Utrum unus angelus possit videre seu intelligere cogitationes alterius angelii. Videtur quod sic. . . .*

A 43ra–44rb; *B* 56ra–58ra; *C* 142rb–143va; *D* 21va–22va; *F* 294rb–295rb; *G* 222va–223vb; *H* 104va–105va; *K* 96v–100v; *L* 194vb–196rb; *N* 173va–174vb; *P* 77rb–80ra; *V* 163rb–164rb; *W* 53rb–54vb; *Y* 127rb–128va; *Z* 130vb–131vb.

28) *CIRCA SECUNDAM PARTEM ISTIUS LIBRI quaero primo utrum species cuiuslibet generis sit composita ex materia et forma. Videtur primo quod sic. . . .*

A 44rb–45vb; *B* 58ra–59vb; *C* 143va–144vb; *D* 22va–23rb; *F* 295rb–296va; *G* 223vb–225rb; *H* 105vb–106vb; *K* 100v–104v; *L* 196rb–198rb; *N* 174vb–176rb; *P* 80ra–82vb; *V* 164va–165vb; *W* 54vb–58rb (55v, 56v, 57v blank); *Y* 128va–129vb; *Z* 131vb–133ra.

29) *Utrum caelum sit animatum. Videtur quod sic. . . .*

A 45vb–46rb; *B* 59vb–60va; *C* 144vb–145rb; *D* 23vb–24va; *F* 296va–b; *G* 225rb–vb; *H* 106vb–107rb; *K* 104v–106r; *L* 198rb–199ra; *N* 176rb–vb; *P* 82vb–83vb; *V* 165vb–166ra; *W* 58rb–59ra (58v and 58v bis blank); *Y* 129vb–130rb; *Z* 133ra–va. *Ed.*: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 41–45.

30) *Utrum caelum moveatur effective a principio intrinseco, puta a forma eius, vel extrinseco, videlicet ab aliqua intelligentia. Videtur quod a principio intrinseco. . . .*

A 46rb–vb; *B* 60va–61ra; *C* 145rb–vb; *D* 24va–b; *F* 296vb–297rb; *G* 225vb–226rb; *H* 107rb–va; *K* 106v–108r; *L* 199ra–vb; *N* 176vb–177rb; *P* 83vb–84vb; *V* 166ra–va; *W* 59rb–va; *Y* 130rb–va; *Z* 133va–134ra. *Ed.*: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 46–49. *Lit.*: Duhem, *Le système* 7:325–28 (from *H*).

31) *Utrum primum mobile sive ultima sphaera sit per se in loco. Videtur quod sic. . . .*

A 46vb–47va; *B* 61rb–62ra; *C* 145vb–146va; *D* 24vb–25ra; *F* 297rb (texts ends abruptly just after beginning; 297v blank); *G* 226rb–227ra; *H* 107va–108ra; *K* 108r–109v; *L* 199vb–200va; *N* 177rb–178ra; *P* 84vb–86ra; *V* 166va–167rb; *W* 59va–61ra (60v blank); *Y* 130va–131rb; *Z* 134ra–vb. *Ed.*: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 53–58. *Lit.*: Duhem, *Le système* 7:226–29 (from *H*; English translation in Duhem, *Medieval Cosmology*, 200–202).

32) Utrum in caelo sit materia. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 47va–49vb; *B* 62ra–64va; *C* 146va–148ra; *D* 24ra–25rb; *G* 227ra–229ra; *H* 108rb–109vb; *K* 109v–115v; *L* 200va–203rb; *N* 178ra–180ra; *P* 86rb–90ra; *V* 167rb–169ra; *W* 61ra–64ra (62v blank); *Y* 131rb–132vb; *Z* 134vb–136va. *Ed.*: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 59–75.

33) Utrum elementa maneant in mixto tantum in potentia passiva. Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 49vb–50ra; *B* 64va–b; *C* 148ra–b; *D* 25rb; *G* 229ra–b; *H* 109vb; *K* 115v–116v; *L* 203rb–va; *N* 180ra–va; *P* 90ra–va; *V* 169ra–b; *W* 64ra–b; *Y* 132vb; *Z* 136va–b. *Lit.*: Maier, *An der Grenze*, 82–86 (from *C*).

34) Utrum elementa sint in mixto tantum in actu virtuali per modum quo effectus est in causa efficiente. Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 50ra; *B* 64vb–65ra; *C* 148rb–va; *D* 25rb–va; *G* 229rb–va; *H* 109vb–110ra; *K* 116v–117r; *L* 203va–b; *N* 180va; *P* 90va–b; *V* 169rb; *W* 64rb–va; *Y* 132vb–133ra; *Z* 136vb–137ra. *Lit.*: Maier, *An der Grenze*, 82–86 (from *C*).

35) Utrum elementa sint in mixto tantum in actu perfectionali secundum quandam convenientiam aequivocam perfectionis ipsorum in mixto. Et arguo quod sic. . . .
A 50ra–b; *B* 65ra–b (*B* and *C* diverge significantly in this question); *C* 148va–b; *D* 25va; *G* 229va–b; *H* 110ra–b; *K* 117r–v; *L* 203vb–204ra; *N* 180va–b; *P* 90vb–91rb; *V* 169rb–va; *W* 64va–b; *Y* 133ra; *Z* 137ra. *Lit.*: Maier, *An der Grenze*, 82–86 (from *C*).

36) Utrum elementa sint in mixto in actu formali et secundum proprias essentias et formas eorum. Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 50rb–51va (16-line gap until end of column, with note “hic deficit tertium dubium et 3 solutiones trium rationum”); *B* 65rb–66vb; *C* 148vb–149vb; *D* 25va–26rb; *G* 229vb–231ra; *H* 110rb–111rb; *K* 118v–121v; *L* 204ra–205vb (ends with note “hic deficit tertium dubium et tres solutiones”); *N* 180vb–182ra; *P* 91rb–94ra (ends on bottom of 93vb with “ad ista per ordinem”; 94ra blank); *V* 169va–170vb; *W* 64vb–66vb; *Y* 133ra–134rb; *Z* 137ra–138rb (ends with note “solutiones istarum rationum deficiunt hic”). *Lit.*: Maier, *An der Grenze*, 82–86 (from *C*); Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 280–81 (from *B*).

36a) Utrum formae elementorum maneant in mixto secundum suas realitates. Quod sic. . . .
W 66vb–67va; *deest in omnibus aliis* MSS.

37) CIRCA TERTIAM PARTEM HUIUS LIBRI quaero primo utrum anima intellectiva sit extensa ad extensionem corporis cuiuslibet. Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 51vb–53va; *B* 66vb–68vb; *C* 149vb–151rb; *D* 26rb–27ra; *G* 231ra–233ra; *H* 111rb–112va; *K* 121v–126v; *L* 205vb–208ra; *N* 182rb–184ra; *P* 94rb–97va; *V* 170vb–172vb; *W* 67vb–69ra; *Y* 134rb–135va; *Z* 138rb–139vb.

38) Utrum in homine sit aliqua forma praeter animam intellectivam et in bruto praeter animam sensitivam et in plantis praeter animam vegetativam. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 53va–55va; *B* 68vb–71ra; *C* 151rb–153ra; *D* 27rb–28ra; *G* 233ra–235ra; *H* 112va–113vb; *K* 126v–132r; *L* 208ra–210rb; *N* 184ra–186ra; *P* 97vb–101rb; *V* 172vb–174vb; *W* 69ra–71ra; *Y* 135va–136vb; *Z* 139vb–141rb.

39) Utrum intellectus sit idem numero in omnibus hominibus. Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 55va–b; *B* 71ra–va; *C* 153ra; *D* 28ra–b; *G* 235ra; *H* 113vb–114ra; *K* 132r–v; *L* 210rb–va; *N* 186ra–b; *P* 101rb–vb; *V* 174vb–175ra; *W* 71ra–va; *Y* 136vb–137ra; *Z* 141rb–va.

40) Utrum intellectum esse diversum numero in diversis sit demonstrabile naturaliter. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 55vb–56va; *B* 71va–72va; *C* 153rb–vb; *D* 28rb–va; *G* 235ra–236ra; *H* 114ra–vb; *K* 133r–

135r, *L* 210va–211va; *N* 186rb–187rb; *P* 101vb–103va; *V* 175ra–176ra; *W* 71va–72va; *Y* 137ra–va; *Z* 141va–142rb.

41) Utrum animae intellectivae sint aequales secundum substantiam in perfectione. Videtur quod sic. . .

A 56va–58rb; *B* 72va–74va; *C* 153vb–155rb; *D* 28va–29va; *G* 236ra–237vb; *H* 114vb–116ra; *K* 135r–140r; *L* 211va–213va; *N* 187rb–189ra; *P* 103va–106vb; *V* 176ra–177vb; *W* 72va–74vb; *Y* 137va–139ra; *Z* 142rb–143vb.

42) Utrum intellectus sit causa actus intelligendi, vel voluntas actus volendi, vel tantum obiectum. Videtur quod obiectum. . .

A 58rb–59rb; *B* 74va–76rb; *C* 155rb–156va; *D* 29va–30ra; *G* 237vb–239rb; *H* 116ra–117ra; *K* 140r–144r; *L* 213va–214vb; *N* 189ra–190va; *P* 106vb–109vb; *V* 177vb–179rb; *W* 74vb–76vb; *Y* 139ra–140ra; *Z* 143vb–145ra.

43) Utrum intellectus sit totalis causa actus intelligendi et voluntas actus volendi et sensus actus sentiendi. Videtur quod non, sed magis obiectum. . .

A 59vb–62ra; *B* 76rb–79ra; *C* 156va–158rb; *D* 30ra–31rb; *G* 239rb–241va; *H* 117ra–118va; *K* 144r–150r; *L* 214vb–217ra; *N* 190va–192vb; *P* 109vb–114rb; *V* 179rb–181va; *W* 76vb–80ra; *Y* 140ra–141va; *Z* 145ra–146vb.

44) Utrum voluntas moveat per se potentias inferiores vel tantum per accidentis. Videtur quod non per se. . .

A 62ra–63ra; *B* 79ra–80rb; *C* 158va–159rb; *D* 31rb–32ra; *G* 241va–242rb; *H* 118va–119rb; *K* 150v–154r; *L* 217ra–218ra; *N* 192vb–193vb; *P* 114rb–116rb; *T* 1ra–va (contains only the last half; see the manuscript description above); *V* 181va–182va; *W* 80ra–81rb; *Y* 141va–142rb; *Z* 146vb–147vb.

45) Utrum voluntas movendo intellectum et alias potentias inferiores imprimat sive causet aliquid reale in eis. Videtur quod non. . .

A 63ra–vb; *B* 80rb–81rb; *C* 159rb–vb; *D* 32ra–b; *G* 242rb–243ra; *H* 119rb–vb; *N* 193vb–194va; *K* 154r–156r; *L* 218ra–vb; *P* 116rb–117va; *T* 1va–2va; *V* 182va–183rb; *W* 81rb–82rb; *Y* 142rb–vb; *Z* 147vb–148rb.

46) Utrum aliae potentiae a voluntate moventes ipsam voluntatem, eo modo quo movent eam, causet sive imprimant aliquid in ipsa. Respondeo et dico quod non est necessarium, nec etiam possibile. Primum patet quoniam [Respondeo et dico quod obiectum sibi proportionatum sufficit BDHT]. . .

A 63vb; *B* 81rb; *C* 159vb–160ra; *D* 32rb; *G* 243ra–b; *H* 119vb–120ra; *K* 156r–v; *L* 218vb–219ra; *N* 194va; *P* 117va–b; *T* 2va; *V* 183rb; *W* 82rb; *Y* 142vb; *Z* 148rb–va.

47) Utrum voluntas possit se mouere ante determinationem sive iudicium rationis vel contra ipsum vel praeter ipsum. Videtur quod non. . .

A 63vb–66ra; *B* 81rb–84ra; *C* 160ra–161vb; *D* 32rb–33va; *G* 243rb–246vb (after first paragraph of q. 47, text skips to near the beginning of q. 48; this then ends in mid-sentence with “esse autem effectus universalissimus” = *C* 163va mid-page); *H* 120ra–121va; *K* 156v–162v; *L* 219ra–221va; *N* 194va–196va; *P* 117vb–122ra; *T* 2va–5rb; *V* 183rb–185rb (beginning unmarked); *W* 82rb–85ra; *Y* 142vb–144rb; *Z* 148va–150ra (beginning unmarked).

48) Utrum prima causa concurrat immediate in omni actione cuiuscumque causae secundae sive naturalis sive etiam liberae coagendo secum et determinando ipsam ad agendum. Videtur quod sic. . .

A 66ra–69rb; *B* 84ra–88vb; *C* 161vb–164vb; *D* 33va–35rb; *G* (see notes to q. 47); *H* 121va–124ra; *K* 162v–173r; *L* 221va–225ra; *N* 196va–200rb; *P* 122ra–129rb; *T* 5rb–10rb; *V* 185rb–

188va; *W* 85rb–90rb; *Y* 144rb–147ra; *Z* 150ra–153rb. *Lit.:* Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 194–95 (from *BC*)

49) Ultimo quaero utrum Deus sit per se causa peccati effectiva. Videtur quod sic . . . quia non determinat eam ut coagens sibi effective ad suum actum. Sic ad quaestio-
nem.

A 69rb–vb; *B* 88vb–89vb; *C* 164vb–165rb; *D* 35rb–vb; *G* *deest* (see notes to q. 47); *H* 124ra–va; *K* 173r–175r; *L* 225ra–vb; *N* 200rb; *P* 129rb–130va; *T* 10va–11rb; *V* 188va–
189ra; *W* 90rb–91ra; *Y* 147ra–b; *Z* 153rb–vb.

- B:* Explicit secundus liber *Sententiarum* magistri Francisci de Marchia. . . .
- C:* Finito libro referamus gratias Christo.
- D:* Explicit, etc.
- H:* Explicit secundus liber magistri Francisci de Marcia de Ordine Minorum. . . .
- K:* Explicit secundus liber *Sententiarum* fratris Francisci Rubei reportatus per fratrem Guilielmum de Rubione Parisius.
- L:* Explicit secundus *Sententiarum* magistri Francisci de Marchia Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, finitus Parisius anno Domini MCCCXXIX, in vigilia Philippi et Jacobi apostolorum.
- N:* Explicit secundus Francisci de Marchia Ordinis Minorum.
- T:* Et sic terminatur secundus *Sententiarum* magistri Francisci de Marchia.
- V:* Explicit secundus *Sententiarum* Fran(cisci).
- Z:* Explicit secundus Francisci de Marchia. . . .

(*AFGPWY* have no explicit/colophon.)

REPORTATIO B SUPER SECUNDUM LIBRUM SENTENTIARUM

(VAT. LAT. 943)

- 1) Utrum creacio sit possibilis subiective. Quod sic, quia quod convenit generi con-
venit speciei . . . (1ra–2ra).
- 2) Utrum creacio sit possibilis obiective. Et est una (opinio) que dicit primo quod du-
plex est potentia . . . (2ra–va).
- 3) Utrum creacio sit demonstrabilis. Dixi in Principio* de* secundo (libro) quod
creacionem posse demonstrari potest intelligi dupliciter . . . (2va–3ra).⁴⁶
- 4) Circa distincionem secundam [tertio MS] quero primo utrum res create indigeant
continue conservante et conservacione. Et arguo primo quod non . . . (3ra–va).
- 5) Secunda questio est circa secundam distincionem utrum creatio et conservacio rei
differant realiter. Et dico quod non . . . (3va–4rb).

⁴⁶ Marchia appears to be referring here to his Principal Lecture on II *Sent.*, which deals with precisely this topic.

6) Tertia questio circa eandem distinccionem est utrum duracio rei permane(n)tit differat realiter a re durante. Dico quod non . . . (4rb).

7) Et ideo est alia questio utrum duracio fluens, scilicet tempus, differat realiter a re fluente, puta a motu. Et dico quod non . . . (4rb–va).

8) Circa *(distinccionem)* [de MS] quartam, quero utrum creacio accio nova accepta per modum originis previe ad *terminum creacionis* sit aliud reale sive utrum sit habi-tudo realis. Respondeo: dico quod non . . . (4va–5rb).

9) Secundo circa eandem distinccionem quero utrum respectus consideratus per modum actus primi existens subiective in termino creacionis in ordine ad Deum sit realis sive utrum creature ad Deum possit esse respectus realis de genere relacionis. Quod non . . . (5rb–va).

10) Tertia questio circa eandem distinccionem est utrum respectus realis de genere relationis quem fundat creatura in ordine ad Deum sit realiter distinctus ab ipsa crea-tura. Et videtur quod non . . . (5va–6va).

11) Ultima questio circa distinccionem quartam: utrum respectus quem fundat crea-tura ad Deum ut est efficiens sit [et MS] alterius racionis specifice a respectu quem fundat ad Deum ut est finis. Dico quod sic . . . (6va).

12) Circa materiam creacionis quero plus. Et primo utrum creature sint a Deo im-mEDIATE per intellectum et voluntatem et non per tertiam potentiam exsecutivam (6va; qq. 12 and 13 treated together).

13) Secunda questio est utrum creature sint immediate a Deo per actus intelligendi et volendi et non per aliquem tertium actum exsecutivum. Et arguitur simul ad istas duas questiones . . . (6va; qq. 12 and 13 treated together).

14) Tertio quero utrum angelus moveat immediate celum per intellectum et volun-tatem vel per aliam potentiam realiter distinctam ab intellectu et voluntate (6va–8rb; qq. 14 and 15 treated together).

15) Quarta questio est utrum angelus moveat celum immediate per solos actus intel-lectus et voluntatis vel per actum tertium exsecutivum. Circa istas questiones . . . (6va–8rb; qq. 14 and 15 treated together).

Lit.: Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 190.

16) Utrum creacio accio sit in Deo (8rb–10rb; qq. 16–18 treated together).

17) Secundo utrum sit in creatura (8rb–10rb; qq. 16–18 treated together).

18) Tertio utrum sit in utroque. Ad primas duas questiones arguo quod sit in creatura . . . (8rb–10rb; qq. 16–18 treated together).

19) Utrum mundus fuerit possibilis ab eterno. Quod non . . . (10rb–12va).

Lit.: Maier, *Ausgehendes Mittelalter I*, 70–71, and *Die Vorläufer*, 202–3.

20) Utrum anima sit composita ex materia et forma. Quod sic . . . (12va).

21) Utrum angelus sit compositus ex materia et forma. Quod sic . . . (12va).

22) Utrum angelus sit compositus ex accidente et subiecto. Quod non . . . (12va–13vb).

22a) Utrum esse plures intelligencias preter primam possit evidenter convinci in lumine naturali. Et videtur quod sic . . . (12v, in marg. at bottom of page).

23) Utrum plures angeli sint possibles esse sub eadem specie specialissima (speculativa MS). Quod non . . . (13vb–14va).

24) Circa potentias angeli quero primo utrum intellectus et voluntas in angelo et in homine sint eiusdem speciei. Quod sic . . . (14va–17rb).

25) Utrum sit idem obiectum intellectus et voluntatis. Quod non . . . (17rb–vb).

26) Utrum angelus intelligat in componendo et dividendo. Quod non . . . (17vb–19ra).

27) Utrum angelus possit intelligere plura simul. Quod sic . . . (17v, in marg. at bottom of page).

28) Utrum angelus sit compositus ex actu et potentia. Quod non . . . (19ra).

29) Utrum plurificabilis species habeat unitatem realem preter intellectum. Quod non . . . (19ra–20rb).

30) Utrum angelus proprie sit in loco per se proprie dicto. Probatio quod solum per accidens . . . (20rb–21vb).

31) Utrum angelus possit efficienter causare aliquam formam substantialem materialem. Quod sic . . . (21vb–23ra).

32) Circa distinctionem 13 quero utrum celum sit animatum. Quod sic . . . (23ra–24va; qq. 32–35 treated together).

Lit.: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 186–249 passim (with *Reportatio A* text, 41–45).

33) Secundo quero si celum moveatur a propria forma ipsius celi. Quod sic . . . (23ra–24va; qq. 32–35 treated together).

Lit.: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 186–249 passim (with *Reportatio A* text, 46–49).

34) Tertio quero si celum sit in loco. Quod sic . . . (23ra–24va; qq. 32–35 treated together).

Lit.: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 186–249 passim (with *Reportatio A* text, 53–58).

35) Quarto quero sine argumentis si terra sit per se in loco. Ad ista per ordinem. De primo . . . (23ra–24va; qq. 32–35 treated together).

Lit.: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 53–58, 186–249 passim.

36) Utrum voluntas mali angeli sit obstinata sic quod necessario velit male quicquid vult . . . (24va–25vb).

37) Utrum obiectum materiale possit aliquid causare in intellectu angeli. Quod sic . . . (25vb–27va; qq. 37–39a treated together).

38) Utrum unus angelus loquens alteri angelo causet in eo actum intelligendi. Quod sic . . . (25vb–27va; qq. 37–39a treated together).

39) Utrum unus angelus possit naturaliter videre cogitationes alterius angeli. Quod sic . . . (25vb–27va; qq. 37–39a treated together).

39a) Quarta questio: utrum angelus bonus possit peccare et angelus malus possit penitere a malo. Respondeo ad istas questiones . . . (25vb–27va; qq. 37–39a treated together, q. 39a dealt with very superficially).

40) Circa tertiam partem istius secundi libri quero utrum species cuiuslibet* generis sit composita ex materia et forma. Quod sic . . . (27va–28va).

41) Utrum celum sit compositum ex materia et forma. Quod non . . . (28va–29vb).
Lit.: Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 304 (with *Reportatio A* text, 59–75).

42) Utrum elementa sint in mixto solum in potentia. Quod sic . . . (29vb–30ra).
Lit.: Maier, *An der Grenze*, 83–85.

43) Utrum elementa sint in mixto tantum in esse virtuali per modum quo effectus est in suo effecto equivoco*. Et videtur quod sic . . . (30ra).

44) Utrum elementa sint in mixto in actu tantum perfeccionali secundum quandam convenienciam ipsorum equivocam in mixto. Et videtur quod sic . . . (30ra).

45) Utrum elementa sint in mixto in actu formalis et (secundum) proprias essencias eorum. Et videtur quod sic . . . (30ra–vb).

46) Utrum anima intellectiva sit extensa vel etc. (31ra–32va, qq. 46–48 treated together).

47) Utrum anima sensitiva sit extensa vel etc. (31ra–32va, qq. 46–48 treated together).

48) Utrum anima vegetativa sit ex(tensa). Et arguitur quod sic . . . (31ra–32va, qq. 46–48 treated together).

49) Utrum in homine sit aliqua alia forma preter intellectivam, et in bruto sit alia preter sensitivam, et in planta sit alia preter vegetativam. Et arguo quod non . . . (32va–33vb).

50) Utrum anima intellectiva sit corruptibilis. Quod sic . . . (34ra).

51) Utrum immortalitas anime possit naturaliter demonstrari a nobis in via, et hoc a priori.⁴⁷ Et videtur quod sic . . . (34ra–35va).

52) Utrum (sit) unus intellectus numero in omnibus hominibus. Et videtur quod sic . . . (35va–b).

53) Utrum intellectum multiplicari in diversis hominibus sit naturaliter demonstrabile. Quod non . . . (36ra–va).

54) Utrum omnes anime intellective sint equales in essencia, quantum scilicet ad perfeccioinem substantialem. Et videtur quod sic . . . (36va–38rb).

55) Utrum obiectum sit per se causa effectiva actus intelligendi et volendi. Quod sic . . . (38rb–39va).

56) Utrum voluntas et intellectus sint totales cause suorum actuum. Quod non . . . (39va–40vb).

57) Utrum voluntas moveat se per alias potentias inferiores (40vb–41rb, qq. 57–60 treated together).

58) Secundo utrum in eis imprimat aliquid (40vb–41rb, qq. 57–60 treated together).

⁴⁷ Pelzer reads *posteriori*, which is possible, but the abbreviation here is often used for *pri* in this manuscript.

59) *Tertio utrum per se moveat intellectum* (40vb–41rb, qq. 57–60 treated together).

60) *Quarto utrum alie potentie imprimant in voluntatibus**. Ad tres primas questio-nes arguitur quod non . . . (40vb–41rb, qq. 57–60 treated together).

61) *Utrum voluntas aliquid imprimat in intellectum vel in aliquam potentiam quam movet. Quod non . . .* (41rb–vb).

62) *Utrum potentie alie moveant voluntatem aliquid imprimendo in eam. Dico quod, supposito quod potentie inferiores, puta intellectus et potentie sensitive, non moveant voluntatem nisi mediate et per accidens presentando sibi obiectum suum, quo presen-tato ipsa movet se ipsam per se ad actum suum, potentie ille nichil inprimunt voluntati . . .* (41vb).

63) *Utrum voluntas possit se movere contra dictamen rationis et contra eius deter-minacionem. Quod non . . .* (42ra–vb).

64) *Utrum voluntas in omni actu suo determinetur a prima causa. Quod sic . . .* (42vb–44ra).

65) *Utrum Deus sit causa effectiva peccati. Quod sic . . . ipse autem non possunt nisi Deus, qui est prima causa, permittat* (44ra–45ra).

REPORTATIO SUPER TERTIUM LIBRUM SENTENTIARUM

1) *Circa tertium librum Sententiarum quaeritur utrum natura humana vel quaecumque creata sit assumptibilis ad suppositum divinum. Et videtur quod non . . .*
A 72ra–73vb; B 91vb–94ra; C 167ra–168va; E 45ra–46va; F 298ra–299vb; H 125ra–126va; J 92ra–93vb; K 187r–191v; N 203ra–204vb; P 131ra–133vb; T 13ra–15rb; W 92ra–93vb (“*Utrum assumptio naturae humanae a supposito Verbi fuerit possibilis. Quod non . . .*”); *Y 148ra–149vb; Z 155ra–156rb*.

2) *Circa distinctionem secundam tertii quaero utrum natura bruti vel cuiuscumque ir-rationalis sit assumptibilis a supposito divino. Quod non . . .*
A 73vb–74ra; B 94ra–vb; C 168vb–169ra; F 299vb–300rb; H 126va–b; J 93vb–94ra; K 191v–192v; N 204vb–205ra; P 133vb–134rb; T 15rb–vb; W 93vb–94rb (“*Circa distinc-tionem secundam primo utrum natura irrationalis possit assumi a Verbo. Quod non . . .*”); *Y 149vb–150rb; Z 156rb–vb*.

3) *Utrum Verbum potuerit naturam accidentalem assumere. Quod non . . .*
A 74ra–b; B 94va–b; C 169ra; F 300rb; H 126vb; J 94ra–b; K 192v–193r; N 205ra–b; P 134va–b; T 15vb; W 94rb–95ra (94v blank) (“*Secundo queritur utrum natura accidentalis sit assumptibilis a Verbo. Quod non . . .*”); *Y 150rb–va; Z 156vb*.

4) *Utrum una persona divina possit assumere plures naturas numero distinctas simul. Et arguitur quod non . . .*
A 74rb–va; B 94vb–95ra; C 169ra–b; F 300rb–va; H 126vb–127ra; J 94rb; K 193r–v; N 205rb; P 134vb–135ra; T 16ra; W 95ra–b; Y 150va; Z 156vb–157ra.

5) *Utrum tres personae possint assumere unam naturam numero. Et videtur quod non . . .*
A 74va–75ra; B 95ra–vb; C 169rb–vb; F 300va–301ra; H 127ra–va; J 94rb–vb; K 193v–195r; N 205rb–206ra; P 135ra–vb; T 16ra–vb; W 95rb–96va (95v blank); *Y 150va–151ra; Z 157ra–va*.

6) *Utrum Verbum assumpserit prius totum hominem quam partes eius, scilicet quam corpus et animam. Quod sic. . .*
A 75rb–76va; B 95vb–97ra; C 169vb–170vb; F 301ra–302va; H 127va–128rb; J 94vb–95vb; K 195r–198r; N 206ra–207rb; P 135vb–137vb; T 16vb–18rb; W 96va–98rb (“*Utrum Filius Dei possit assumere totum hominem vel partes eius essentialies vel econverso. Videtur quod primo totum . . .*”); *Y 151ra–152va; Z 157va–158va.*

7) *Utrum beata Virgo fuerit univoce mater cum aliis mulieribus. Quod non. . .*
A 76va–77rb; B 97rb–98rb; C 170vb⁴⁸; F 302va–303rb; H 128rb–129ra; J 95vb–96va; K 198r–200v; N 207rb–208rb; P 137vb–139ra; T 18rb–19va; W 98rb–100ra (99v blank; 10-line gap on 100ra at end); *Y 152va–153rb; Z 158va–159rb.*

8) *Utrum beata Virgo fuerit concepta in peccato originali. Et videtur quod sic. . .*
A 77rb–78va; B 98rb–100ra; C deest (cf. q. 7); F 303rb–304vb; H 129ra–130ra; J 96va–97va; K 200v–203v; N 208rb–209rb; P 139ra–140vb; T 19va–21ra; W 100ra–102rb (101v blank); *Y 153rb–154vb; Z 159rb–160rb.* *Lit.:* F. De Guimaraens, “La doctrine des théologiens sur l’immaculée conception de 1250 à 1350,” *Études Franciscaines*, ser. 4, 10 (1953): 23–51 at 46 (from *B*); A. Emmen, “Einführung in die Mariologie der Oxford Franziskanerschule,” *Franziskanische Studien* 39 (1957): 99–217 at 169 n. 76 and 216–17 (from *B*).

9) *Utrum reparatio generis humani fuerit praecise causa incarnationis Verbi. Quod non. . .*
A 78va–79va; B 100ra–101ra; C deest (cf. q. 7); F 304vb–305vb; H 130ra–vb; J 97va–98va; K 203v–206r; N 209rb–210rb; P 140vb–142rb; T 21ra–22rb; W 102rb–105va (102v, 103v, 104v blank); *Y 154vb–155vb; Z 160rb–161ra.*

10) *Utrum genus humanum potuerit redimi per creaturam puram [per aliquam puram creaturam, puta angelum vel hominem. Et *W*]. Quod non. . .*
A 79va–80rb; B 101ra–102ra; C deest (cf. q. 7); F 305vb–306va; H 130vb–131va; J 98va–99ra; K 206r–208r; N 210rb–211ra; P 142rb–143va; T 22rb–23rb; W 105va–106va; Y 155vb–156va; Z 161ra–vb.

11) *Utrum intellectus animae Christi eadem visione [eodem actu *FHJKTYZ*] videat Verbum et ea quae relucent in Verbo. Secundo utrum voluntas eius creata eodem actu velit ea quae sunt ad finem et ipsum finem. De primo [quae sunt . . . primo *om. AFHJYZ*] quod non. . .*
A 80rb–81va; B 102rb–104ra; C 171ra–va (part of a. 2; cf. q. 7); *E* (a. 2 only; cf. *I Reportatio*, q. 14); *F 306va–308ra; H 131va–132va; J 99ra–100rb; K 208r–211v; N 211rb–212va; P 143va–145rb; T 23rb–25ra; W 106va–108rb* (“*Utrum beatus videat eodem actu essentialiam divinam et reluentia in ea. Et videtur quod non . . .*”); *Y 156va–158ra; Z 161vb–162vb.*

12) *Utrum intellectus animae Christi videndo Verbum videat omnia quae relucent in Verbo et idem de quocumque alio intellectu creato beato. Videtur quod sic. . .*
A deest; B 104ra–105vb; C 171va–172rb; F 308ra–309va; H 132va–133va; J 100rb–101va; K 211v–214v; N 212va–213vb; P 145rb–147ra; T 25ra–26va; W 108rb–109va (“*Utrum intellectus animae Christi, videndo Verbum, et omnia quae relucent in Verbo simul videat. Videtur quod sic . . .*”); *Y 158ra–159rb; Z 162vb–163vb.*

13) *Utrum anima Christi videat Verbum per speciem vel sine specie et idem de*

⁴⁸ It seems that leaves are missing from *C* between what is now fol. 170 and fol. 171, where the text jumps from partway through q. 7 to partway through q. 11 even though qq. 8–10 are listed in the *tabula quaestionum* on 174vb.

quacumque anima beata [de anima cuiuslibet beati *AFHJKYZ*]. Et videtur quod per speciem. . . .

A 81va–82vb; *B* 105vb–107va; *C* 172va–173va; *F* 309va–310vb; *H* 133va–134va; *J* 101va–102va; *K* 214v–218v; *N* 213vb–215rb; *P* 147ra–149ra; *T* 26va–28rb; *W* 109vb–111va (“Utrum anima Christi sive quaecumque anima beata videat essentiam divinam per speciem aliquam creatam vel sine specie. Videtur quod videatur per speciem . . .”); *Y* 159rb–160vb; *Z* 163vb–165ra. *Ed.*: William Duba, “Seeing God: Theology and Politics in the Fourteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, forthcoming).

14) Utrum virtutes morales sint connexae. Quod sic. . . .

A 82vb–83vb; *B* 107va–108vb; *C* 173va–174rb; *E* 92va–95rb (“Utrum virtutes sint connexae. Circa istam quaestione sunt quatuor sunt fienda . . .”); *F* 310vb–311vb; *H* 134va–135rb; *J* 102va–103va; *K* 218v–220v; *N* 215rb–216rb; *P* 149ra–150va; *T* 28rb–29vb; *W* 111va–112vb; *Y* 160vb–161vb; *Z* 165ra–vb.

15) Utrum anima Christi fuerit capax summae gratiae et gloriae. Quod non. . . .

A 83vb–84ra; *B* 108vb–109rb; *C* 174rb–vb; *F* 311vb–312ra; *H* 135rb–va; *J* 103va–b; *K* 220v–221v; *N* 216rb–vb; *P* 150va–151ra (ends with “ad quam nos etc”, 151rb and 151v blank); *T* 29vb–30rb; *W* deest; *Y* 161vb–162rb; *Z* 165vb–166ra.

16) Quaeritur utrum Christus fuit vere frater noster . . . compossibles vel incompossibles, haec est gratia materiae* et non gratia formae.

J 103vb–106rb; *K* 221v–229v; *deest in omnibus aliis MSS.*

B: Explicit reportatio super tertium librum magistri Francisci de Marchia Ordinis Fratrum Minorum. Deo gratias.

CH: Explicit reportatio super tertium librum a fratre Francisco de Marchia. Deo gratias.

FN: Explicit tertius *Sententiarum* Francisci de Marchia. Deo gratias [Amen *F*]. Amen.

T: Explicit tertius *Sententiarum* editus a fratre Francisco de Marchia de Ordine Minorum. Deo gratias. Amen.

W: Explicit tertius Francisci de Marchia. Deo gratias.

Y: Explicit reportatio super librum tertium a fratre Francisco de Marchia.

Z: Explicit tertius Francici [!] de Marchia supra *Sententias*.

(AJKP have no explicit/colophon.)

REPORTATIO SUPER QUARTUM LIBRUM SENTENTIARUM

1) Circa principium quarti libri quaero primo utrum in sacramentis sit aliqua virtus supernaturalis insistens sive eis formaliter inhaerens. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 84ra–85ra; *B* 109va–110vb; *C* 175ra–178rb; *D* 38ra–vb; *E* 60rb–62va; *H* 136ra–vb; *K* 229v–232v; *P* 164va–168va; *Vb* 137ra–b; *W* 193rb–196rb; *Y* 163ra–vb; *Z* 167ra–169ra. *Ed.*: Aa. 1–2 in Maier, *Zwei Grundprobleme*, 166–80 (from *C*, variants from *E*); excerpt in Schneider, *Die Kosmologie*, 50–52; excerpt in Mariani, *Super libros Physicorum*, 66–77. Partial English translation (from Maier) in Clagett, *Science of Mechanics*, 526–30; partial Italian translation (from Maier) in Vescovini, *La teoria dell’impeto*, 1–21. *Lit.*: Michalski, “La physique nouvelle et les différents courants philosophiques au XIV^e siècle,” *Bulletin de*

l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres Classe d'histoire et de philosophie (Cracow, 1928), 47–49, 56, rpt. in *La philosophie au XIV^e siècle*, 253–55, 262 (from Z); Maier, *Die Vorläufer*, 134 (from C); many other studies refer to this question.

2) Circa d. 2 quaero utrum sacramenta novae legis habeant causalitatem aliquam respectu gratiae conferendae. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 85ra–vb; *B* 111ra–112ra; *C* 178rb–180va; *D* 38vb–39rb; *E* 62va–64vb; *H* 136vb–137va; *K* 232v–235v; *P* 168va–171vb; *Vb* 137rb–vb; *W* 196rb–198va; *Y* 163vb–164va; *Z* 169ra–vb (breaks off and continues 171rb–172ra).

3) Circa d. 4 quaero utrum in sacramento baptismi principalius sint verba vel aqua vel ablutio ipsa. Videtur quod aqua. . . .

A 85vb–86rb; *B* 112rb–vb; *C* 180va–182ra; *D* 39rb–va; *E* 64vb–65vb (“Utrum in baptismo elementum sit principalius quam verbum vel econverso. Et probo quod elementum . . .”); *H* 137va–b; *K* 235v–236r; *P* 171vb–173va; *Vb* 137vb–138ra; *W* 198va–200ra; *Y* 164va–b; *Z* 172ra–vb (breaks off; continuation on 169vb–170ra merged with previous question, “ad rationem in principio . . . supra dictum est” is clearly identifiable).

4) Circa d. 5 quaero utrum aqua sit materia congrua sacramenti baptismi. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 86rb–va; *B* 112vb–113ra; *C* 182ra–b; *D* 39va; *H* 137vb–138ra; *K* 236r–237r; *P* 173va–174ra; *Vb* 138ra; *W* 200ra–b; *Y* 164vb–165ra; *Z* 170ra–b.

5) Utrum in ministrante baptismum vel quodcumque aliud sacramentum requiratur intentio actualis. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 86va–b; *B* 113rb–va; *C* 182va–184ra; *D* 39va–b (beginning unmarked); *E* 65vb–67ra (“Utrum in sacramento baptismi requiratur actualis intentio baptizandi. Et videtur quod sic . . .”); *H* 138ra–b; *K* 237r–238r; *P* 174rb–176va; *Vb* 138ra–b; *W* 200rb–202ra; *Y* 165ra–b; *Z* 170rb–171rb.

6) Tertio quaeritur utrum plures possint baptizare unum. Respondeo quod. . . .

A 86vb; *B* 113va–b; *C* 184ra–b; *D* 38vb (beginning unmarked); *H* 138rb; *K* 238r; *P* 176va; *Vb* 138rb (truncated, followed by additional, severly truncated question of 3 lines: “Quaeritur etiam utrum aliquis possit baptizari in utero . . . quod non . . .”); *W* 202ra–b; *Y* 165rb; *Z* 171rb.

7) Circa d. 6 quaero primo utrum aliquis nolens possit baptizari. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 86vb–87rb; *B* 113vb–114rb; *C* 184rb–185vb; *D* 39vb–40rb; *E* 67ra–68rb (“. . . utrum nolens suscipiat sacramentum baptismi. Et videtur quod sic . . .”); *H* 138rb–vb; *K* 238r–239v; *P* 176va–178vb; *Vb* 138rb–va; *W* 202rb–203vb; *Y* 165rb–vb; *Z* 172vb–174ra.

8) Utrum non totaliter natus sed secundum aliquam partem tantum possit baptizari. Videtur quod sic. . . .

ABDHKVbY deest; C 185vb–186rb; *P* 178vb–179va; *W* 203vb–204va; *Z* 174ra–b.

9) Circa d. 7 in qua Magister agit de confirmatione quaero utrum haec sit definitio confirmationis: “signo te signo crucis” etc. Videtur quod non . . . [Circa d. 7 quaeritur utrum haec sit definitio confirmationis: “signo te.” Quod non . . . *DH*].

A 87rb–88rb; *B* 114rb–116ra; *C* 186rb–188ra; *D* 40rb–vb; *E* 68rb–69vb (“Quaero utrum hoc sit propria definitio sacramenti confirmationis ‘signo te signo’ etc. et ‘confirmo te crismate salutatis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.’ Et videtur quod non . . .”); *H* 138vb–139vb; *K* 239v–243r; *P* 179va–182vb; *Vb* 138va–139ra; *W* 204va–206vb; *Y* 165vb–166vb; *Z* 174rb–175vb.

10) Circa d. 8 in qua Magister incipit agere de sacramento eucharistiae quaero primo utrum haec sit forma praecise propria et vera consecrationis corporis Christi: “Hoc est

corpus meum," et haec sanguinis: "hic est sanguis" etc. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 88rb–89vb; *B* 116ra–117vb; *C* 188ra–189va; *D* 40vb–41vb; *H* 139vb–140va; *K* 243r–246v; *P* 183ra–185rb; *Vb* 139rb–vb; *W* 159va–161rb; *Y* 166vb–168ra; *Z* 175vb–177ra.

11) Circa d. 9 quaero utrum corpus Christi sit vere et realiter sub speciebus panis et sanguis sub speciebus vini. Et videtur quod non. . . .

A 89vb–91rb; *B* 117vb–120va; *C* 189va–191vb; *D* 41vb–43rb; *E* 71ra–72va ("Quaero utrum corpus Christi realiter sit sub speciebus panis. Et videtur quod non . . ."); *H* 140va–141vb; *K* 246v–251v; *P* 185rb–188va; *Vb* 139vb–140va; *W* 161rb–163vb; *Y* 168ra–169vb; *Z* 177ra–178va. *Lit.:* Bakker, *La raison et le miracle*, 86–94 (from *Z*).

12) Utrum receptio⁴⁹ huius sacramenti sit de essentia ipsius. Hic concordant omnes quod receptio est quid sacramentale seu sacramentum; sed utrum sit de essentia [sacramenti add. *BDHWY*] aliqui dicunt quod sic, aliqui quod non. Videtur mihi dicendum probabilius quod non. . . .

A 91rb; *B* 120va; *C* 191vb; *D* 43rb (beginning unmarked); *H* 142ra; *K* 251v–252v; *P* 188va; *Vb* 140va; *W* 163vb; *Y* 169vb; *Z* 178va.

13) Utrum aqua sit de essentia huius sacramenti. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 91va; *B* 120va–b; *C* 191vb; *D* 43rb (beginning unmarked); *H* 142ra; *K* 252v; *P* 188va–b; *Vb* 140va; *W* 163vb–164ra; *Y* 169vb; *Z* 178va–b.

14) Utrum quilibet teneatur istud sacramentum recipere integre. Videtur quod sic. . . .

BDVb deest; *A* 91va; *C* 191vb–192ra; *H* 142ra; *K* 252v; *P* 188vb; *W* 164ra; *Y* 169vb; *Z* 178vb.

15) Circa d. 10 quaero utrum idem corpus per propriam quantitatem possit esse in pluribus locis. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 91va–93rb; *B* 120vb–123rb; *C* 192ra–194ra; *D* 43rb–44vb; *E* 72vb–74va ("Utrum corpus Christi per propriam quantitatem possit esse simul in pluribus locis quacumque virtute. Et videtur quod non . . ."); *H* 142ra–143vb; *K* 252v–258r; *P* 188vb–192rb; *Vb* 140va–141ra; *W* 164ra–166vb; *Y* 169vb–171va; *Z* 178vb–180va.

16) Circa d. 11 quaero utrum conversio ista panis in corpus Christi sit substantia vel accidentis formaliter. Videtur quod non sit substantia . . .

A 93rb–94va; *B* 123rb–125ra; *C* 194ra–195rb; *D* 44vb–45vb; *E* 74va–75va ("Utrum conversio sit substantia vel accidentis. Et videtur quod sit accidentis . . ."); *H* 143vb–144vb; *K* 258r–261v; *P* 192rb–194va; *Vb* 141ra–b; *W* 166vb–168va; *Y* 171va–172va; *Z* 180va–181vb.

17) Utrum Deus quodlibet possit converttere in quodlibet. Respondeo quod sic. . . .

A 94va; *B* 125ra; *C* 195rb; *D* 45vb; *H* 144vb; *K* 261v–262r; *P* 194va; *Vb deest*; *W* 168va; *Y* 172va; *Z* 181vb.

18) Utrum panis in ista conversione annihiletur. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 94va–b; *B* 125ra–va; *C* 195rb–vb; *D* 45vb–46ra; *H* 144vb–145ra; *K* 262r–263r; *P* 194va–195rb; *Vb* 141rb–va; *W* 168va–169ra; *Y* 172va–173ra; *Z* 181vb–182rb.

19) Circa d. 12 quaero utrum accidentia in sacramento altaris sint sine subiecto. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 94vb–97rb; *B* 125va–129ra; *C* 195vb–199ra; *D* 46ra–48rb; *H* 145ra–147va; *K* 263r–271r; *P* 195rb–200va; *Vb* 141va–b; *W* 169ra–173rb; *Y* 173ra–175rb; *Z* 182rb–185ra. *Lit.:* Bakker, *La raison et le miracle*, 399–404 (from *Z*).

20) Circa d. 13 quaero utrum quantitas panis et alia accidentia sint in sacramento al-

⁴⁹ This is the reading in *BDHKVbY*; several other MSS including *C* and *Z* have "perceptio."

taris sine subiecto. Videtur quod non. . .

A 97rb–98vb; *B* 129ra–131rb; *C* 199ra–201ra; *D* 48rb–49va; *E* 75va–78rb (“Utrum in sacramento altaris accidentia quae ibi apparent sint sine subiecto. Et videtur quod non . . .”); *H* 147va–148vb; *K* 271r–275v; *P* 200va–203vb; *Vb* 142ra–b; *W* 173rb–175vb; *Y* 175rb–176vb; *Z* 185ra–186va. *Lit.*: Maier, *Metaphysische Hintergründe*, 142, 200–203 (from *C*); Bakker, *La raison et le miracle*, 404–8 (from *Z*).

21) Utrum qualitates panis et vini quae remanent in sacramento altaris fundentur realiter in quantitate. Videtur quod non. . .

A 98vb–100rb; *B* 131rb–133rb; *C* 201ra–202vb; *D* 49va–50va (beginning unmarked); *H* 148vb–150rb; *K* 275v–280v; *P* 203vb–207rb; *Vb deest*; *W* 176ra–178va; *Y* 176vb–178rb; *Z* 186va–188ra.

22) Circa d. 13 quaero utrum accidentia in sacramento altaris possint habere aliquam actionem naturaliter respectu termini secundum quid, puta respectu accidentis. Videtur primo quod non. . .

A 100rb–101rb; *B* 133rb–135ra; *C* 202vb–204rb; *D* 50va–51rb; *E* 78ra–79va (“Utrum accidentia quae apparent in sacramento altaris habeant naturaliter aliquam actionem. Et videtur quod non . . .”); *H* 150rb–151rb; *K* 280v–284r; *P* 207rb–209va; *Vb* 142rb–va; *W* 178va–180va; *Y* 178rb–179rb; *Z* 188ra–189rb.

23) Utrum accidentia separata [om. *BDHKY*] in sacramento altaris possint in generationem et corruptionem substantiae vel esse in alterationem totam praeviam generationi vel corruptioni substantiae [vel esse . . . substantiae *om. DH*]. Videtur primo quod sic. . .

A 101rb–103vb; *B* 135ra–138rb; *C* 204rb–207rb; *D* 51rb–53rb; *E* 79va–82rb (“Quantum ad secundum articulum, quomodo accidentia agant ad generationem substantiae, sunt quatuor modi dicendi . . .”); *H* 151rb–153va; *K* 284r–292r; *P* 209va–214va; *Vb* 142vb–143rb; *W* 180va–184va; *Y* 179rb–181va; *Z* 189rb–191vb.

24) Utrum ex speciebus istis separatis possit generari aliqua substantia et augeri quantitas. Videtur primo quod non. . .

A 103vb–104ra; *B* 138rb–vb; *C* 207rb–208ra; *D* 53rb–vb; *H* 153va–154ra; *K* 292r–293v; *P* 214va–215va; *Vb* 143rb–va; *W* 184va–185rb; *Y* 181va–182ra; *Z* 191vb–192rb.

25) Circa d. 14 et ultimam istius sacramenti quaero utrum possit confici in vino mixto cum aqua. Dico quod sic. . .

A 104rb; *B* 139ra; *C* 208ra; *D* 53vb; *H* 154ra; *K* 293v–294r; *P* 215va–b; *Vb deest*; *W* 185rb; *Y* 182ra–b; *Z* 192rb–va.

26) Circa d. 15, in qua Magister incipit agere de sacramento paenitentiae, quaero primo utrum paenitentia quae est virtus sit necessaria ad salutem. Videtur quod non. . .

A 104rb–105ra; *B* 139ra–140ra; *C* 208ra–209ra; *D* 53vb–54va; *H* 154ra–vb; *K* 294r–296v; *P* 215vb–217vb; *Vb* 143va–b (end *Vb*); *W* 185rb–186vb; *Y* 182rb–vb; *Z* 192va–193rb.

27) Utrum paenitentia quae est sacramentum sit necessaria ad salutem, prout videlicet implicat seu includit contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem. Respondeo quod confessio est duplex. . .

A 105ra–b; *B* 140ra–b; *C* 209ra–b; *D* 54va; *H* 154vb; *K* 296v; *P* 217vb–218ra; *W* 186vb–187ra; *Y* 182vb–183ra; *Z* 193rb–va.

28) Utrum paenitentia quae est virtus differat a paenitentia quae est sacramentum et in quo. Respondeo quod paenitentia quae est sacramentum potest accipi dupliciter. . .

A 105rb; *B* 140rb–va; *C* 209rb–va; *D* 54va–b (beginning unmarked); *H* 154vb–155ra; *K* 296v–297r; *P* 218ra–b; *W* 187ra; *Y* 183ra; *Z* 193va.

29) Circa d. 16 [15 et 16 CYZ] quaero utrum quilibet confessor teneatur tenere secretum quod sibi in confessione detectum est. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 105rb–106ra; *B* 140va–141rb; *C* 209va–210va; *D* 54vb–55rb; *H* 155ra–va; *K* 297r–299r; *P* 218rb–220ra; *W* 187ra–188rb; *Y* 183ra–vb; *Z* 193va–194va.

30) Utrum in casu necessitatis teneatur aliquis laico confiteri. Videtur quod non [Dico quod tripliciter potest quis laico confiteri *BDHY*]. . . .
A 106ra; *B* 141rb; *C* 210va; *D* 55rb; *H* 155va; *K* 299r; *P* 220ra–b; *W* 188rb–va; *Y* 183vb; *Z* 194va.

31) Utrum quilibet teneatur de peccatis mortalibus confiteri. Hic dicitur quod quilibet tenetur ex praecepto ecclesiae semel tantum in anno confiteri. . . .
BDHY deest; *A* 106ra–b; *C* 210va–b; *P* 220rb–va; *W* 188va; *Z* 194va–b.

32) Utrum paenitentia valeat in extremis. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 106rb; *B* 141va; *C* 210vb–211ra; *D* 55rb–va; *H* 155va–b; *K* 299r–v; *P* 220va–b; *W* 188va–b; *Y* 183vb; *Z* 194vb.

33) Circa dd. 17, 18, et 19 quaero utrum potestas clavium sacerdotalis extendat se ad paenam vel culpam. Videtur quod non ad culpam. . . .
A 106rb–vb; *B* 141va–142va; *C* 211ra–va; *D* 55va–56ra; *H* 155vb–156rb; *K* 299v–301v; *P* 220vb–222ra; *W* 188vb–189va; *Y* 183vb–184va; *Z* 194vb–195rb.

34) Utrum bona opera facta in caritate et mortificata per culpam supervenientem reviviscant quando homo resurget a culpa per paenitentiam. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 106vb–107rb; *B* 142va–143ra; *C* 211va–212rb; *D* 56ra–va; *H* 156rb–vb; *K* 301v–303r; *P* 222ra–223rb; *W* 189va–190rb; *Y* 184va–185ra; *Z* 195rb–196ra.

35) Utrum peccata dimissa per paenitentiam redeant in recidiente [readivantem* *B*; recidivante *DHKWZ*; readivante *Y*]. Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 107rb–vb; *B* 143ra–vb; *C* 212rb–vb; *D* 56va–57ra; *H* 156vb–157ra; *K* 303r–304v; *P* 223rb–224rb; *W* 190rb–vb; *Y* 185ra–va; *Z* 196ra–va.

36) Circa d. 20 quaero utrum quilibet sacerdos possit absolvere a culpa et a paena. Videtur quod sic [quod a paena *BDHY*]. . . .
A 107vb–108rb; *B* 143vb–144va; *C* 212vb–213vb; *D* 57ra–va; *E* 83rb–vb; *H* 157ra–vb; *K* 304v–307r; *P* 224rb–225vb; *W* 190vb–191vb; *Y* 185va–186ra; *Z* 196va–197ra.

37) Utrum (Circa d. 21 quaero utrum *BDHY*) detinens rem alienam possit vere paenitere [possit absolvi *E*] non restituendo eam. Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 108rb–109rb; *B* 144va–145vb; *C* 213vb–214vb; *D* 57va–58rb; *E* 82rb–83rb; *H* 157vb–158va; *K* 307r–309v; *P* 225vb–227va; *W* 191vb–193ra; *Y* 186rb–187ra; *Z* 197ra–198ra. *Lit.:* Lambertini, *La povertà pensata*, 196–204 (from *C* = d. 20, q. 2), 202–4 (from *B* = d. 21).

38) Circa d. 22, 23, 24 [d. 23 *CWZ*] quaero utrum sacramentum extremae unctionis fuerit institutum a Christo. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 109rb; *B* 145vb–146ra; *C* 214vb–215ra; *D* 58rb; *H* 158va–b; *K* 309v–310r; *P* 227va–b; *W* 206vb–207ra; *Y* 187ra–b; *Z* 198ra.

39) Utrum homo teneatur peccata venialia confiteri. Videtur quod non. . . .
A 109rb–vb; *B* 146ra–va; *C* 215ra–va; *D* 58rb–vb; *H* 158vb–159ra; *K* 310r–311r; *P* 227vb–228vb; *W* 207ra–vb; *Y* 187rb–va; *Z* 198ra–va.

40) Utrum sacramentum extremae unctionis sit in remedium peccatorum venialium vel etiam mortalium. Videtur quod in remedium venialium tantum . . . [Hic dicitur quod triplices est peccatum: originale, actuale, et veniale . . . *BDHY*]. . . .
A 109vb–110rb; *B* 146va–b; *C* 215va–216ra; *D* 58vb; *H* 159ra–b; *K* 311v–312r; *P* 228vb–229va; *W* 207vb–208rb; *Y* 187va–b; *Z* 198va–199ra.

41) Circa d. 25 [24 CZ] ubi Magister agit de sacramento ordinis, quaero primo utrum ordo sit sacramentum novae legis. Respondeo et dico quod triplex fuit ordo. . . .

A 110rb; *B* 146vb; *C* 216ra–b; *D* 58vb; *H* 159rb; *K* 312r–v; *P* 229va–b; *W* 208rb–va; *Y* 187vb; *Z* 199ra.

42) Circa dd. 26 et 27 quaero utrum matrimonium sit sacramentum. Videlur quod non. . . .

BDHKY: *vide q. 42a*; *A* 110rb–111vb; *C* 216rb–218ra; *E* 83vb–84vb; *P* 229vb–233ra; *W* 208va–210vb; *Z* 199ra–200va. *Lit.*: Lambertini, *La povertà pensata*, 203 (from *C*).

42a) Circa d. 26 et 27 quaero utrum matrimonium sit sacramentum. Secundo utrum sit de iure naturae. Tertio si de iure divino. Quarto si de iure humano. Arguo quod non aliquo iure. . . .

ACPWZ: *vide q. 42*; *B* 146vb–148vb (ca. 1 1/2 columns blank on fols. 147rb–148va); *D* 58vb–60ra; *H* 159rb–160vb; *K* 312v–317r; *Y* 187vb–189va.

43) Circa d. 28 quaero primo utrum matrimonium sit contra ius naturae. Videlur primo quod sic. . . .

BDHKY: *vide q. 43a*; *A* 111vb–112rb; *C* 218ra–va; *P* 233ra–vb; *W* 210vb–211rb; *Z* 200va–b. *Lit.*: Lambertini, *La povertà pensata*, 203 (from *B*).

43a) Circa d. 28, 29, 30 quaero utrum matrimonium sit de iure naturae. Quod non. . . .

ACPWZ: *vide q. 43*; *B* non invenimus; *D* 60ra; *H* 160vb; *K* 317r–v; *Y* 190rb.

44) Secundo [Circa dd. 28, 29, 30 quaeritur B] utrum carnalis copula coniungii possit fieri sine peccato. Quod non. . . .

ACPWZ deest; *B* 149ra; *D* 60ra; *H* 160vb; *K* deest; *Y* 190rb (beginning unmarked).

45) Tertio quaero utrum sit ibi (*scil.* actus carnalis matrimonii) peccatum veniale necessario semper. Quod sic. . . .

ACPWZ deest; *B*: *vide q. 45a*; *E*: *vide q. 45b*; *D* 60ra–b; *H* 160vb–161ra; *K* 317v–318v; *Y* 190rb–va.

45a) Utrum possit fieri actus incarnalis matrimonii sine peccato veniali. Et videlur quod non. . . .

B 149ra–b.

45b) Utrum matrimonium necessario includat peccatum. Respondeo: peccatum est duplex. . . .

E 84vb–85ra.

46) Utrum sit contra ius naturae quod una mulier habeat plures viros. Videlur quod non. . . .

BDHKY: *vide q. 46a*; *A* 112rb–va; *C* 218va–b; *P* 233vb–234rb; *W* 211rb–vb; *Z* 200vb–201ra.

46a) Utrum una mulier possit habere licite plures viros. Videlur quod sic. . . .

ACPWZ: *vide q. 46*; *B* 149rb–va; *D* 60rb–va; *H* 161ra–b; *K* 318v–319r; *Y* 190vb.

47) Utrum sit contra ius naturae quod unus habeat plures uxores. Videlur quod sic.

...
A 112va–113ra; *B* 149va–150rb; *C* 218vb–219va; *D* 60va–61ra; *H* 161rb–vb; *K* 319r–321r; *P* 234rb–235va; *W* 211vb–212va; *Y* 190vb–191ra; *Z* 201ra–va.

48) Ultimo sine argumentis quaero utrum divertium sit licitum. Respondeo quod manentibus extremis, puta coniugibus. . . .

BDHKY deest; *A* 113ra; *C* 219va; *P* 235va; *W* 212va–b (beginning unmarked); *Z* 201va–b.

49) Circa dd. 31 et 32 quaero utrum steriles et totaliter senes sint habiles ad matrimo-

nium contrahendum [utrum steriles pueri senes possint contrahere *BDHY*]. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 113ra–b; *B* 150rb; *C* 219va–b; *D* 61ra; *H* 161vb; *K* *deest*; *P* 235va–236rb; *W* 212vb–213ra; *Y* 189va; *Z* 201vb–202ra.

50) Circa d. 33 quaero utrum ad verum matrimonium requiratur consensus expressus per verba de praesenti. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 113rb–vb; *B* 150rb–vb; *C* 219vb–220rb; *D* 61ra–b; *H* 161vb–162rb; *K* 321r–322v; *P* 236rb–237ra; *W* 213ra–va; *Y* 189va–190rb; *Z* 202ra–b.

51) Utrum [Circa dd. 33 et 34 quaeritur utrum *B*], posito quod verba sint ibi pro signo, requirantur verba de praesenti. Et dico quod sic. . . .

ACPWZ deest; *B* 150vb; *D* 61rb; *H* 162rb; *K* *deest*; *Y* 191ra.

52) Circa d. 34 [35 et 36 *BY*, 34 36 *D*; Circa . . . quaero *om. H*] quaero utrum consensus coactus et involuntarius impedit matrimonium. Videtur quod non. . . .

A 113vb–114vb; *B* 150vb–152rb; *C* 220rb–221vb; *D* 61rb–62rb; *E* 85ra–va; *H* 162rb–163ra; *K* 322v–326r; *P* 237ra–240ra; *W* 213vb–215rb; *Y* 191ra–192ra; *Z* 202rb–203va.

53) Circa dd. 35 et 36 quaero [Circa . . . quaero *om. BDHY*] utrum consensus erroneus impedit matrimonium. Respondeo quod error potest esse circa multa. . . .

A 114vb–115ra; *B* 152rb; *C* 221vb; *D* 62rb; *H* 163rb; *K* 326r; *P* 240ra; *W* 215rb–va; *Y* 192ra; *Z* 203va.

54) Circa dd. 37, 38, et 39 quaero utrum matrimonium inter fidelem et infidelem sit verum matrimonium. Videtur primo quod sic. . . .

A 115ra–b; *B* 152rb–va; *C* 221vb–222ra; *D* 62rb–va; *H* 163rb; *K* 326r–327r; *P* 240rb–va; *W* 215va–b; *Y* 192ra–b; *Z* 203va–b.

55) Circa dd. 40, 41, 42 quaeritur utrum cognatio carnalis impedit matrimonium. Videtur quod sic. . . .

A 115rb; *B* 152va–b; *C* 222ra–b; *D* 62va; *H* 163rb–va; *K* 327r; *P* 240va–b (ends with “. . . usque ad quartum gradum” after 2-line gap at bottom of column); *W* 215vb; *Y* 192rb–va; *Z* 203vb.

56) Circa d. 43 in qua Magister incipit agere de resurrectione [in qua . . . resurrectione *om. BDHY*] quaero primo utrum eadem forma numero quae fuit corrupta possit redire naturaliter virtute naturalis agentis. Videtur primo quod sic. . . .

A 115rb–116va; *B* 152vb–154ra; *C* 222rb–223vb; *D* 62va–63rb; *E* 85va–87ra (“Circa d. 43 utrum forma corrupta possit naturaliter redire eadem numero post corruptionem. Videtur quod sic . . .”); *H* 163va–164va; *K* 327r–331r; *P* 241ra–243vb; *W* 216ra–217vb; *Y* 192va–193va; *Z* 203vb–205ra. *Lit.*: Duhem, *Le système* 7:458–61 (from *H*).

57) Adhuc circa d. 43 quaero utrum virtute divina possit redire aliqua forma [vel aliqua res *add. H*] eadem numero. Secundo si forma permanens. Tertio si motus. Quarto si tempus . . . ut superius.

ACPWZ deest; *vide q. 59 infra*; *B* 154ra–155vb; *D* 63rb–64va; *H* 164va–165vb; *K* 331r–335r; *Y* 193va–195rb. *Lit.*: Duhem, *Le système* 7:453–57 (from *H*).

58) Circa d. 45 quaeritur utrum anima separata possit naturaliter propria virtute se unire corpori dispositivo per modum formae. Videtur quod sic. . . .

DHKY: *vide q. 58a*; *A* 116va–117vb; *B* 155vb–157rb; *C* 224ra–225va; *E* 87ra–88va; *P* 243vb–246va; *W* 217vb–219vb; *Z* 205ra–206rb.

58a) Circa d. 45 quaero utrum anima possit se propria virtute reunire corpori dispositivo. Videtur quod sic. . . .

ABCEPWZ: *vide q. 58*; *D* 64va–65va; *H* *non invenimus*; *K* 335r–339r; *Y* 196ra–197vb.

59) *Utrum res corrupta possit divina virtute redire eadem numero.* Videtur quod non. . . .
BDHKY deest; vide q. 57 supra; A 117vb–119rb; C 225va–227rb; E 88va–89vb (“*Utrum quodlibet ens possit redire idem numero virtute divina. Et videtur quod non . . .*”); *P 246vb–250ra; W 219vb–222ra; Z 206rb–207vb.*

60) *Circa dd. 46 et 47 quaero utrum resurrectio hominis sit demonstrabilis.* Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 119rb–120vb; B 157rb–159rb; C 227rb–229va; D 65va–67ra; E 89vb–91ra; H 165vb–167ra; K 339r–344r (“*Utrum creatio hominis sit naturalis?*”); *P 250ra–253rb* (gap on 250rb skipping propositions 4–7 at the beginning of a. 1); *W 222ra–224rb; Y 195rb–196ra; Z 207vb–209rb.*

61) *Sed est dubium utrum immortalitas Adae possit naturaliter de ipsa anima demonstrari a priori vel a posteriori.* Videtur quod sic, etiam a priori. . . .
ABW deest; DHKPY: vide qq. 61a–b; C 229va–231rb; Z 209va–b.

61a) *Utrum anima intellectiva sit immortalis.* Quod non. . . .
(= II, q. 18) D 67ra; H 167ra–b; K 344r–348r; P 253rb–256rb (beginning unmarked; may contain q. 61b); *Y 197vb–198ra.*

61b) *Utrum immortalitas ipsius animae possit de ipsa naturaliter demonstrari a priori vel a posteriori.* Quod a priori. . . .
(= II, q. 19) D 67ra–68rb (beginning unmarked); *H 167rb–168rb; K deest; P non invenimus; Y 198ra–199rb* (beginning unmarked).

62) *Circa d. 48 quaero primo utrum spiritus incorporeus possit pati ab igne infernali.* Respondeo quod passio est duplex. . . .
AW deest; B 159rb; C 231rb; D 68ra; H 168rb; K 348v; P 256rb; Y 199rb–va; Z 209vb–210ra.

63) *Utrum duo corpora possint esse simul naturaliter in eodem loco.* Videtur quod sic. . . .
A 120vb–122rb; B 159rb–161rb; C 231rb–233va; D 68rb–69vb; H 168rb–169vb; K 348v–352v (MS incomplete, ends on “*aliquam a suo naturali effectivo?*”); *P 256rb–259va; W 224rb–226rb; Y 199vb–201ra* (mutilated); *Z 210ra–211va.*

63a) *Utrum corpus gloriosum per aliquam qualitatem collatam possit esse simul cum alio corpore.* Respondeo: hic sunt quinque modi dicendi. . . .
E 91ra–92va.

64) *Circa dd. 49 et 50 quaero primo utrum beatitudo consistat in habitu vel in actu seu operatione.* Videtur primo quod consistat in habitu [consistat in habitu vel in actu, utrum in operatione una vel pluribus, utrum in operatione intellectus vel voluntatis et in qua principalius, et utrum principalius in visione vel in dilectione *BDHY*]. . . .
AW deest; B 161rb–va; C 233va–234ra; D 69vb–70ra; H 169vb–170ra; P 259va–260rb; Y 201ra–va (mutilated); *Z 211va–b.*

65) *Utrum beatitudo consistat in una operatione essentialiter vel in pluribus.* Videtur quod in pluribus. . . .
AW deest; B 161va–162ra; C 234ra–vb; D 70ra–b; H 170ra–b; P 260rb–261rb; Y 201va–b (mutilated); *Z 211vb–212rb.*

66) *Utrum felicitas⁵⁰ consistat primo et per se in actu voluntatis tantum vel intellectus.*

⁵⁰ “*Beatitudo*” in *tabula quaestionum* of *C* and *Z*.

Videtur primo quod in actu intellectus. . . .

BDHY: *vide q. 66a; A deest; C 234vb–235vb; P 261rb–262vb; W 226rb–227rb; Z 212rb–213ra.*

66a) Utrum beatitudo consistat principalius in actu intellectus quam voluntatis. Et videtur quod sic [quod in actu intellectus *DH*]. . . .

CPWZ: *vide q. 66; A deest; B 162ra–va; D 70rb–va; H 170rb–vb; Y 201vb* (mutilated and incomplete).

- A*: Explicit liber. Sit scriptor crimine liber.
- B*: Explicit reportatio super quarto *Sententiarum* magistri Francisci de Marchia. . . .
- C*: Explicit reportatio quarti libri *Sententiarum* sub magistro Fransisco de Marchia Anchonita Ordinis Minorum facta per fratrem G de (Rubione) anno domini 1323 etc.
- D*: Explicit quartus fratris Francisci de Marchia.
- H*: Explicit reportatio quarti libri *Sententiarum* magistri Francisci de Marchia fratris minoris et sacrae theologiae doctoris.
- P*: Explicit quartus super *Sententias* editus a magistro Francisco de Marchia de Ordine Fratrum Minorum et a fratre Guillelmo de Rubione eiusdem ordinis Parisius reportatus.
- Z*: Explicit quartus *Sententiarum* fratris Francisci de Marchia.

(*WY* have no explicit/colophon; for *K*, see the manuscript description above.)

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A TREATISE ON PROBLEM SOLVING FROM EARLY MEDIEVAL LATIN EUROPE

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FOR a book that reads like a set of lectures on how to solve problems involving numbers, *Liber augmenti et diminutionis vocatus numeratio divinationis*¹ (*The Book of Increase and Decrease called Numbering of Divination*) accomplished its purpose. A subtitle identifies an Abraham who compiled the book from Indian sources, probably in the early twelfth century. The problems are gathered under nine chapters. Each chapter (save the last) is introduced by a mathematical problem solved by the same method, double false position, which the author seemed to expect the reader or student to master. A second method, one of seven, is also exemplified for the same problem, thereby training the student in the heuristic that there are often several ways of attacking the same problem. Additional problems in the chapters are solved by one or more of the methods but not always by false position. The other methods are exemplified at least once, and there are several examples for most of them. The last chapter offers three number puzzles. The present article considers the author and title of the treatise and provides an overview, remarks about terminology, a commentary on the problem-solving methods, and a discussion of the available Latin manuscript copies and the published Latin transcription of the medieval text. A suggestion of the place

¹ G. Libri, ed., *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie, depuis la renaissance des lettres, jusqu'à la fin du 17^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1838; rpt. Bologna, n.d.), 304–71. All references to this text will be by page and line number.

Some attention to the text has been offered by the following: M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, 3d ed. (1907; rpt. New York, 1965), 1:730–33, in which candidates for the identity of the author and the method of double false position are discussed; P. Tannery, “Sur le ‘Liber augmenti et diminutionis’ compilé par Abraham,” *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 3d ser., 2 (1901): 45–47, in which the three Parisian manuscripts are commented upon together with candidates for authorship; B. Hughes, “Problem-Solving by Ajjūb al-Basrī, an Early Algebraist,” *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 10 (1994): 31–39, in which the various methods of solving problems are considered together with the identity of the author of one of them; B. Hughes, “Indian Roots for Latin Problems?” *Ganita Bharati: Bulletin of the Indian Society for History of Mathematics* 17 (1995): 1–9, mostly a translation of the problems in hope that a Hindu source for some of them might be found; as of the year 2001 none has been reported.

in the history of mathematics that *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* might hold concludes the essay.

AUTHOR, TITLE, RESOURCES

The identity of the author has not been established. Libri, in his transcription of the copy of the treatise in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 9335, simply identified this person as Abraham ben Ezra,² quite possibly on the basis of the catalog list which after the title states “authore *Abraham Judaeo*.³” This attribution brought on some confusion because a contemporary, Savasorda, has also been called Abraham ben Ezra. They are two different persons; our author is more properly named Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra. Cantor considered several possibilities,⁴ from a Jew named Abraham ibn Ezra (1093–1168)—this is ben Meir—to an equally unknown Egyptian Sodscha ibn Aslam.⁵ Suter offered the opinion without much substance that it was originally written by abū Kāmil (850?–930).⁶ Sarton offered a detailed passage on the life and works of ibn Ezra, having him born in Toledo, studying and teaching in much of western Europe, and finally dying in Calahorra.⁷ Among his works is *Liber augmenti et diminutionis*. Loria sided with Sarton.⁸ Further, he claims that Abraham wrote *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* in Hebrew from which it was later translated into Latin because of its popularity among those of different religious persuasions. Finally, he distinguishes this Abraham from another Abraham also called ben Ezra, a distinction recognized by Levey, who did not include *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* in the list of the works of our Abraham.⁹ The revised history of Tropfke merely states

² Libri, *Histoire*, 304 n. 1

³ Apparently Libri found the attribution in the description of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7277A in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* [compiled by Anicet Melot], vol. 4 (Paris, 1744), 349.

⁴ Cantor, *Vorlesungen* 1:730–31.

⁵ A. P. Juschkewitsch mentions this name also; in his opinion, however, the author is unknown. See his *Geschichte der Mathematik im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1964), 214 n. 1.

⁶ H. Suter, “Über den Verfasser des ‘liber augmenti et diminutionis,’” *Verhandlungen des 3. internationalen Mathematiker-Kongresses* (Heidelberg, 1904), 558–61. See also F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1974), 396–98.

⁷ G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. 2.1 (Baltimore, 1931), 188–89.

⁸ G. Loria, *Storia delle matematiche dall’alba della civiltà al tramonto del secolo XIX*, 2d ed. (Milan, 1982), 140.

⁹ M. Levey, “Ibn Ezra, Abraham ben Meir,” in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 4 (New York, 1971), 502–3. It is difficult to imagine that Levey did not read Sarton’s micro-biography of ibn Ezra. Hence, I think that he should have said something about *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* since Sarton had attributed it to ibn Ezra. The same observation may be made

that the author is unknown.¹⁰ I think that the evidence favors Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra as the author.

The specific sources of the text have not been identified. There is no doubt, however, that Abraham had before him resources from which he composed the text, as is indicated not only in the subtitle but also in the text.¹¹ Since it is clear that he gathered together several earlier texts which he organized into one book, I would hazard the opinion that his resources, particularly the method known as *regula infusa* of which I shall comment at length, reflect a tradition earlier than that of al-Khwārizmī.¹² Nonetheless, Abraham considered his book very useful for anyone who understood its purpose and persevered in its study.¹³

The title and subtitle are noteworthy. The former, *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* (*Book of Increase and Decrease*), announces the primary purpose of the text, to teach the method of double false position for solving problems. Curiously, this is equivalent to the title, *Excess and Deficiency*, a chapter on double false position in the older Chinese text, *Chiu Chang Suan Shu* (*Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art*, ca. 250 A.D.).¹⁴ One may presume that the method was carried from one country to another along trade routes; but it is speculative to posit any one country for its origin. The subtitle, however, *vocatus numeratio divinationis* (*called Numbering of Divination*), whether in Latin or in translation, is awkward. An insight into its meaning came from reading a critical edition of a medieval number puzzle.¹⁵ Briefly, an inter-

about Stanley Abramovitch and associates who prepared a similar article for *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 8 (New York, 1971), 1163–70.

¹⁰ J. Tropfke, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik I*, revised edition by K. Vogel, K. Reich, and H. Gericke (Berlin, 1980), 662.

¹¹ “Compilavi hunc librum secundum quod sapientes Indorum adinvenerunt de numeratione divinationis” (Libri, *Histoire*, 305.4–6).

¹² R. Rashed, who made no mention of our text, wrote, “It would be useless to look for a similar theory before al-Khwārizmī. Certainly, it is possible to find one or another of his concepts in certain texts of antiquity, or late antiquity, but they are never found together . . .” (*The Development of Arabic Mathematics: Between Arithmetic and Algebra*, trans. A. F. W. Armstrong [Dordrecht, 1994], 15).

¹³ “. . . utilem in ipso consideranti et studenti, et perserveranti in eo, et intelligenti eius intentionem” (Libri, *Histoire*, 305.6–8).

¹⁴ S. I. Lee, *The Contribution of Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art to the History of Algebra* (Northridge, Calif., 1990), 8, 55–57. See S. Kangshen, J. N. Crossley, and A. W.-C Lun, *The Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art: Companion and Commentary* (Oxford, 1999), 349–85; see also K. Vogel, *Chiu Chang Suan Shu: Neun Bücher Arithmetischer Technik* (Braunschweig, 1968).

¹⁵ M. Folkerts, “Pseudo-Beda: De arithmeticis propositionibus. Eine mathematische Schrift aus der Karolingerzeit,” *Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 56 (1972): 22–43.

locutor asks a person to think of a number and perform certain operations on it, which leads him to know what number the other had thought of. At one point in the process he obtains from the person certain information which he must remember; that is, “. . . ad memoriam divinantis.”¹⁶ Thus the text describes the interlocutor as one divining or as a diviner. This is precisely what the readers of *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* were learning to do: divine numbers that answer problems. Thus, the book should be subtitled “a book on divining numbers.” Hence, I think that somewhere along the chain of copiers of the text, the words *numerationis divinatio* (*Divining of Numbers*) were corrupted into *numeratio divinationis*.

OVERVIEW

There are nine unnumbered chapters in the treatise: [1] treasures (*de censibus*), [2] business problems (*de negotiatione*), [3] gifts and dowries (*de donationibus*), [4] apples stolen from an orchard (*de pomis*), [5] two persons meeting along the way (*de obviatione*), [6] changes (*de cambitione*), [7] the number ten and produce (*de tritico et ordeo*), [8] exchange (*de foris rerum venalium*), [9] marketing (*de mercatis*), and a final chapter on number puzzles (*de anulis*). Carefully described problems introduce each chapter and subsection identified by a phrase such as *Capitulum aliud in eodem*. The solutions of the introductory problems are always obtained first by the same method, double false position. Additional methods are exemplified on usually the same problems and on other problems in the chapter and subsections. These methods are (1) single false position, (2) multiplicative inverse, (3) *regula infusa*, (4) partial residue, (5) working backwards, (6) use of auxiliary variables, and (7) dividing ten into two parts. Hence, the student is offered the opportunity to learn more than one way of solving the same problem, a common practice in mathematics education today. The last chapter consists of three number puzzles. The student is asked to choose a number without revealing it and to manipulate it according to certain directions. After the diviner is told the end result, he or she tells the student the number the student had chosen.

TERMINOLOGY

For the most part vocabulary probably presented no difficulty to students of its day. The four arithmetic operations are recognized in the verbs: *addere*, *adjungere*, *aggregate*; *diminuere*, *minuere*, *demere*; *multiplicare*; *dividere*,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

partire. Although the word equation does not appear, Abraham clearly understood the concept. In nearly every problem he set an unknown equal to a constant; e.g., *Ergo res equatur quadraginta sex*¹⁷ and two other places on the same page. The terms *augmentum et diminutio* (increase and decrease) always introduce the method of double false position, about which the student possibly had some knowledge. Similarly with the word *lancis*; it identifies the pan on a balance scale that assists in using double false position, as illustrated below. The continued use of the expression *Quod si dixerit quidam* (Now if someone were to say . . .) to introduce the principal problems of the chapters suggests that the text was originally a set of lectures. *Res* ("thing," the word that became *cosa* in Italian and in English *cossike nombres*) always represents the quantity under discussion, even when it is also called *census*,¹⁸ often translated as *square* but in the context of this book, *fund* or *money*. At least at the time of writing, the phrase *res ignota* (the unknown) was easily grasped in its several appearances.¹⁹

Three curious phrases appear in the solution of the second problem in the second chapter. The problem says that after manipulating the unknown quantity with given numbers, factors, and operations, the student is left with nothing (*nil remansit ei*).²⁰ In the course of solving the problem by double false position, the student must subtract a given number by what was left, the "nothing" that now is called *non res*.²¹ Today we would instruct the student to subtract zero. Could the absence of the word zero mean that the source of this problem antedates the creation of a word for zero? The second phrase, *regula infusa*, introduces an innovative method of solving what today are called equations; its meaning quickly became clear. The use of the method was always signaled by the questions, *Quantum ergo adjungitur duabus tertiiis*²² (How much must be added to two thirds) or *Quantum ergo minuitur ex re et*

¹⁷ Libri, *Histoire*, 309.4–5.

¹⁸ Ibid., 309.6 for *census* and 309.4 for *res*. *Census* is the usual Latin translation of the Arabic *māl*. An English translation is another issue. In discussing words for the unknown, Jens Høyrup observed, "But the term for the second power (*māl*, "property, possessions, fortune, assets," etc; translated *census* in medieval Latin texts) coincides first with the term used for the unknown in a whole class of first-degree problems, and second with the *thēsaurós* used in analogous Greco-Egyptian first-degree problems in the same function" (*In Measure, Number, and Weight: Studies in Mathematics and Culture* [Albany, 1994], 39). According to Rashed, "By *māl* al-Khwārizmī almost invariably means the square of the unknown. He does express the same term *the thing*, at times" (*Development of Arabic Mathematics*, 10). It is clear from our text that the two words *res* and *census* are used interchangeably, signifying x and not x^2 .

¹⁹ Libri, *Histoire*, 325.13–14 and 341.1.

²⁰ Ibid., 326.7.

²¹ Ibid., 326.16.

²² Ibid., 313.7.

*quarta*²³ (How much must be subtracted from a thing and its fourth). The third phrase belongs to the Method of Inversion. Prompted by the instruction, *Denomina ergo rem a re et duabus tertiiis rei*²⁴ (Reduce a thing and its two thirds to one thing), the student knew how to proceed; he would drop the two-thirds and multiply the constant on the other side of the equality by three halves.

It is well known that al-Khwārizmī coined the word *algebra* for the title of his classical treatise which named the science. Less well known are the beginnings of the three medieval translations of his work from Arabic into Latin:

Robert of Chester (ca. 1145), “*Liber Algebre et Almughabola de Questionibus Arithmeticis et Geometricis. In nomine dei pii et misericordis incipit Liber Restauracionis et Opposicionis Numeri quem edidit Mahumed filius Moysi Algaurizmi*”,²⁵

Gerard of Cremona (ca. 1150), “*Liber Maumeti Filii Moysi Alchoarismi de Algebra et Almughabala Incipit. Hic post laudem dei et ipsius exaltationem inquit*”;²⁶

⟨William of Luna⟩ (ca. 1215), “*Incipit liber qui secundum arabes vocatur algebra et almughabala et apud nos liber restauracionis nominatur, et fuit translatus a magistro Giurardo cremonense in toledo de arabico in latinum.*”²⁷

The use of the words *restauracio* and *opposicio* by two of the translators suggests that they recognized well-established, familiar arithmetic operations in al-Khwārizmī’s *Algebra*. These operations can be recognized in our text by their appropriate verbs. The first *restaura* makes a late appearance, in chapter 5, where two men discuss passing money back and forth. The context makes it clear that by restoration a constant term is moved from one side of an equation to the other and combined with a constant term there.

... et erunt due res exceptis decem dragmis, que equantur rei et quinque dragmis. Restaura ergo duas res per decem dragmas, et adjunge eas rei et

²³ Ibid., 321.6–7.

²⁴ Ibid., 315.23–24.

²⁵ B. Hughes, *Robert of Chester’s Latin Translation of al-Khwarizmi’s “al-Jabr”* (Stuttgart, 1989), 29.

²⁶ B. Hughes, “*Gerard of Cremona’s Translation of al-Khwārizmī’s al-Jabr: A Critical Edition*,” *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986): 211.

²⁷ W. Kaunzner, “*Die Lateinische Algebra in MS Lyell 52 der Bodleian Library, Oxford, früher MS Admont 612*,” *Aufsätze zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Geographie* 44 (1985): 50. As the editor acknowledged, the Lyell manuscript has no title; what appears in his edition is from the inferior manuscript Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4606, of the fourteenth century, which incorrectly attributes the translation to Gerard of Cremona.

quinque dragmis, et habebis duas res que equantur rei et quindecim dragmis.
Diminue ergo rem ex duabus rebus, et remanebit res que equatur quindecim.²⁸

The other four occurrences of the verb show the same pattern seen in the excerpt.²⁹ The operation proceeds from left to right. It always adds or subtracts a constant from one side of an equality with a constant on the other side, the side whose unknown has the smaller coefficient. The subtraction of the smaller unknown on the right from the larger on the left is never signaled by the verb *restaura* but by *diminue* or *deme*. The second operational word for *opposicio* appears early in the text, . . . *et remanebit quinque. Per ipsum igitur oppone octo. . .*³⁰ The pronoun refers to an immediately preceding number (*ipsum*, namely *quinque*) which is subtracted (*oppone*) from the number that follows (*octo*). This operation appears in every solution completed by means of double false position.

The treatise offers no help toward understanding some uncommon terms. While no variation on the word *divinatio* appears afterwards in the text, *numeratio* is frequently used. Ordinarily, the latter introduces the method of double false position, as in *Capitulum numerationis ejus secundum augmentum et diminutionem*.³¹ In one place, however, it instructs the student to begin solving the problem from the last condition.³² The consistent use of *capitulum* with *numerationis*, regardless of what follows, leads me to suspect that there was a problem-solving text distinct from ours with that title to which Abraham is referring. In the chapter on produce, the word *caficius* appears.³³ The sense is that the word is either a solid measure or an ancient Hindu or Arabic word for *sack*; I chose the latter. Also, three kinds of coins are mentioned, *melechinus*, *revelatus*, and *solidus*. The first (with an alternate form, *melequinus*) is a known but obscure coin term probably of Arabic derivation and used by Westerners to describe an Islamic coin, most probably the gold dinar.³⁴ The *solidus* became shilling, sou, solido. The provenance of *revelatus* has not been determined.

²⁸ Libri, *Histoire*, 348.5–11.

²⁹ Ibid., 351.17, 354.15, 361.7, and 363.13.

³⁰ Ibid., 305.13–14.

³¹ Ibid., 324.1–2, 326.8–10, 332.12–13, 352.6–7. L. Matthiessen, *Grundzüge der antiken und modernen Algebra* (Leipzig, 1878), 266, mistakenly identified the terminology with “Die Methode der Transpositionem.”

³² “Capitulum numerationis ejus est ut incipias a questionis postremitate” (Libri, *Histoire*, 321.3–4).

³³ Ibid., 359.12. It does not appear in vol. 2 or 5 of the British Academy’s *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, 1975–).

³⁴ For this information my thanks to Dr. Barrie Cook, Curator of Medieval and Early Modern Coinage, The British Museum. Private communication, 21 July 2000.

COMMENTARY

Medieval students solved problems by computing in the head or by writing on the ground, working entirely with known numbers and given relationships. They were expected to memorize rules and examples, so that they might match new problems with old paradigms.³⁵ For instance, this approach to learning is quite obvious in the explanation of the method of double false position. Operating with given numbers according to fixed rules of sequence produces the answer. The same is observed in the presentation of the other problem-solving techniques. Abraham's objective in his lectures is clear. Let us consider the methods in detail.

First and foremost was the Method of Double False Position (DFP), common property among the Babylonians,³⁶ Chinese,³⁷ Egyptians,³⁸ Hindus,³⁹ and Arabs.⁴⁰ Essentially the technique consists of posing two guesses for the value of the unknown, whose outcomes lead to two errors; hence, by computing with the guesses and errors, the true value of the unknown arises. The Arabs called it '*Alm bi'l kaffatain* (the method of scales) because the guesses and errors were placed on the pans or arms of a scale-like figure,⁴¹ whereby it was easy for the student to compute the answer. The method envisions three cases: in the first the results of the guesses bracket the true value of the given relationship; the second show both results to be less than the true value; and for the third both results are greater. While the effects of the cases will be apparent below, Abraham did not generalize about them. Perhaps cautionary re-

³⁵ "As in all the traditional Islamic sciences (as, indeed, in pre-modern education more generally), memorisation played an important role" (J. P. Berkey, "Tadrīs," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 10, fasc. 163–64 [Leiden, 1998], 80–81). Memorization has a long history: "In speaking of Oriental nations, we must always remember that their memories were facile and retentive to an extent which to the modern European is almost incredible" (S. S. Laurie, *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education* [London, 1907], 52). For a detailed account of early Islamic education, see J. Pedersen-[G. Markdisi], "Madrasa," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 5 (Leiden, 1986), 1123–34, in which the authors remarks that it was not uncommon for Jews to be teachers in school settings.

³⁶ J.-L. Chabert, ed., *A History of Algorithms* (New York, 1999), 86–88.

³⁷ Lǐ Yan and Dù Shiràn, *Chinese Mathematics: A Concise History*, trans. J. N. Crosley and A. W.-C. Lun (Oxford, 1987), 34.

³⁸ Chabert, *History of Algorithms*, 88–91.

³⁹ B. Datta and A. Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics: A Source Book*, 2d ed. (Bombay, 1962), 1:230–32.

⁴⁰ Chabert, *History of Algorithms*, 101–3. See also Tropfke, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik I* (revised), 371–74, for an overview of DFP emphasizing its use among the Arabs.

⁴¹ D. E. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, vol. 2 (New York, 1925; rpt. n.d.), 440. Matthiesen offers a lengthier explanation in *Grundzüge*, 273–78, with more informative illustrations, as does Chabert, *History of Algorithms*, 101–3.

marks were made orally but they were certainly not recorded. All the initial problems of the text, that is, those problems introduced by the clause *Quod si dixerit*, are solved by DFP. (Every problem under discussion is identified by a rational number n/m , where n is the chapter number and m is the ordinal position of the problem in the chapter.)

The first problem of the text is

1/1 From a fund remove a third and then a fourth (of the original amount). You are left with eight drachmas.⁴² (How much was in the fund originally?)

Without learning the quest from the text, the student is expected to discover how many drachmas were in the fund at the beginning. Abraham says that the method will be that of *counting* (*capitulum numerationis*). The student is instructed to make two guesses and to determine by how much each fails to match the given value of the relationship. Then the student is to multiply the first guess by the second error, the second guess by the first error, add the products, and finally divide by the sum of the errors. The quotient is the desired number. Symbolically, the problem and its solution are

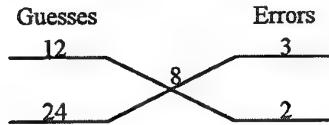
$$x - \frac{x}{3} - \frac{x}{4} = 8$$

$$G_1: x = 12 \rightarrow 12 - 4 - 3 = 5 \quad \text{Therefore } E_1: 8 - 5 = 3$$

$$G_2: x = 24 \rightarrow 24 - 8 - 6 = 10 \quad \text{Therefore } E_2: 10 - 8 = 2$$

$$\frac{12(2) + 24(3)}{3 + 2} = \frac{96}{5} = 19 \frac{1}{5} \quad (\text{the true value of the unknown}).$$

Note that the results of the guesses bracket the true value of the equation, $5 < 8 < 10$. Hence, in the final step the products are added as are the errors. A scale diagram displays the components of the solution, the numbers on the pans.⁴³



This is the kind of picture that the students of a thousand years ago would make; they visualized only the numbers they would use.

⁴² "Ex eo igitur est: est census de quo ejus tertia dempta, et quarta, fuit octo quod remansit. Quantus est census?" (Libri, *Histoire*, 305.8–10; for the solution, see 305.10–306.15).

⁴³ The diagram is of Arabic origin; see Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* 1:809.

The next problem teaches the student that conditions on the guesses require variations in the method. A literal translation of the text states

1/2 There is a fund from which a third and four drachmas are taken, and a fourth of what remained, and the residual is twenty drachmas.⁴⁴ (How much was in the fund originally?)⁴⁵

Symbolically,

$$(x - \frac{x}{3} - 4) - \frac{1}{4}(x - \frac{x}{3} - 4) = 20$$

$$G_1: x = 12 \rightarrow 4 - 1 = 3$$

$$\text{Therefore } E_1: 20 - 3 = 17$$

$$G_2: x = 24 \rightarrow 12 - 3 = 9$$

$$\text{Therefore } E_2: 20 - 9 = 11$$

Note that the results of the guesses are both less than the true value of the relationship. Hence, the appropriate numbers will be subtracted, as follows:

$$\frac{17(24) - 11(12)}{17 - 11} = \frac{276}{6} = 46 \text{ (the true value of the unknown).}$$

The third possibility appears for the first time in chapter 4 where the results of the guess are larger than the true value:

4/1 A certain man went into an orchard and picked some apples. Now the orchard had three gates each guarded by a watchman. So that man gave the first watchman half of what he picked plus two apples more. He gave the second watchman half of what was left plus two more apples. The third got half of what remained and two apples more. The man was left with one apple. How many did he pick?⁴⁶

Here, the relationship equals one. The results of the two guesses are 100 and 200, both larger than one. Hence, the respective terms are subtracted as in the previous case. Now we turn to the subsidiary methods.

⁴⁴ "Quod si dixerit aliquis: est census de quo dempte fuerunt ejus tertia et quattuor dragme, et quarta ejus quod remansit, et residuum fuit viginti dragme" (*Libri, Histoire*, 307.1–3; for the solution, see 307.4–308.19).

⁴⁵ The statements of the problems immediately preceding the additional methods were cut down by the author. Many do not repeat the objective of the problem, which I have added for clarity's sake.

⁴⁶ "Quod si quis dixerit: quidam vir intravit viridarium, et collegit in eo poma; viridarium vero habebat tres portas, quarum quamque hostiarius custodiebat. Vir ergo ille partitus est poma cum primo, et insuper donavit ei duo, et partitus est cum secundo et donavit ei duo, et partitus est cum tertio et donavit ei duo, et egressus est habens unum: quantus ergo fuit numerus pomorum que collegit?" (*Libri, Histoire*, 336.24–337.6; for the solution *here*, see 337.6–338.20).

The Method of Single False Position finds the value of the unknown with a single guess and a single error. This is exactly the same method used by the ancient Egyptians to solve what are now called “Aha Problems” as exemplified in the Rhind papyrus.⁴⁷ For the guess, a number that will remove the fractions is chosen for the unknown. By setting it equal to the unknown, an erroneous sum appears. Then the product of the true sum t and the quotient of the false value v by the false sum f produces the true value x of the unknown. Underlying the technique is the method of finding the fourth proportional, i.e.,

$$t \frac{v}{f} = x.$$

The terminology in the solution below follows the wording in the text, particularly at step (3) which is equivalent to the quotient mentioned above.

Problem 1/1 states

From a fund remove a third, then a fourth (of the original fund), and you are left with eight drachmas.⁴⁸ (How much was in the fund originally?)

The problem: $x - \frac{x}{3} - \frac{x}{4} = 8$ (1)

Assume $x = 12$: $2 - 4 - 3 = 5$ (2)

What times 5 equals 12? $\frac{12}{5}$: $(\frac{12}{5}) 5 = 12$ (3)

So: $\frac{12}{5} (8) = 19 \frac{1}{5} = x$ (4)

The final problem in the text is also solved by single false position:

9/2 If you take a fourth of a fund and a fifth of what remains, then an additional fourth of what you had taken and fifth of what remains, then you have seven (drachmas).⁴⁹ (How much did you begin with?
Answer: $31 \frac{9}{11}$ drachmas)

The Method of Multiplicative Inverse is the procedure common today. The various terms of an equation are collected and simplified until the unknown is on one side of the equation and a constant on the other side, with the co-

⁴⁷ R. J. Gillings, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 154–61.

⁴⁸ See n. 42 above for the Latin text. For the solution *here*, see Libri, *Histoire*, 306.16–22.

⁴⁹ “Quod si dixerit: Est census cuius quartam abstulisti et quinta ejus quod remansit, et accepisti quartam ejus quod abstuleras et quintam ejus quod remansit, et quod pervenit fuit septem” (Libri, *Histoire*, 367.20–23; for the solution, see 368.28–369.11).

efficient of the unknown often more or less than unity. The multiplicative inverse is used to change the coefficient of the unknown to unity, a part of the instructions most probably initiated by al-Khwārizmī,⁵⁰ with consequent changes in the constant. The second problem illustrates this.

1/2 From a fund take a third and four drachmas more; then take a fourth of what was left. Twenty drachmas remain.⁵¹ (How much was in the fund?)

Symbolically,

$$(x - \frac{x}{3} - 4) - \frac{1}{4}(x - \frac{x}{3} - 4) = 20 \quad (1)$$

All the relationships on the left are simplified: $\frac{1}{2}x - 3 = 20 \quad (2)$

Three is added to the twenty: $\frac{1}{2}x = 23 \quad (3)$

Without further comment, the author wrote $x = 46 \quad (4)$

Interesting is the oversight [?] that if step 1 were simplified to

$$\frac{2}{3}x - \frac{2}{12}x = 23,$$

the method of single false position is easily applied. Ten more problems offer practice in using multiplicative inverses.

1/3 From a fund take four drachmas and then a fourth of what remains. Now you have twelve drachmas.⁵² (How much was in the fund? Answer: 20 drachmas)

1/7 Increase your fund by a third and then by a fourth of the increased fund. You now have thirty drachmas. How much was in the fund?⁵³ (Answer: 18 drachmas)

1/8 Increase your fund by a third and four drachmas more and then by a fourth of the increase. You now have forty drachmas.⁵⁴ (How much was in the fund? Answer: 21 drachmas)

⁵⁰ Hughes, *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation*, 31: "Hoc modo omnes substancias quotquot in vnam coniuncte fuerint seu que ab aliis diminute fuerint, ad vnam conuertas substanciam."

⁵¹ See n. 44 above for the Latin text. For the solution *here*, see Libri, *Histoire*, 308.20–309.5.

⁵² "Quod si dixerit: est census ex quo dempte fuerunt quattuor dragme et quinta ejus quod remansit et quod remansit fuit duodecim" (*ibid.*, 309.6–8; for the solution, see 309.9–15).

⁵³ "Quod si dixerit: est census cui adjunxi *tertiam* ejus et *quartam* ejus quod aggregatur, et fuit triginta. Quantus est census?" (*ibid.*, 314.7–9; for the solution, see 315.19–25). Words in italics are corrections to Libri's transcription and are listed in the Appendix below.

1/9 Add four drachmas to your fund, then a half of the increase plus five drachmas, and finally a fourth of all the above. The fund now has seventy drachmas.⁵⁵ (How much was in the fund? Answer: 30 drachmas)

1/10 Add a third of a fund to itself, then a fourth of that sum. It now has thirty drachmas.⁵⁶ (How much was in the fund? Answer: 18 drachmas)

2/1 After doubling his money, the businessman gave a drachma away. Then he doubled what he had and gave two drachmas away. Again he doubled his money and gave three drachmas away. He had ten drachmas left. With how much did he begin?⁵⁷ (Answer: $2\frac{5}{8}$ drachmas)

2/2 A merchant doubled his money and gave two drachmas away. Then he doubled what he had and gave four drachmas away. Next he doubled his money and gave six drachmas away. Now he had nothing. With how much did he begin?⁵⁸ (Answer: $2\frac{3}{4}$ drachmas)

3/1 A woman married three men. To the first she gave a dowry. To the second she gave three times as much as to the first. The third received four times as much as the second husband. The total amount they all received was sixty-four drachmas. How much did each receive?⁵⁹ (Answer: 4, 12, 48 drachmas)

⁵⁴ “Quod si dixerit: est census cui adjunxisti tertiam ejus et quattuor dragmas et quartam ejus quod aggregatur, et quod pervenit fuit quadraginta dragme” (*ibid.*, 316.2–4; for the solution, see 317.18–318.8).

⁵⁵ “Quod si dixerit: est census cui adjunxisti quattuor dragmas et medietatem ejus quod aggregatum fuit, et quinque dragmas et quartam ejus quod aggregatum fuit et fuit septuaginta dragme” (*ibid.*, 318.10–13; for the solution, see 320.4–19).

⁵⁶ “[E]st census cui adjunxisti tertiam sui et quartam ejus quod aggregatur, et fuit triginta” (*ibid.*, 321.1–3; for the solution, see 321.3–14).

⁵⁷ “Quod si dixerit quidam: cum censu negotiatus est et duplatus est census ex quo donavit dragmam unam. Deinde negotiatus est cum residuo et duplatus est. Et donavit ex eo duas dragmas. Postea negotiatus est cum residuo et duplatus est. Et donavit ex eo tres dragmas. Et quod remansit fuit decem. Quantus ergo fuit primus census?” (*ibid.*, 323.15–324.1; for the solution, see 325.13–25).

⁵⁸ “Quod si dixerit: Mercatus est quidam cum censu et duplatus est ei census, ex quo donavit duas dragmas, et mercatus est cum residuo et duplatus est. Ex quo donavit quattuor dragmas, deinde negotiatus est cum residuo et duplatus est ei. Donavit autem ex eo sex dragmas, et nil remansit ei. Numerus ergo primi census quantus est?” (*ibid.*, 326.2–8; for the solution, see 327.18–328.1).

⁵⁹ “Quod si dixerit: quedam mulier nupsit tribus viris quam primus uno censu dotavit, secundus vero dotavit eam triplo quo primus eam dotaverat, et tertius autem dotavit eam quadruplo quo a secundo fuerat dotata. Et fuit summa que mulieri pervenit sexaginta quattuor

3/2 (A woman married three men.) The first man gave her some money. The second gave her four times as much plus a drachma more. The third gave her three times what the second gave plus three drachmas more. All totaled, the dowry became fifty-six drachmas. How much did each give?⁶⁰ (Answer: $2\frac{15}{17}$, $12\frac{9}{17}$, $40\frac{10}{17}$ drachmas)

3/3 (A woman married three men.) The first man gave her some money. The second gave her three times as much less a drachma. The third gave her four times what the second gave less four drachmas. All totaled, seventy-one drachmas were given.⁶¹ (How much did each give? Answer: 5, 14, 52 drachmas)

Before discussing the working of the Method of *Regula Infusa* several remarks are appropriate. The name is introduced as a method of solving problems⁶² and has never been translated (Infused Rule?); best to leave it in the Latin.⁶³ Its origin bespeaks an author. All the manuscripts accredit it to “Job, son of Salomon, divisor.”⁶⁴ A divisor is a Moslem professional hired to divide estates according to the wishes of the deceased and the rules of the *Koran*.⁶⁵ Julius Ruska found this entry in Hājī Khalifa: “8974. Ferāidh Eyyūb El-Baṣrī, doctrina hereditates dividendi, auctor Eyyūb El-Baṣrī.”⁶⁶ Hence, we may say that the author of *regula infusa* is Ajjūb al-Baṣrī.⁶⁷ An alternate descriptor is found in several places where the method is introduced by the phrase *regula*

dragme. Quanto dotavit eam primus et quanto secundus et quanto tertius?” (ibid., 329.8–14; for the solution, see 331.22–332.4).

⁶⁰ “Et si dixerit: primus donavit ei censem, et secundus donavit ei quadruplum ejus quod primus donavit ei et dragmam unam, et tertius donavit ei triplum ejus quod donaverat secundus et insuper tres dragmas, et fuit tota summa trium quinquaginta sex. Quantum ergo donavit ei primus, et quantum secundus, et quantum tertius?” (ibid., 332.6–12; for the solution, see 333.26–334.17).

⁶¹ “Quod si aliquis dixerit: primus donavit ei censem et secundus donavit ei triplum ejus quod primus donaverat, excepta dragma. Et tertius donavit ei quadruplum ejus quod secundus donaverat, exceptis quattuor dragmis, et fuit summa que ei pervenit septuaginta unum” (ibid., 334.19–24; for the solution, see 336.11–22).

⁶² “Quedam vero harum questionum investigantur secundum regulam que vocatur *infusa*” (ibid., 312.11–12).

⁶³ Matthiessen, *Grundzüge*, 272, called it “Die Substitutionsmethode.” While a parameter is used (and this is a substitution), the *regula infusa* does not require a substitution, as several problems demonstrate.

⁶⁴ “... regula Job filii Salomonis divisoris.” The punctuation above is usually accepted.

⁶⁵ See J. L. Berggren, *Episodes in the Mathematics of Medieval Islam* (New York, 1986), 63–65, for further details.

⁶⁶ Hājī Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn. Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum*, ed. G. Fluegel, 7 vols. (London, 1835–58), 4:398.

⁶⁷ This opposes Cantor’s opinion that the rule was “bei den Indern” (*Vorlesungen* 1:730).

*sermonis.*⁶⁸ The word *sermo* is not used with any other rule. Let us consider the operation of the rule.

The method of *regula infusa* focuses upon problems requiring a single equation for their solution. All equations are linear despite the word *census* used by later translators to signify *an unknown square*. As noted above, I translate the word *census* as *money* or *funds*. The method begins by reducing the conditions of the problem to a single condition containing “the unknown,” a phrase used in the text referring to an unknown amount of money or wheat or apples.⁶⁹ Now the unknown equals some number. If the coefficient of the unknown is either a proper or improper fraction, then a fractional part of it is taken to make the coefficient one, as in steps 4 and 7 below. Finally, the same fractional part of the constant is taken to produce the answer.⁷⁰ The clearest example of the technique lies in the solution of the problem that follows.

1/5 A third of a fund and four drachmas more were removed and then a fourth of what remained. Now there are twenty drachmas.⁷¹ (How much was the fund originally?)

$$(x - \frac{x}{3} - 4) - \frac{1}{4}(x - \frac{x}{3} - 4) = 20 \quad (1)$$

$$(x - \frac{x}{3} - 4) = y \quad (2)$$

$$y - \frac{1}{4}y = \frac{3}{4}y = 20 \quad (3)$$

$$\frac{3}{4}y + \frac{1}{3}(\frac{3}{4})y = 20 + \frac{1}{3}(20) \quad (4)$$

$$y = 26\frac{2}{3} \quad (5)$$

$$x - \frac{x}{3} = 30\frac{2}{3} \quad (6)$$

$$\frac{2}{3}x + \frac{1}{2}(\frac{2}{3})x = 30\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{2}(30\frac{2}{3}) \quad (7)$$

$$x = 46 \quad (8)$$

The method known as *regula infusa* begins at step 4 and is repeated at step 7. It is exemplified also⁷² in the following problems:

⁶⁸ Libri, *Histoire*, 313.12, 321.15, 322.14.

⁶⁹ *Res ignota* (*ibid.*, 306.17).

⁷⁰ MatthiesSEN, *Grundzüge*, 272–73, shows how a parameter $y = \dots$ is used, but he missed the crucial part of the operation, namely, steps 4 and 7.

⁷¹ “[E]st census cuius tertia et quattuor ipsius dragme et quarta ejus quod remansit sunt dempte, et residuum fuit viginti” (Libri, *Histoire*, 312.15–17; for the solution, see 312.17–313.11).

⁷² A strange example, problem 1/4, appears immediately before the name of the method is introduced in chapter 1. It begins as a single false position procedure (*Que est ut ponas sedecim*

1/4 Take four drachmas from a fund, then a fourth of what remains and five more, and finally a fourth of what is left. Now you have ten drachmas.⁷³ (How much was in the fund? Answer: 28 $\frac{4}{9}$ drachmas)

1/6 Take a fourth of the fund and five drachmas more and then a fourth of what is left. You have ten drachmas.⁷⁴ (How much was in the fund originally? Answer: 24 $\frac{4}{9}$ drachmas)

1/11 Add a third to your fund and four drachmas more and then a fourth of the new amount. The fund has forty drachmas.⁷⁵ (How much was in the fund originally? Answer: 21 drachmas)

1/12 Increase the fund by four drachmas, then by half of all that and five drachmas more, and by a fourth of the new total. Now the fund has seventy drachmas.⁷⁶ (How much was in the fund originally? Answer: 30 drachmas)

Other aspects of the *regula infusa* are worth considering. In his third edition of a masterful history of elementary mathematics⁷⁷ Tropfke leaves the reader with the impression that the *regula infusa* is of Egyptian origin. Specifically, he found in problem 28 of the *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* a number puzzle for which the method of solution very closely matches *regula infusa*, namely,

Think of a number and add to it its two-thirds. From this sum take away one-third, and say what your answer is. Suppose the answer was 10. Then take away one-tenth of this 10, giving 9. Then this was the number first thought of.⁷⁸

(*rem ignotam*) and abruptly changes into a relationship ($\frac{4}{3}x + \frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}x = 16$) producing the basic *regula infusa* pattern. Thereafter the critical question that produced steps 4 and 7 above is asked. My best guess is that the author developed two solutions for the problem: the single false position and the *regula infusa* approach, but a later copyist nodded and the reader is left without the conclusion of the former or the beginning of the latter method.

⁷³ “Quod si dixerit: est census ex quo dempte fuerunt quattuor dragme et quarta ejus quod remansit, et quinque dragme et quarta ejus quod remansit, et residuum fuit decem dragme, quantus est census?” (Libri, *Histoire*, 309.17–20; for the solution, see 311.10–312.10).

⁷⁴ “Est census ex quo dempta fuit ejus quarta et quinque dragme et quarta ejus quod remansit, et residuum fuit decem” (ibid., 313.12–15; for the solution, see 313.15–314.5).

⁷⁵ “[E]st census cui adjunxisti tertiam ejus et quattuor dragmas et quartam ejus quod aggregatur, et quod pervenit fuit quadraginta” (ibid., 321.16–322.2; for the solution, see 322.2–13).

⁷⁶ “[E]st census cui adjunxisti quattuor dragmas et medietatem ejus quod aggregatur, et quinque dragams et quartam ejus quod aggregatur, et quod pervenit fuit septuaginta” (ibid., 322.15–18; for the solution, see 322.18–323.13).

⁷⁷ Tropfke, *Geschichte der Elementa-Mathematik III* (Berlin, 1937), 34 and 37; see the revised edition (1980), 385–86, where a symbolic representation is mixed with a verbal explanation.

⁷⁸ Gillings, *Mathematics*, 182.

A symbolic representation of the problem and solution is

$$x + \frac{2}{3}x - \frac{1}{3}(x + \frac{2}{3}x) = 10 \quad (1)$$

$$\frac{10}{9}x = 10 \quad (2)$$

$$\frac{10}{9}x - \frac{1}{10}x = 10 - \frac{1}{10}(10) \quad (3)$$

$$x = 9 \quad (4)$$

Obviously, the parallel is striking. If the *regula infusa* is of Egyptian origin, then it remained common (?) knowledge for nearly three millennia before Job canonized it, if he did not create the method independently.

There is something to the common knowledge aspect, however. In writing of al-Khwārizmī's teaching on equations, Tropfke remarked that he used "this procedure in by far the majority of his equations."⁷⁹ A close reading of the three translations of al-Khwārizmī's *Algebra*, however, fails to produce any examples of the method known as *regula infusa* in his teaching. What may have prompted Tropfke's remark is an example in an appendix which Gerard of Cremona added to his translation. It begins, "In *alio tamen libro* repperi *hec interposita suprascriptis*,"⁸⁰ namely, a set of problems among which is the following:

Now if someone were to say to you, "I have multiplied a fund by two-thirds and it now equals five." The situation is that you are to multiply some thing by two-thirds of a thing and get two-thirds of a fund to equal five. Now reintegrate it by the equality of its half, and add to the five half of itself. Then you will have the fund equal to seven and a half. Its root is the thing which you multiplied into the two-thirds to produce the five.⁸¹

It is obvious that the solution is accomplished by *regula infusa*. Tropfke may have thought that the appendix was part of al-Khwārizmī's teaching on equations. The phrase *in alio tamen libro*, however, disclaims any overt association with the teaching of al-Khwārizmī.

⁷⁹ Tropfke, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik III*, 37: "Alhwārazmī benutzt dies Verfahren sogar in der Mehrzahl seiner Gleichungen." The statement does not appear in the revised edition (1980), 385–88, where one would expect to find it.

⁸⁰ Hughes, "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 257.

⁸¹ "(14) Si vero tibi dixerit: 'Est census quem in duas tertias multiplicavi et provenit quinque.' Erit eius consideratio ut multiplicet rem aliquam in duas tertias rei et sint due tertie census equales quinque. Ipsam ergo reintegra per equalitatem medietatis ipsius, et adde super quinque ipsius medietatem. Et habebis censem equalem septem et semis. Radix ergo eius est res quam multiplicabis in duas tertias et proveniet quinque" (*ibid.*, 260).

The Method of Partial Residue is a tool for problems that show a sequence in which a quantity either increases or decreases; the quest is to find the original amount. The result of the first change is considered, then the status after the second change, and so on until the final modification is completed which is then set equal to a given number. Three problems in the text are grist for this mill. The first is as follows:

4/1 A certain man went into an orchard and picked some apples. Now the orchard had three gates each guarded by a watchman. So the man gave the first watchman half of what he picked plus two apples more. He gave the second watchman half of what was left plus two more apples. The third got half of what remained and two apples more. The man was left with one apple. How many did he pick?⁸²

As can be seen, the original quantity (x) is affected according to what happens at each gate. After the man has passed through each gate, the student asks, "How many apples are left?" The answers are these:

$$(1) \frac{x}{2} - 2 \quad (2) \frac{x}{4} - 3 \quad (3) \frac{x}{8} - 3 \frac{1}{2}.$$

Only after the last step, the partial residue, does the student have a specific answer, one apple. Hence,

$$(3) \frac{x}{8} - 3 \frac{1}{2} = 1.$$

This equality is easily solved, first by adding $3 \frac{1}{2}$ to 1; then by using the multiplicative inverse, the student finds that the man picked thirty-six apples. The other two problems are solved in the same way.

4/2 The man gave the first guard half of what he had and four more. The second guard got half of what he had and six more. The third got half of what remained and eight more. The man was left with nothing.⁸³ (How many did he pick? Answer: 96 apples)

4/3 The man gave half of what he had to the guard who returned two apples. The second guard got half again but returned four apples. The third guard received half and returned six apples. So he left the orchard with ten apples. How many did he pick?⁸⁴ (Answer: 12 apples)

⁸² See n. 46 above for the Latin text. For the solution *here*, see Libri, *Histoire*, 338.20–339.5.

⁸³ "Quod si dixerit: Partitus est cum primo, et donavit ei quattuor, et partitus est cum secundo, et donavit ei sex, et partitus est cum tertio, et donavit ei octo, et nichil remansit ei" (*ibid.*, 339.7–10; for the solution, see 340.27–341.8).

⁸⁴ "Quod si dixerit: Partitus est cum primo, et reddidit hostiarius duo; et partitus est cum secundo, hostiarius reddidit ei quattuor; et partitus est cum tertio, et reddidit ei hostiarius sex.

For reference's sake, the equation describing problem 4/1 is shown below under 4/4.

The Method of Working Backwards, also known as the Method of Inversion, was certainly well known in India. Brahmagupta (fl. 628) described it thus: “Beginning from the end, make the multiplier divisor, the divisor multiplier; (make) addition subtraction and subtraction addition; (make) square square-root and square-root square; this gives the required quantity.”⁸⁵ The technique is used with three problems, 4/4, 4/5, and 4/6, which are identical with problems 4/1, 4/2, and 4/3 respectively. The solution of the problem begins at its end, that there are so many apples. The problem begins

4/4 The man gave half of what he had to the first guard and two more. He gave half of what he had left to the second guard and two more. The third guard got half and two more. The man left the orchard with an apple.⁸⁶ (How many did he pick?)

Working backwards was not meant to be used with an equation such as

$$x - \left(\frac{x}{2} + 2\right) - \left[\frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{x}{2} - 2\right) + 2\right] - \left\{ \frac{1}{2} \left[\frac{x}{2} - 3\right] + 2 \right\} = 1$$

which does represent the problem. All the + 2s in the equation are really – 2s, as the negative signs outside the series of parentheses demand. Rather, the student was to work simply from the final condition in the problem and follow the rule from India. The solution begins by adding 2 to the 1 apple the picker was left with:

- (1) $1 + 2 = 3$
- (2) $2(3) + 2 = 8$
- (3) $2(8) + 2 = 18$
- (4) $2(18) = 36.$

With these remarks the following problems are easily solved by working backwards.

4/5 The man gave half of his picking to the first guard and four apples more. The second guard got half of what remained and six more. He

Exivit autem habens decem: quantus ergo fuit numerus pomorum que collegit?” (ibid., 341.10–342.1; for the solution, see 343.3–13).

⁸⁵ Datta and Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics* 1:232.

⁸⁶ “Divisit cum primo, et donavit ei duo, et partitus est cum secundo, et donavit ei duo, et partitus est cum tertio, et donavit ei duo, et egressus est habens unum” (Libri, *Histoire*, 343.14–18; for the solution, see 343.18–344.4).

gave half of what was left to the third guard and eight more. The man had nothing left.⁸⁷ (How many did he pick? Answer: 96 apples)

4/6 The man gave half to the first guard who returned two apples. He gave half of what was left to the second guard who returned four apples. The third guard got half of what was left and returned six apples. He left the orchard with ten apples.⁸⁸ (How many did he pick? Answer: 12 apples)

2/2 A merchant doubled his money and gave two drachmas away. Then he doubled what he had and gave four drachmas away. Next he doubled his money and gave six drachmas away. Now he had nothing. How much did he have originally?⁸⁹ (Answer: $2\frac{3}{4}$ drachmas)

2/3 The businessman doubled his money and gave a drachma away. Then he doubled what was left and gave two drachmas away. Next he doubled what remained and gave three drachmas away. He had ten drachmas left.⁹⁰ (How much did he have originally? Answer: $2\frac{5}{8}$ drachmas)

The Method of Auxiliary Variable is described as setting one equation in two unknowns equal to a third variable. It occurs in problems requiring two equations in two unknowns. The first of the equations has a condition that makes the two unknowns equal to each other; thereafter they are set equal to the third variable. Consider this problem:

5/1 Two men met, each with so much money. The first said to the second, "Give me a drachma and I will have as much as you have left." The second said to the first, "Rather, give me four of your drachmas and I will have twice as much as you." How much did each have originally?⁹¹

⁸⁷ "Partitus est cum primo, et donavit ei quattuor, et partitus est cum secundo, et donavit ei sex, et partitus est cum tertio, et donavit ei octo, et nichil ei remansit" (*ibid.*, 344.7–10; for the solution, see 344.10–18).

⁸⁸ "[P]artitus est cum primo; et reddidit ei ostiarius duo, et partitus est cum secundo, et reddidit ei ostiarius quattuor, et partitus est cum tertio, et reddidit ei sex, et egressus est habens decem" (*ibid.*, 344.20–345.1; for the solution, see 345.1–7).

⁸⁹ See n. 58 above for the Latin text. For the solution, see *ibid.*, 328.18–329.6.

⁹⁰ "Negociatus fuit cum censu et duplatus est census, et donavit ex eo dragmam; deinde negotiatus est cum residuo et duplatus est ei et donavit ex eo duas dragmas. Et post negotiatus est cum residuo et duplatus est ei; et donavit ex eo tres dragmas. Pervenit ergo ei decem" (*ibid.*, 328.5–10; for the solution, see 328.10–17).

⁹¹ "Quod si quis dixerit: Duo viri obviaverunt sibi quorum quisque censum habebat, et dixit unus eorum alteri. Da mihi ex hoc quod habes dragmam, et habebo quantum tibi remane-

It is understood that the second request takes place after the first exchange of drachmas. If we assign the variables x and y to the two men, then the first condition flows from the words of the first man:

$$x + 1 = y - 1 \quad (1)$$

Since these are equal, each may be set equal to z . Hence,

$$x = z - 1 \text{ and } y = z + 1 \quad (2)$$

The second condition is stated by the second man:

$$2(x - 4) = y + 4 \quad (3)$$

By substituting step 2 into step 3, and so on:

$$2([z - 1] - 4) = [z + 1] + 4 \quad (4)$$

$$2z - 10 = z + 5 \quad (5)$$

$$z = 15 \quad (6)$$

Hence, $x = 15$ and $y = 16$ (7)

The next three problems are similarly solved by using an auxiliary variable.

5/2 After meeting the first said to the other, "Give me a drachma of yours and I will have half as much as you have left." The second replied, "Give me five of your drachmas and I'll have three times as much as you."⁹² (How much did each start with? Answer: 23 and 49 drachmas)

5/3 Two men, each with his own money, met and found some money. Then one said to the other, "Give me a drachma and what we found. Then I shall have as much as you." The other replied, "Give me four of your drachmas and what we found, and I'll have three times as much as you."⁹³ (How much did each have originally?⁹⁴ Answer: 10 and 13 drachmas)

bit; respondit alter, tu vero da mihi ex eo quod habes quattuor dragmas, et habebo duplum ejus quod tibi remanebit; quantum ergo fuit quod quisque eorum habebat?" (ibid., 345.9–15; for the solution, see 347.17–348.16).

⁹² "Quod si dixerit: Da mihi ex eo quod habes dragmas, et habebo dimidium ejus quod tibi remanebit. Et alter dixerit sic: tu, da mihi ex eo quod habes quinque dragmas, et habebo triplum ejus quod tibi remanebit" (ibid., 348.18–22; for the solution, see 350.26–351.26).

⁹³ "Quod si dixerit: Duo viri sibi obviaverunt, quorum quisque habebat censem, et invenerunt censem. Tunc unus eorum dixit alteri: da mihi ex eo quod habes dragmam et hunc censem, et habebo quantum tu. Respondit alter sic: tu, ex eo quod habes da mihi quattuor dragmas et hunc censem, et habebo triplum ejus quod tibi remanebit. Quantum ergo habuit quisque eorum?" (ibid., 351.28–352.6; for the solution, see 353.27–354.23).

⁹⁴ In the solution the author says that one drachma was found.

5/4 (Given the same circumstances) the first said, “Give me a drachma and what we found, and I’ll have a third of what you have left.” The second replied, “Give me five drachmas and what we found. Then I’ll have five times as much as you have.”⁹⁵ (How much did each have originally?⁹⁶ Answer: 21 and 73 drachmas)

The Method of Ten-in-Two-Parts focused on a type of problem which was a favorite well into and beyond the Renaissance.⁹⁷ The method usually divides ten into two parts, one always being x , the other $10 - x$. Occasionally, another number or quantity will be used, as in problems 8/1 and 6/1, where the quantities are x and $q - x$. There will be two conditions, a and b , in the problem, each becoming a factor of a part of the unknown, ax and $b(10 - x)$ or $b(q - x)$. Consider for instance the first problem in chapter 7.

7/1 There were ten sacks of wheat and barley. A sack of wheat was sold for eight drachmas and two sacks of barley went for one drachma. All together the sacks were sold for fifty drachmas. How many sacks of each were there?⁹⁸

So, which sacks are sold for eight drachmas a piece and which for half of a drachma? The steps of the solution seem to move more easily in the following scenario where x equals the sacks of barely and $(10 - x)$ represents the sacks of oats:

$$8x + \frac{1}{2}(10 - x) = 50 \quad (1)$$

$$7\frac{1}{2}(x) = 45 \quad (2)$$

$$x = 6 \quad (3)$$

Hence, six sacks of wheat and four sacks of barley were sold.

⁹⁵ “Quod si dixerit unus: Da mihi ex eo quod habes dragmam et hunc censem inventum, et habebo tertiam ejus quod tibi remanebit; et alter dixerit sic, tu, da mihi quinque dragmas et hunc censem, et habebo quincuplum (*sic*) ejus quod tibi remanebit” (*ibid.*, 354.25–355.4).

⁹⁶ Here they found two drachmas. Further, Abraham does not offer a second solution; rather, he shows a faster way of using double false position (*ibid.*, 356.28–357.5). Regardless, the student was probably expected to apply what he had learned from the preceding exercise.

⁹⁷ “Fame de 10 2 parte che multiplica la differentia in se medesima e quel che ne vien multiplica fia lo minor parte facia tanto quanto multiplica la minor parte per 20 ¼” (W. van Egmond, ed., “Della Radice de’ Numeri e Metodo di Trovarla,” *Quaderni del Centro Studi della Matematica Medioevale* 15 [Siena, 1986], 46–47).

⁹⁸ “Quod si dixerit: Fuerunt decem craficii tritici et ordei, et fuit craficius tritici venditus *pro* octo dragmis, et duo craficii ordei fuerunt venditi *pro dragma una*, et adjunctum fuit precium, et fuit quinquaginta dragme. Quantum ergo fuit triticum et quantum ordeum?” (*Libri, Histoire*, 359.12–17; for the solution, see 361.1–16).

There are four more problems to exercise this technique:

7/2 Divide ten into two parts. Multiply one part by one and the other by six. The sum of the products is forty. What are the numbers?⁹⁹ (Answer: 4 and 6)

8/1 There are one hundred gold coins. Some are *melechini* and others are *revelati*. At the exchange one melichinus is sold for five solidi, and one revelatus for three solidi. The exchange brought four hundred and sixty solidi. How many were *melechini*; how many were *revelati*?¹⁰⁰ (Answer: 88 *melechini* and 20 *revelati*)

9/1 Two men were in a business house. One had ten sacks and the other twenty. They sold them for the same price by the same measure. Each received thirty drachmas.¹⁰¹ (How was the price distributed? Answer: The man with ten sacks received $3 \frac{1}{3}$ drachmas and $26 \frac{2}{3}$ drachmas.)¹⁰²

6/1 A man went to a moneychanger to exchange some gold for two kinds of drachmas: one sold at the rate of twenty for one gold piece, the other at thirty for one gold piece. He received twenty-seven drachmas for the exchange.¹⁰³ (How many drachmas did he receive at each rate? Answer: 6 drachmas at the 20 rate, 21 drachmas at the 30 rate)

⁹⁹ "Quod si dixerit: Divisisti decem in duas partes, et multiplicasti unam in unum et secundam in sex, et aggregasti utramque multiplicationem, et quod pervenit fuit quadraginta: quantus ergo fuit numerus cuiusque partis?" (ibid., 361.18–362.1; for the solution, see 363.7–17).

¹⁰⁰ "Quod si dixerit: Fuerunt centum aurei quorum quidam fuerunt melichini, et quidam revelati; et quisque melichinus in cambio fuit venditus pro quinque solidis, et quisque revelatus fuit in cambio venditus pro tribus solidis, et quod ex cambio aggregatum est fuit quadraginta et sexaginta solidi. Quot ergo eorum fuerunt melichini et quot revelati?" (ibid., 363.19–364.1; for the solution, see 365.14–25).

¹⁰¹ "Quod si dixerit: Duo viri intraverunt forum rerum venalium, quorum unus habebat decem cisticos, et alter viginti et vendiderunt cum una misura et uno precio, et recedentes habuit quisque eorum triginta dragmas" (ibid., 365.27–366.4). No solution by Ten-in-Two-Parts is given. Rather, the reader is simply referred to the technique, thus "Est propterea regula inveniendi hoc, sicut regula decem que dividitur in duas partes" (ibid., 367.18–18).

¹⁰² Although Abraham simply states that the problem can be solved by the method of dividing ten into two parts, he adds the condition "... some sacks were sold for one drachma and others for four." This means that each man had two kinds of sacks. One man sold some of his sacks for one drachma, the others for four. Hence, he sold three and one-third sacks for one drachma each and the remaining six and two-thirds sacks for four drachmas each. The second man sold five sacks for two drachmas each and the others for four drachmas, as a marginal note suggests.

¹⁰³ "Quod si aliquis dixerit: Vir quidam ivit ad cambitorem qui habebat dragmas duorum generum, ex uno quorum cambiebantur viginti pro aureo et ex altero triginta. Dedit autem au-

Number puzzles have always enjoyed great popularity.¹⁰⁴ This may be why the final chapter, *On Rings*, discusses three number puzzles and procedures for solving them that are algebraic in nature. In general, they follow this pattern: a person is asked to think of a number and then to perform a series of operations on it. Finally, the number resulting from the last operation is told to the diviner who announces the number originally thought of. The first and third problems are quite similar; problem 2 seems incomplete. Regardless, the instructions are challenging. The unfamiliar name, *Rings*, takes its origin from old Arabic challenges to discover on which finger lies a ring or even where on one's body a ring has been concealed, as described by Fibonacci.¹⁰⁵ In a transferred sense, a number has been hidden in some one's mind, and the diviner seeks to discover it.

The instructions for the first puzzle¹⁰⁶ (369.12) are as follows: Ask someone to select a number, double it, add 5, multiply by 5, add 10, multiply by 10, subtract 400 from the product (and the interlocutor mentally counts 1), subtract 100 from the remainder as many times as possible, and finally tell the number of times 100 was subtracted (ignoring any remainder less than 100). The number originally thought of will be the sum plus the 1 you counted.

Something is missing in the instructions for the second puzzle (369.26). Even the manuscripts remark “*dubia est regula de anulo*,” as though the scribe could not follow what he was writing. Any adjustment I tried to make simply failed.

The third puzzle¹⁰⁷ consists of two parts: depending on whether the answer after the first step is an even number (370.15) or an odd number (370.26). Essentially the sequence is this: The person is asked to think of a number and triple it. Then he or she must say whether the product is odd or even. If odd, then 1 is added to make it even. The interlocutor, however, must remember whether it was odd or even. Now the result of the second step is divided by 2 and the quotient is tripled. The person is asked, “How many times can you subtract 9 from the final product? Ignore any remainder less than 9.” The number *originally thought of* will be twice this sum if the original number were *even*; if it were *odd*, then add 1 to twice the sum to obtain the original number.

reum tali tenore ut reciperet dragmas ex duobus generibus ambitionis et accepit viginti septem dragmas, quantas ergo accepit ex eis viginti *quae* cambiebantur pro aureo et quantas ex eis *quae* cambiebantur triginta?” (ibid., 357.7–14; for the solution, see 358.28–359.10).

¹⁰⁴ See R. A. Pack, “The Medieval Number Trick,” *Mittellateinische Jahrbuch* 22 (1987): 45–52.

¹⁰⁵ B. Boncompagni, ed., *Il Liber Abbaci di Leonardo Pisano* (Rome, 1857), 305–6.

¹⁰⁶ For a similar puzzle, see Folkerts, “Pseudo-Beda,” 40, “Item aliter.”

¹⁰⁷ This is the same as the second problem in Folkerts, “Pseudo-Beda,” 39.

MANUSCRIPTS

There are at least seven manuscripts: one at Cambridge, four in Paris, one in Greifswald, and one in Dresden. My remarks are restricted to their special characteristics.

A. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 9335,¹⁰⁸ fols. 126v–133v, copied in southern France or northern Italy in the thirteenth century.

titulus *Liber augmenti et diminutionis uocatus numeratio diuinationis ex eo quod sapientes indi posuerunt quem abraham compilavit et secundum librum qui indorum dictus est composituit.*

incipit *In ipso est capitulum de censibus.*¹⁰⁹

explicit *Tunc dic ei quod nichil accepit. Expletus est liber.*

This is the manuscript used by Libri, as he stated; it is certainly the most legible. As venerable as the manuscript is, it shows marginal notes of a later reader who penned abbreviated solutions to many of the problems on nearly every folio. An unknown reader tried to solve the second number puzzle without success. Of more importance are three remarks in the margin by the copyist: explaining the function of a divisor (312 n.1), complaining about an obscurity in pricing (365 n.1), and offering a hint that confuses the intention to use the method of Ten-in-Two-Parts with DFP (367 n.1).

B. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7377A,¹¹⁰ fols. 58v–68r, copied directly from *A* in France in the thirteenth century.

titulus *Liber augmenti et diminutionis uocatus numeratio diuinationis ex eo quod sapientes indi posuerunt quem habraham compilavit et secundum librum qui indorum dictus est composituit.*

incipit *In ipso est capitulum de censibus.*¹¹¹

explicit *Tunc tu dic ei quod nichil accepit. Expletus est liber.*

¹⁰⁸ For a description of the codex and its contents, see Hughes, “Gerard of Cremona’s Translation,” 224–25; see also L. V. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8 823–18 613* (Paris, 1863–71; rpt. Hildesheim, 1974), 1:28–29.

¹⁰⁹ L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, revised edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 238, prefer the incipit *Compilavi hunc librum secundum quod*. Further, they include under this incipit manuscripts B and C.

¹¹⁰ For a description of the codex and its contents, see Hughes, “Gerard of Cremona’s Translation,” 226; see also *Catalogus Codicium Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, 349.

¹¹¹ See n. 109 above.

The scribe tended to underline errors and copy corrections between the lines where possible. A second hand appears only on fol. 62r. Finally, the three informative marginal notes remarked on in *A* are also in this copy.

C. Cambridge, University Library Mm.2.18,¹¹² fols. 77v–82r, copied in France about 1360 for Geoffrey de Wighton, O.F.M.

titulus *Liber augmenti et diminucionis uocatus numeracio diuinacionis ex eo quod sapientes indi posuerunt quem habraham compilavit et secundum librum qui indorum dictus est compositus.*

incipit In ipso est capitulum de censibus.¹¹³

explicit Tunc tu dic ei quod nichil accepit.

The Cambridge manuscript was completed by one scribe, and all the initial capitals were drawn with accompanying fanciful decorative lines. The final folio, 82v, lists the contents of the codex, our treatise being *Liber de numeracione divinationis et est arithmeticus*. There are five marginal notes, two being corrective additions to the text and the other three the same comments noted above in *A*. Since sixty-five of the 123 variant readings are from this manuscript alone and another twenty-three agree with *A* and *B*, it is unsettled whether either *A* or *B* was the exemplar for the Cambridge manuscript.

D. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 15120, fol. 53(78)r–57(82)v, a thirteenth-century¹¹⁴ copy formerly in the library of the Abbey of St Victor, Paris.

titulus deest

incipit (Q)uod si dixerit: duo uri obuiauerunt sibi.

explicit Tunc tu dic ei quod nichil accepit.

Among the manuscripts, this is the most curious. Delisle's inventory lists the contents according to the original foliation: "Liber Radulfi Laudunensis de abaco. – De semitonio (42). – Problemata mathematica (78). – Liber algorismi (93). – xiii s."¹¹⁵ The third item is our text. Before a discussion of its contents, a few observations about the codex itself as seen in the xerox copy are perti-

¹¹² For a description of the codex and its contents, see Hughes, "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 221–22; see also *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge IV* (Cambridge, 1861), 132–38.

¹¹³ See n. 109 above.

¹¹⁴ J. Sesiano, "Survivance medievale en Hispanie d'un probleme ne en Mesopotamie," *Centaurus* 30 (1987): 20, narrows the date of the manuscript to "end of the twelfth century."

¹¹⁵ Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8 823 – 18 613* 3:74.

ment. The folios of the original codex had been separated and rebound in the present codex. Four things happened in the rearrangement. Not all of the original folios were gathered here; this is certain because of different foliation on the same folio. Some folios must have been cut from the original codex, since it can be seen where they were pasted onto narrow strips for inclusion in this codex. In gathering the folios into the present codex, several were arranged out of order. The original foliation noted by Delisle does not agree with the new; using the recent folio numbers, the correct sequence is 53, 54, 56, 55, 57, 58. Further, there are three sets of folio numbers: the original in heavy script and two others quite different from the original but agreeing between themselves.

The manuscript is incomplete, beginning with the chapter on business (345.8) at the top of fol. 53r: "Quod si dixerit: duo uri obuiauerunt sibi," which is not noted in Thorndike and Kibre's *Catalogue of Incipits*. Either the copyist picked and chose the selections and the order in which each one was to appear or copied from another manuscript whose contents had been rearranged as follows. Recent folio numbers (in the corrected sequence) and line numbers are in the left column, Libri's pages and line numbers in the middle, and methods on the right:

53r-53v	345.8-348.16	Double False Position
54r-54v.4	357.7-359.10	DFP and Ten-in-Two Parts
54v.5-56r.10	323.15-325.25	DFP and Multiplicative Inverse
56r.11-56v.19	359.12-361.16	DFP and Ten-in-Two Parts
56v.20-55r.15	363.18-365.25	DFP and Ten-in-Two Parts
55r.16-55v.17	365.26-367.18	DFP and Ten-in-Two Parts
55v.17-57v.11	369.12-371.8	Number Puzzles

The lack of capital initial letters is noticeable as are the titles of two chapters which were written along the lateral edges of their folios. Further, a set of forty-two additional problems begins at the bottom of fol. 57v (82v) and extends through fol. 67r (92r); they are a mixture of meetings between two men, hiring of laborers, exchange of money, and determining dimensions of various objects. The plethora of problems accounts for the description of the tract, *Problemata mathematica*. Finally, the contents of the folios at hand suggest these explanations for the abridged contents: in its original form, the manuscript contained more of the tract than is presented here; the editor who was certainly more a scholar than a scribe rearranged the order of the chapters.

Judging from the list of contents recorded in the catalogue it seems more plausible that our text is an excerpt beginning with the chapter on meetings at the top of fol. 53 (old fol. 78) with chapter titles written along the edge of the

folio and no title for the tract itself. Moreover, the first solution of the initial problem cites *Capitulum numeracionis ejus secundum augmentum et diminucionem*, the title of our treatise. This reference together with the foregoing strengthen the hypothesis that we have an excerpt.

The list of the contents suggests a plausible reason for their rearrangement. Apart from the emphasis on the method of Double False Position, the editor seemed to wish to ground the students in just two additional methods: Multiplicative Inverse and Tens-in-Two-Parts, the first method being necessary for the second. Further, the second and third marginal notes of *A* do not appear in this copy. Hence, we may have at hand a simplified tract in problem solving. This hypothesis gains some strength when we consider that it is followed by forty-two additional problems, all unsolved.

E. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7266, fols. 132ra–135vb (128ra–131vb in a more recent hand), a fourteenth-century copy formerly in the Colbertine Library.

titulus deest

incipit per ipsum ergo oppone nichilo

explicit Tunc tu dic ei quod nichil accepit.

Somewhere—presumably it exists—is the first part of this manuscript, for what is at hand is obviously incomplete. It begins at the top of fol. 135ra, nearly in the middle of the DFP solution of the second problem of chapter 4; the incipit is not included in Thorndike and Kibre's *Catalogue of Incipits*. Apart from its incomplete state, the manuscript is notable for two omissions: the statement “dubia est regula de anulo” in chapter 9 and the explicit “Expletus est liber.” Because of the latter, a reader of only this copy would conclude that the problem which follows the explicit is a part of the tract; in fact it is not. The chapter titles were written along the leading edges of their respective folios. Finally, the manuscript shows the second and third of the marginal notes remarked on above.

The standard catalogue offers no insights, listing the contents as follows:

- 1.º Anonymi expositiones breves in almagestum Ptolemaei.
- 2.º Opusculum cuius titulus: liber Machometi, filii Gebir, filii Cinem, qui vocatur *Albateni*, in numeris stellarum et in locis motuum earum, experimenti ratione conceptorum: interprete *Platone Tiburtino*.
- 3.º Tractatus de mensurazione agrorum.
- 4.º Solutiones problematum astronomicorum cum commentario anonymi; in

prima opusculi parte calendarium Arabum et Persarum cum Christiano comparatur.¹¹⁶

Some assistance is offered by H. L. L. Busard, in a critical edition of two tracts on measuring, who noted for his purposes these parts of the codex: (1) fols. 117r–127r, *Liber Mensurationum d'Abū Bekr* (TK 281; also known as Abubacer or ibn Tofail); (2) fol. 127r–v, *Liber Saydi Abuothmi* (TK 1390); (3) fols. 127v–128r, *Liber Aderameti* (TK 1387); (4) fols. 128r–135v, *Liber augmenti et diminucionis* (TK 238).¹¹⁷ A third list appears in a comprehensive review of the library of Cardinal Guido di Bagno, where it had the shelf number Bagno 85:

I^o Expositiones breves et utiles super Almagestum Claudii Ptolemaei. Secundo liber Albategni de motibus caelestium corporum [trans. Plato Tiburtinus]. Tertio liber Euclidis de menuratione agrorum abbreviatus. Quarto liber ad examen I.C. ad inveniendum aream in quadratis triangulis. Quinto liber augmenti et diminucionis qui vocatur numeratio diminucionis [sic]. Sexto liber Sagati Abachierii de quadratis. Septimo scripta super canones tabularum Toletanarum seu commentarius in tabulas Arzachel incerti authori.¹¹⁸

F. Greifswald, Universität Greifswald Hs. 742 (formerly 58), fols. 68–83, fifteenth century.

The codex, written by many hands on paper, contains the following: (1) fols. 1–10, *Tractatus astronomicus*; (2) fols. 11–14, *De motibus et circulis planetarum tractatus*; (3) fols. 15–18, *De quadrato commentatio*; (4) fols. 19–45, *De circulo tractatus*; fols. 46, 47, blank; (5) fols. 48–59, tractatus mathematicus *De angulis*; (6) fols. 60–63, *Expositio quadrantis*; (7) at the bottom of fols. 62v–63, *De mensurazione plani*; (8) fols. 64–67, *De cometis tractatus*; (9) fols. 68–83, *Excerpta ex sapientia Indorum*.¹¹⁹ Most unfortunately the ink of at least item (9) has suffered decay over the centuries with the result that the microfiche copy of the manuscript is impossible to read or print legibly.

¹¹⁶ *Catalogus Codicium Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, 332.

¹¹⁷ H. L. L. Busard, "Die Vermessungstrakte Liber Saydi Abuothmi und Liber Aderameti," *Janus* 56 (1969): 164, except for Thorndike and Kibre (TK) numbers and comment which I have added.

¹¹⁸ A. Lessage, "Les manuscrits du cardinal Guidi di Bagno," *Scriptorium* 51 (1997): 146, where the last item is referenced to TK 311; it should be noted, however, that the uncertain author is John of Sicily, and that TK 311 does not list this manuscript.

¹¹⁹ H. Müller, "Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften in der Königl. Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Greifswald," *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft* (1875): 272. My thanks to Dr. Christine Petrick of the Greifswald University Library for supplying me with this information. Unfortunately, Thorndike and Kibre's *Catalogue* contains no reference to the Greifswald University Library.

G. Dresden, Saechsische Landesbibliothek, C 80,¹²⁰ fols. 397v–407v, with many of the tracts in the codex copied by Johannes Widmann von Egar (fl. 1480–90) to whom it belonged. He lectured on algebra at the University of Leipzig in 1486.

This manuscript was so badly damaged by water during the infamous fire bombing of Dresden during the Second World War, that a copy of the folios was not requested.

THE LATIN TEXT

In 1838 Giuseppe Libri published *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, containing the only transcription of the text currently available, based on “n° 49 du *Supplement latin*,”¹²¹ which is Paris, Bibliothèque national de France lat. 9335. He corrected the text at 334.21 which shows *quadruplum*, the location where manuscripts *A*, *B*, and *C* have the erroneous *triplum*. While his text varies in 141 places from the five manuscripts, sixty of the variant reading were only with the Cambridge manuscript. Of these latter variations, most are trivial such as differences in spelling and minor omissions. There are, however, twenty crucial errors noted below by page.line numbers in Libri, followed by the correct readings, except of course for the wrong reading noted above. Corrections and additions as suggested by the indicated manuscripts are marked in italics.

306.13–14	<i>deinde</i> igitur nonaginta sex per quinque ¹²²
ABC	<i>divide</i> igitur nonaginta sex per quinque
322.16–17	et quinque dragmas ejus quod aggregatur
ABC	et quinque dragmas <i>et quartam</i> ejus quod aggregatur
332.21–333.1	Deinde sume lancem secundam, primo <i>sex</i> duobus
ABC	Deinde sume lancem secundam, primo <i>ex</i> duobus
333.21–23	donavit ei quadraginta dragmas et decem septimas partes dragme unius
ABC	donavit ei quadraginta dragmas et decem septimas <i>decimas</i> partes dragme unius

¹²⁰ See W. Kaunzner, *Über Johannes Widmann von Eger*, Deutsches Museum, Reihe C. Quellentexte und Übersetzungen 7 (Munich, 1968), 27–39, which completely supersedes F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld’s description in *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden I* (Leipzig 1882), 196–98.

¹²¹ Libri, *Histoire*, 372.1.

¹²² This is just one of many passages in which the reading *deinde* makes no sense; for additional instances, see the Appendix.

334.21–22 tertius donavit ei *quadruplum* ejus quod secundus donaverat
ABC tertius donavit ei *triplum* quod secundus donavit

338.22–23 Habebis ergo rei medietatem exceptis duobus
ABC marg. Habebis ergo rei medietatem *cui adjunge duo diminuto et habebis medietatem rei* exceptis duobus

345.4–5 deinde minue quattuor, et remanebunt quattuor
ABCE *om.*

349.15–16 ut assumas uni *septem* ex secundo *decem* et *septem*
ABCE ut assumas uni *septem* *et* secundo *decem* et *septem*

350.3–4 que sunt error
ABE que sunt error *secundus*

350.6 in errorem lancis *prime*
ABCE in errorem lancis *secunde*

350.18 que fuit *sedecim*
ABCE que fuit *secundi*

350.22–23 Divide ergo *quadraginta eorum* per *unum*
ABCE Divide ergo *quadraginta novem* per *unum*

360.11–13 Minue igitur ex *quinquaginta*, et remanebunt *triginta quattuor*
ABCDE Minue igitur *sedecim* ex *quinquaginta* et remanebunt *triginta quattuor*

361.11 Habes igitur *septem* et *dimidium rei*
ABCDE Habes igitur *septem res* et *dimidium rei*

365.6–7 ut minus (156) ex *trecentis* et *tredecim* et remanebunt *centum* et *sexaginta*
ABCDE ut minus (156) ex *trecentis* et *sedecim* et remanebunt *centum* et *sexaginta*

365.18 multiplica *centum* excepta *in tria*
ABCDE multiplica *centum* excepta *re in tria*

366.4–5 capitulum *numerationis* ejus *secundum et diminutionem*
ABCDE capitulum *numerationis* ejus *secundum augmentum et diminutionem*

369.18 minue ex eo quod habes *quadraginta*
ADE minue ex eo quod habes *quadringtona*

369.19 accipe pro *quadragentis unum*
ABCDE accipe pro *quadringtonis unum*

371.1 serva *fractionem*, donec sit *unum integrum*
ABC marg. *et de ea fac integrum* serva *fractionem*, donec sit *unum integrum*
D interlin. *et de ea fac integrum* serva *fractionem*, donec sit *unum integrum*

In view of the fact that Libri's transcription is comparatively easy to obtain and that the treatise is more of historical interest than of theoretical impact, I think that a full-blown critical edition is not necessary. A complete list of variant readings may be consulted in the Appendix.

CONCLUSION

Why was *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* not widely known? There are so few Latin copies. I would suspect that it came upon the school scene much the same time, the mid twelfth century, as the Latin copies of al-Khwārizmī's *Liber algebre et almuchabolae*. A knowledgeable teacher would soon realize that whatever could be learned from our treatise could be handled, and better, by algebra. Perhaps this is why Leonardo da Pisa, also known as Fibonacci, neglected these methods in his own comprehensive *Liber Abbaci* (1202), except of course for the omnipresent method of double false position.¹²³ In fact, algebra eclipsed this method even though it appears in *De numeris datis*¹²⁴ of Jordanus de Nemore (fl. 1225).

Nonetheless our treatise has its place, however so briefly, in the history of mathematics. It lies between a basic *Algorismus* such as that by al-Khwārizmī¹²⁵ and his *Algebra*.¹²⁶ In the former the student learned first the names and symbols of the nine digits, *figurae* al-Khwārizmī calls them; secondly, how to describe quantities according to the decimal system, positional notation as it is called today, where the student is introduced to 0 the symbol for zero; afterwards the arithmetic operations of addition, subtraction, duplication, multiplication, and division of whole numbers and fractions; the method of casting out nines for checking one's multiplication; finally, a method for finding square roots promised by al-Khwārizmī but not appearing in this manuscript. Our *Liber* assumes that the student knows how to perform

¹²³ Boncompagni, *Liber Abbaci*, 318–52. Fibonacci notes that the method is Arabic in origin in one of its names, *de regulis elchatayn*. In his description of this he observes that in general it involves two false guesses but that occasionally a problem can be solved using only one guess, after the manner of “the rule of the fourth proportion.” This is the same as the method of single false position in our *Liber*. Further, Fibonacci records, “Est enim aliis modus elchataym; qui regula augmenti et diminucionis appellatur” (p. 319), and he goes on to describe briefly though generally what is exemplified in *Liber augmenti et diminutionis*. His problems are much more complex than Abraham's.

¹²⁴ “... Jordanus applies the method in II–27 and II–28, where the problems consist of four equations with four unknowns, at a level of difficulty far exceeding anything in Abraham's text” (B. Hughes, *Jordanus de Nemore De numeris datis* [Berkeley, 1981], 16–17).

¹²⁵ See J. N. Crossley and A. S. Henry, “Thus Spake al-Khwarizmi: A Translation of the Text of Cambridge University Library Ms. Ii.vi.5,” *Historia Mathematica* 17 (1990): 103–31.

¹²⁶ See nn. 25–27 above.

all of these operations. With such a background the student is ready to learn how to solve story problems. In this genre the *Liber* excels, as described above; but it does not attempt that for which the student has not been prepared, namely, to solve problems involving equations of the second degree, the province of algebra for which al-Khwārizmī wrote the premier text. Nevertheless, as the abridged manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 15120 suggests, there is more than enough in *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* to prepare a student for solving a plethora of story problems. Indeed, the full rank of methods in the treatise provided the student with quite adequate tools for becoming a proficient problem solver.

APPENDIX

VARIANT READINGS

The following variant readings are matched with page.line numbers in Libri's transcription. The sigla for the manuscripts and variants are

- A* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 9335
- B* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7377A
- C* Cambridge, University Library Mm.II.18
- D* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 15120
- E* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7266

Capitulum de censibus

304.3 Abraham] Habuiam *C* 305.12 et¹] add. hoc jam quantum *C* 306.6 est²
om. C 13 deinde] divide *ABC* 16 Hec] Huius *C* 309.1 dragma] add.
 diminuta *interlin. B* 6–16 Quod si dixerit . . . in eodem *om. C* 310.7 postea
om. B 10–11 residuum sit census] residuum scilicet census *ABC* 12 quartas]
 quartam *C* 313.10 et²] add. erit quod *ABC* 12 est¹ *om. C* 19 et² *om. A*
 314.7 *tertia*] *tertiam AC* 8 *quarta*] quartam *AC* 315.16 deinde] divide *ABC*
 317.15 et² *om. A* 319.6 et erunt viginti quinque] et erunt 15 et quinque dragmas et
 erunt viginti et quartam eius quod aggregatur que est quinque et erunt (?) *C* 6 ergo]
 igitur *ABC* 31 Deinde] Divide *ABC* 320.5 jungas] add. ei *C* 321.4–5 De-
 inde assumas rem *om. C* 322.16 dragmas] add. et quartam *ABC*

Capitulum de negociacione

324.14–16 decem et . . . et erunt *om. C* 325.9 deinde] divide *ABC* 13 hec]
 et *C* 23 et¹ *om. C* 326.7 ergo] vero *BC* 14 due] add. dragme *C*
 dragme] .3. *A et infra* 18 duas] add. dragmas *BC* 327.1 *om. et¹ AB*

15 Deinde] Divide *ABC* 26 Deinde] Divide *ABC* 328.4 ex] *add. tususo*
AC : rnuuso B 11 ei *om. ABC* 15 unam] *decem A: om. BC*

Capitulum donacionis

329.4 quinque] *add. dragme C* 330.2 jam *om. B* 4 duabus] *duobus ABC*
5 primus dotasset eam] *primus datus (?) eam dotasset dragmis B* *duabus] 3. A : add. dragmis BC* 5 et secundus sex *om. C* 29 que est sex *rep. C* 331.3 nu-
merorum *om. C* 332.3 quod *supra*] *quod est superius C* 3 multiplicare]
multiplicari C 4 *debere] debetur C* 17 *octo] add. Et C* 21 *sex] ex ABC*
333.16 Deinde] Divide *ABC* 22 *septimas] add. decimas ABC* 334.1 *quod rep. A*
15 Et tertius donavit ei *om. C* 21 *quadruplum] triplum ABC* 335.4 *dix- erit] dixit C*

Capitulum de pomis

336.7 ei² *om. C* 8–9 *quinquaginta duo] xlviii B* 338.12 *minorem om. C*
19 Hoc] *Hic C* 20 est *om. C* 22–23 *mediatatem exceptis duobus] medietatem*
cui adjunge duo diminuto et habebis medietatem rei exceptis duobus ABC 339.3 *di- midium¹] add. uni ABC* 11 *ex om. C* 341.2 *tibi om. B* 10 *si] vero A*
11 *ostiarus] hostiarius E* 342.1 *eius] que C* 343.7 *quartem] quartam ABCE*
14 *regulam] questionem ABCE* 344.22 *ostriarius del. A : om. BCE*

Capitulum obviacionis

345.4–5 *deinde minue quattuor et remanebunt quattuor om. ABCE* 13 *ex eo] ex*
hoc D 347.1 *ex majore eorum om. C* 15 *hoc] add. igitur C* 349.16 *ex] et*
ABCE 350.4 *sunt] est C* *error] add. secundus ABCE* 4 *que om. C*
6 *prime] secunde ABCE* 14 *hoc] hec C* 18 *sedecim] secundi ABCE* 22–
23 *quadraginta eorum] quadraginta novem ABCE* 351.7 *rem] add. et C*
352.11 *et acceperit dragmam om. C* 353.3 *remanebit] add. octo C* 14 *et om. C*
C 27 *invenitur] add. que ABCE* 354.6 *rem²] add. et ABCE* 11 *illud] eius C*
C 21 *rem] add. exceptis C* 355.9 *ab eo om. C* 12 *scilicet] et C* 356.1
uno] duo C 4 *est] et C* 21 *deinde] demum AB*

Capitulum cambicionis

357.4 *tibi om. C* 13 *quarum] quae C* 14 *quarum] quae C* 16 *est om. C*
ut sumes] ut sumas ABCDE 358.4 *viginti² om. C.*

Capitulum tritici et ordei

359.13 *per] pro ABCDE* 15 *per dragmam unam] pro dragma una ABCDE*
adjunctum] conjunctum ABCDE 360.4 *caficios] kaficios DE et infra* 7 *tunc*
om. B 11 *igitur] add. sedecim ABCDE* 14 *sexaginta et octo] 48 C* 17
sexaginta] 40 C 24 *diminuas] minuas E* 25–26 *minorem duorum] duorum*

minorum duorum *C* 361.1 secundam] secundum *C* 6 ergo] ei *B* 11 sep-
 tem] add. res *ABCDE* 362.3 eam in unum] ca ut *C* 18 primum *om. C*
 363.19 per] pro *ABCE*

Capitulum de cambio

364.8 eum] eam *ABCDE* 365.7 tredecim] sedecim *ABCDE* 18 excepta]
 add. re *ABCDE*

Capitulum de foris rerum venalium

366.4 secundum] add. augmentum *ABCDE* 13 et] add. erunt *ABCDE*
 366n. quam . . . quisque] quam alter quisque *ABC* 367.7 et tercia *om. C*
 368.9 divisam *om. C* 13 ita] itaque *C* 18 ergo] igitur *C*.

Capitulum de anulis

369.13 Quod est ut dicas] (D)ic *E* 17 in decem *om. C* 18 quadraginta] xl
BC : quadringenta *ADE* 19 quadragentis] quadringentis *ABCDE* 370.4–5 in
 illum] nullum *B* 6 ex] de *D* 10 exxit] erunt *E* 10–11 divide . . . ei *om.*
ABCDE (*Libri repeats 6–7*) 12 eo quod . . . de *om. C* dubia est regula de *om.*
DE uni] add. et tot eice de suma quod sit inter te et anulum. De eo quod
 acceptisti, dubia est regula de anulo *D* 12–13 *om. parentheses* *ABCDE* 371.1
 serva fractionem] et de ea fac integrum serva fractionem *marg. ABC, interlin. D*
 7 in novem] in eo novem *ABCDE* 8 Expletus est liber *om. CDE*.

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OLD ENGLISH *FANT* AND ITS COMPOUNDS IN THE ANGLO-SAXON VOCABULARY OF BAPTISM

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THE philologist and historian depend greatly on each other to appreciate the loan-vocabulary that Latin Christianity bequeathed to Old English.¹ Given the difficulty of establishing on purely linguistic grounds the chronology and route of any particular loan, external facts—such as datable contacts with Christian missionaries, or the arrival of “reforming” movements—hold great value.² Their promise comes, however, with a threat: that external history, real or assumed, may simply overrule linguistic evidence which, by itself, affords no verdict.

The unassuming loan-word OE *fant* illustrates the problem well. Under scrutiny, little about the term, including its definition, can be taken for granted. Bosworth’s *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* hedges between the senses “Fountain, spring” and a transferred use “font for baptism”; ** later appears in the same work as a separate head-word, glossed “Font, fountain.” Toller’s *Supplement* to the dictionary adds “a fount” to the definition under *fant*, and Campbell’s much later *Addenda* to both parts leaves the entries untouched.³ The shorter dictionary of Clark Hall and Meritt takes *fant* and *font* as the same word, glossed with ModE “fount, ‘font’” and “baptismal water.”⁴

¹ “Loan-vocabulary” includes loan-words, loan-formations and semantic loans, as set forth by H. Gneuss, *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* (Berlin, 1955). For recent surveys of OE loan-word studies, see D. Kastovsky, “Semantics and Vocabulary,” in *The Cambridge History of the English Language I: The Beginnings to 1066*, ed. R. M. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992), 290–408 at 299–338; and H. Gneuss, “*Angliceae linguae interpretatio*: Language Contact, Lexical Borrowing and Glossing in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 82 (1992): 107–48, rpt. with addenda in his *Language and History in Early England* (Aldershot, 1996), Essay V.

² Several recent publications of Alfred Wollmann underscore the challenges; see his *Untersuchungen zu den frühen lateinischen Lehnwörtern im Altenglischen: Phonologie und Datierung*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 15 (Munich, 1990), and studies cited below, at nn. 20, 28, and 38.

³ *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth . . . Edited and Enlarged by T. Northcote Toller* (Oxford, 1898), s.v. *fant* and *font*; with Toller’s *Supplement* (Oxford, 1921), s.v. *fant*; cf. A. Campbell’s *Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda to the Supplement* (Oxford, 1972).

⁴ *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. J. R. Clark Hall, with a Supplement by H. D.

Holthausen's etymological dictionary gives as equivalents "font [the receptacle]" (*Taufbecken*) and "holy water" (*Weihwasser*).⁵ By contrast, the *Middle English Dictionary* asserts as the first and prevailing sense what speakers of Modern English would expect, "a receptacle for water used in baptizing."⁶ The *Oxford English Dictionary* does likewise ("A receptacle, usually of stone, for the water used in the sacrament of baptism") and admits no ambiguity of meaning in the Old English word.⁷

While the disagreements only multiply over questions of etymology, the confusion about meaning alone urges a reexamination of OE *fant*. Even if we dismiss as redundant the separate *font* in Bosworth-Toller, or substitute "fountain" for the unhelpful archaism "fount" in the definitions of the Bosworth-Toller Supplement and in Clark Hall and Meritt, the fact remains that Old English lexicographers have tended to regard an etymological or Latinate meaning as primary, against the more limited, stable sense of "vessel" in ModE "(baptismal) font." There is more at stake here than the definition of a minor term. The growth of a vernacular word-group around the "font" constitutes an index not only to the status of baptism generally but also to its specific forms and canonical regulation. It is therefore a matter of some historical interest to determine, so far as possible, what an Anglo-Saxon would have understood by OE *fant*, how early the word was in use, and in what contexts. This essay will argue that its initial borrowing, then its spawning of the compounds *fantbæð*, *fantbletsung*, *fantfæt*, *fanthalig*, *fanthalzung*, *fantwæter*, and perhaps **fantstan*, do reflect the external history of the Anglo-Saxon church, though not necessarily in the ways that have been assumed.

1. OE *FANT*: ORIGIN AND MEANING

From the fourth century onwards, *fons* and *fontes* appear in Ecclesiastical Latin with *baptismi* (or *baptismatis*) in the particular meaning "fountain(s)" or

Meritt, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1960; Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 14, Toronto, 1984), s.v. *fant*.

⁵ *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Holthausen, 3d ed. (Heidelberg, 1974), s.v. *fant*.

⁶ *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. H. Kurath, S. M. Kuhn, et al. (Ann Arbor, 1952–), s.v. *font*.

⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols. (Oxford, 1989), s.v. *font* sb.¹, sense 1 (hereafter cited as *OED2*). Sense 2 includes two transferred uses: (a) "A receptacle for holy water," and (b) "The reservoir for oil in a lamp." From the seventeenth century the word was also used as a literary variant of *fount*, itself a sixteenth-century back-formation of *fountain*. The entry for *font* in *OED2* is essentially unchanged from the first edition.

“water(s) of baptism.” Separating this Latin collocative meaning from ModE *font*, with its almost exclusive sense of “receptacle,” are the unpredictable and often disguised workings of semantic drift. The *OED*, and perhaps the *Middle English Dictionary*, imply that the shift in Latin was linear, irreversible, and essentially complete by the time the word entered Old English. That view depends, in turn, on suppositions about the date and kind of cultural contacts that produced the borrowing. Here again, the standard accounts do not agree.

1.a. *Fant*—a “mission-term”?

A few reference works, most prominently Holthausen’s etymological dictionary and the more recent *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, state that *fant* appears in Old English as a secondary borrowing from an Old Irish loan-word *font* or *fant*, rather than directly from written or spoken Latin.⁸ Irish vernacular influence, however, is neither demonstrable nor necessary to account for the Old English forms.⁹

A second and more promising trail leads to the Continent, where reflexes of Lat. *fons (baptismi)* appear in a number of early Germanic languages. Questions about relative chronology and the paths of transmission here intertwine, since the distribution of the term could, in theory, indicate collateral descent from a borrowing into earlier Germanic, independent polygenesis, or secondary and even tertiary loans among the several languages.¹⁰ Etymologists

⁸ Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *fant*. The first edition of Holthausen’s dictionary appeared between 1932 and 1934, and his postulation of a secondary borrowing from Old Irish may explain similar etymologies in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. C. T. Onions (Oxford, 1966), s.v. *font*, and A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1951–55), 993 (s.v. *fontr, funtr*).

⁹ ModIr. *foinse* is a later borrowing and does not refer to baptism; similarly excluded is ModW *ffons*, on which see D. H. Green, *Language and History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge, 1998), 334. The postulated OIr. form (*font* or *fant*) is not recorded in the Royal Irish Academy’s *Dictionary of the Irish Language, Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials* (Dublin, 1983), nor does it appear in lists compiled by J. Vendryes, *De hibernicis vocabulis quae a latina lingua originem duxerunt* (Paris, 1902), esp. § 104, or R. Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, trans. D. A. Binchy and O. Bergin (Dublin, 1946), §§ 913–27. For sound changes that would betray an early, popular borrowing of Lat. *font-* in Irish, see Thurneysen § 915(c), and H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen I: Einleitung und Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1909), § 143(4).

¹⁰ See, for example, Gneuss, “*Anglicae linguae interpretatio*,” 131–34; and E. G. Stanley, “The Difficulty of Establishing Borrowings between Old English and the Continental West Germanic Languages,” in *An Historic Tongue: Studies in English Linguistics in Memory of Barbara Strang*, ed. G. Nixon and J. Honey (London, 1988), 3–16. On Christian borrowings from continental Gmc. into OE, now see esp. M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 25 (Cambridge, 1999), 387–403.

have favoured the last possibility (a spread through secondary borrowing) but explained the evidence in quite different ways. The prevailing view among Germanicists has been most recently restated by Dennis Green: “From northern Gaul the word [*font-*] was taken into Germanic, but confined to the northwestern area,” where it left its traces as OE *fant*, OFris. *font*, MLG *vont(e)/font(e)/vunte*, MDu. *vont(e)/font(e)*, and a Rhenish dialect form *fünt*.¹¹ In Old High German it appears only in the compound *funtdiuillola*, “godsons,” while ON *fontr/funtr* is thought to be a later, mission-borne loan from Old English or Old Frisian.¹² The theory of early adoption and secondary spread was given cultural-historical substance by Theodor Frings in his influential *Germania Romana* (first edition 1932).¹³ He perceived in the northwestern distribution of “font” and a few other “mission-terms” (*Missionswörter*) traces of the sixth-century Merovingian evangelization of northern Gaul and other territories—among them Anglo-Saxon England, where Frankish Christianity had anticipated by some years the Roman mission of 597.¹⁴

¹¹ Green, *Language and History*, 333, following H. Eggers, “Die Annahme des Christentums im Spiegel der deutschen Sprachgeschichte,” *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, ed. K. Schäferdiek, Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte 2 (Munich, 1978), 466–504 at 502. According to the dictionaries, the gender of the borrowed noun was quite unstable: see esp. K. F. von Richthofen, *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch* (Göttingen, 1840), s.v. *font*, *funt*; J. de Vries, *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek, met aanvullingen, verbeteringen en woordregisters door F. de Tollenaire* (Leiden, 1971), s.v. *vont*; *Rheinisches Wörterbuch*, ed. J. Müller and H. Dittmaier, 9 vols. (Bonn and Berlin, 1928–71), s.v. *fünf*; *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, ed. J. Verdam and C. H. Ebbinghe Wubben ('s-Gravenhage, 1949), s.v. *vont*; and *Mittel-niederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. K. Schiller and A. Lübben, 6 vols. (1875–1881), s.v. *vonte* [*vunte*] (with an addendum at 6:301).

¹² OHG *funtdiuillola* (accusative plural) occurs in the tenth-century “Reichenauer Beichte,” ed. E. von Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1916), 332; also *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. E. Karg-Gasterstädt and T. Frings (Berlin, 1968–), s.v. *funtifillol*. On the NGmc. reflexes, see J. de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1962), s.v. *funtr*. For the ON forms particularly, see *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2d ed., ed. R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, with W. A. Craigie (Oxford, 1957), s.v. *fontr*. All attestations in Cleasby-Vigfusson are of the late twelfth through fourteenth centuries. More importantly, as the anonymous reviewer of this article has kindly pointed out, ON *fontr/funtr* seems to have been much rarer than various native terms, such as *mundlaug*, *ketill*, or *sár*, or any of these in compounds, e.g., *kirkju-*, *skírnar-*, *vaz-mundlaug*; *kirkju-*, *skírnar-*, *vaz-ketill*; *kirkju-*, *skírnar-*, *vatn-sár*.

¹³ *Germania Romana*, orig. publ. as *Mitteldeutsche Studien* 2 (Halle, 1932). I cite the revised ed. in 2 vols.: T. Frings, *Germania Romana I*, 2d ed. prepared by G. Müller, *Mittel-deutsche Studien* 19.1 (Halle, 1966); G. Müller and T. Frings, *Germania Romana II: Dreißig Jahre Forschung Romanische Wörter*, *Mitteldeutsche Studien* 19.2 (Halle, 1968), 1:53 n. 1 and 2:258. Frings believed, plausibly, that the form of the etymon was plural *fontes* (> OFr. *fonz*).

¹⁴ Frings, *Germania Romana* 1:53 n. 1; Eggers, “Die Annahme des Christentums” 502–3; Green, *Language and History*, 334. On the supposed linguistic legacy of the Frankish missions, see J. Knobloch, “Recherches sur le vocabulaire de la mission mérovingienne,” *Orbis: Bulletin*

While the presence of the word in the Low-Germanic dialects and in OHG *funtdiuillola* does suggest a pattern of borrowing and spread in those languages, Frings did not exhaust the possibilities. An alternative, suggested by etymologies in the *OED*, acknowledges the prospect of secondary borrowing but reverses the direction and, in so doing, implies a date not before the later seventh or eighth century, when Anglo-Saxon missions to the Continent reached their peak.¹⁵ A later date and a borrowing *from* Old English deserve consideration, but from the outset they present no obvious advantages over Frings's hypothesis. Both face the serious difficulty that not a single attestation in any Germanic language can be dated with certainty before the tenth century and, hence, after numerous reciprocal contacts among Christianized, literate peoples of northern Europe. It may therefore be too optimistic to hope that, in the case of *font*, we are not dealing with irrecoverably complex, overlapping processes, or with independent borrowings at different times. Here comparative phonology, ordinarily a help in sorting out this kind of problem, does not yield much: when written forms of the word do appear, the flux between assimilated spellings (shown by <a> in OE, <u> in OHG and occasionally in MLG and ON) and those with unaffected or restored <o> warns that the Latin etymon exerted a lasting influence. A final, surprising problem is the sheer scarcity of the term. The Old English evidence is the most plentiful and contains what may be the earliest datable forms. Yet even there, the number of occurrences is fairly small, totalling only twenty-four in the entire corpus, or about twice that number if we also count uses in compounds.¹⁶ The texts in which the Old English word does occur—counting, again, both the simplex and compounds—are also unexceptionally late (ca. 950–1100). Its relative scarcity and total absence from earlier texts may be mere accidents, but the very modesty of the survivals is hard to reconcile with a supposition that *fant* was a *Missionswort* that entered the popular language because it named a familiar accessory of conversion.

international de documentation linguistique 9 (1960): 427–37. On Frankish underpinnings of the Gregorian mission, see I. Wood, "The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English," *Speculum* 69 (1994): 1–17.

¹⁵ *OED2*, s.v. *font* sb.¹. "Prob. by adoption from Eng[lish], the word appears early in other Teut[onic] lang[uages]: OFris. *font*, *funt*, MDu. *vonte* (mod.Du. in comb[inations] *doopvont*, from *doop* baptism), ON *funt-r* (Sw. *funt*, *dopfunt*, Da. *font*, *dobfont*)."

¹⁶ There is room to question the significance of unglossed forms of *fons* in glossed psalters G and J at 35:10 and HJGF at 41:3 (for the sigla, see, e.g., Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations* 18–21). I have left these aside. Apart from the problematic assumption that the lack of a gloss signals a patriated Latin form, the gap at 41:3 almost certainly represents the reaction to a textual problem (*fontem* there is a widespread error for *fortem*). The omission in GJ 35:10 is harder to explain: *fons vitae* is interpreted simply as *lif* in J, but *lifes* in G makes no sense in the absence of a gloss to *fons*.

1.b. Chronology and spread in Old English: the linguistic evidence

Regarding the Old English evidence, we should first review what reasons exist for viewing *fant* as an *early* Christian loan in the first place. Past studies have sought a relative date in phonological criteria. Through assimilation to changes within the vowel series received from West Germanic,¹⁷ the combination /o/ + nasal in early Latin loans appears as OE /u/ + nasal: e.g., Lat. *monach-us*, *mont-em*, *nonn-a*, and *pond-o* > OE *munuc*, *munt*, *nunne*, and *pund*.¹⁸ The only exceptions to the pattern are OE *fant* and *domne* (< Lat. *dominus*), whose nonconformity has been interpreted as evidence that they represent a later stratum.¹⁹ But if the change to /u/ before nasals offers a valid *terminus post quem* for the borrowing of *fant*, it does little more than confirm a date not prior to the seventh century, to which the Christian character of the word already points. Even so, the earliest period is relevant to a study of *fant* in two respects. First, it is easily overlooked that Primitive Old English did in fact borrow either *font-em* or late Lat. *fontana* with its literal sense of “spring, fountain, water-source.” The phonologically predictable result, OE **funta* (or **funte*),²⁰ though unattested as a simplex, survives as an element in place names where springs were, perhaps, associated with older Roman stonework.²¹ So particular a meaning, distinct from OE *wiell*, “spring,” may ex-

¹⁷ K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers*, 3d ed. (Tübingen, 1965), §§ 45.5 and 82 (hereafter SB); A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §§ 116–18 (hereafter Campbell); T. E. Toon, “Old English Dialects,” in *Cambridge History of the English Language I*, 409–51 at 443.

¹⁸ See A. Pogatscher, *Zur Lauliehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker 64 (Strassburg, 1888), § 168 (hereafter Pogatscher); K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1921–40), § 213.2; also SB § 60 n. 3; Campbell § 501; and Wollmann, *Untersuchungen*, 170–71.

¹⁹ Pogatscher § 167; Campbell § 502; cf. Wollmann, *Untersuchungen*, 516–17, who has reservations about the claim that all instances of /u/ for Lat. /o/ before nasals must be early.

²⁰ Derivations from *font-* and late Lat. *fontana* have been proposed, often as a secondary borrowing via PrW **funtōn*; see most recently A. Cole, “Topography, Hydrology and Place-Names in the Chalklands of Southern England: **funta*, *æwiell* and *æwielm*,” *Nomina* 9 (1986): 3–19 at 3; M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England*, 2d ed. (Chichester, 1988), 83; M. Jacobsson, *Wells, Meres, and Pools: Hydronymic Terms in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, *Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia* 98 (Uppsala, 1997), 18. But cf. A. Wollmann, “Lateinisch-Altenglische Lehnbeziehungen im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert,” in *Britain 400–600: Language and History*, ed. A. Bammesberger and A. Wollmann, *Anglistische Forschungen* 205 (Heidelberg, 1990), 373–96 at 382 and 394–95; also *Untersuchungen*, 93–94.

²¹ See the summary discussion by Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, 83–86 with addenda at 249–50. On the distribution of the term, see *ibid.*, 85 (Fig. 2); and Jacobsson, *Wells, Meres, and Pools*, 227–28 (with Map 9).

plain the limited spread and apparently short life of the borrowed term.²² It was in any event assimilated before the coming of Christianity, and its survival in areas of south and southeast England allows that **funta* stood poised to interfere with the semantic development of a later borrowing (or reborrowing) of the etymon.

The early raising of /o/ to /u/ seen in words like OE *munt* was only one in a series of developments among the lower back vowels. These linked changes are also important insofar as they account for the alternate spellings and <fant>.²³ Of the two forms, <fant> is the more common, attested some twenty times, plus an additional seventeen in compounds; , by contrast, occurs four times, plus another ten in compounds.²⁴ The sound change whose (inverse) effects are perceived here is an Old English development of Gmc. /a/ before nasals into a nasalized vowel lying between /a/ and /o/.²⁵ This development must have begun quite early, as its effects show in Old English, Old Frisian and, to a lesser extent, Old Saxon. By the mid-eighth century, the new vowel is spelled in Old English texts as <a> or <o>, depending on phonetic environment, date, and dialect.²⁶ From the mid-eighth century onwards, <o> spellings prevail in Anglian (especially Mercian) manuscripts and penetrate early West Saxon to some degree. In late West Saxon <a> predominates, where the new vowel eventually remerged with /a/.²⁷ What matters for our purpose is that the two spellings of *font* resemble a pattern ordinarily regarded

²² On *wiell(e)* in place-names, see n. 68 below. On the proximity of early churches to wells, see R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989), 84–91. Cole suggests that **funta* ceased to be used as the associated Roman structures deteriorated through lack of maintenance; see “Topography, Hydrology and Place-Names,” 16.

²³ A link between the two processes, amounting to a type of chain-shift, is implicit in the complicated explanation of Pogatscher, discussed below. It is also accepted for the analysis of changes to Gmc /a/ + nasal by Toon, “Old English Dialects,” 440.

²⁴ These tallies, based on the electronic *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, include manuscript variants in multiple copies or versions of some texts (such as Ælfric’s pastoral letters and Wulfstan’s Hom. 8b–c), so the totals differ from those of “occurrences,” given above.

²⁵ Accounts agree that the new sound, whatever its value, remained an allophone of /a/, though some evidence hints at a short-lived phonemic contrast in Northumbrian; see S. M. Kuhn, “On the Syllabic Phonemes of Old English,” *Language* 37 (1961): 522–38, rpt. in his *Studies in the Language and Poetics of Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor, 1984), 85–101 at 90–91; and R. M. Hogg, “Was There Ever an /ɔ/-Phoneme in Old English?,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 83 (1982): 225–29.

²⁶ The Epinal Glossary, whose language supposedly reflects that period ca. 700, has only one example of <o> against fifty-eight of <a>. The Erfurt Glossary, reflective of the language ca. 750, shows a roughly even split; for more precise statistical analysis by phonetic environment (where clear patterns emerge), see the works by Toon at n. 17 above and at n. 27 below.

²⁷ See Luick, *Historische Grammatik* § 110; SB § 79; Campbell § 130; and R. M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English, Volume I: Phonology* (Oxford, 1992), § 5.3–6. For detailed analysis, see T. E. Toon, *The Politics of Early Old English Sound Change* (New York, 1983), 90–118.

as chronologically and dialectally significant. Whether it is actually so in the present instance, however, is less certain.

The fact that *fant* behaves like some Old English words, and like other Latin loans with similar phonetic environments (e.g., Lat. *candela* > OE *condel* beside *candel*), can be explained in a number of ways. The most developed hypothesis remains that published in 1888 by Alois Pogatscher.²⁸ It is important to stress that Pogatscher's view of *fant* and its spellings follows from his classification of the word as a "wholly popular" loan (*durchaus volkstümlich*) dependent, he believed, on a pronunciation influenced by the Vulgar Latin of Gaul or sub-Roman Britain.²⁹ The tonic vowel in the lending language would, by this view, have been a close /o/, so Pogatscher's argument had to explain not only why the sound failed to develop as OE /u/, but also why, to judge from the spellings and <fant>, the vowel that did develop was apparently more open than that in the lending language. His complex arguments proceeded as follows: In the period of borrowing that produced *munt*, *pund*, and so forth, the sound of Vulgar Latin close /o/ must have been nearer to OE /u/ than to the only available contrasting value, /a/. But, by the time *fant* and *domne* were borrowed, OE /a/ + nasal had acquired a "perceptibly closer" (*merklich geschlossener*) sound, and nearer to Vulgar Latin close /o/ + nasal. The change in Old English resulted from the nasalization with (in some dialects) marked rounding of Gmc. /a/ to [ɔ] or [ɔ̄] before nasals. Since the tonic vowel in the lending language by this time so resembled the outcome of the native sound change, the earliest attempts at a transliteration of /font/ showed the same fluctuation between <a> and <o> as did words with original Gmc. /a/ + nasal. Hence the spellings supposedly confirm an originally "popular" borrowing from Vulgar Latin or proto-Romance, at a time too late for the loan to appear as **funt*-, but sufficiently early for its recorded forms to vacillate in representation of the nasalized back vowel, with variable degrees of rounding. This putative status of the word as a "popular" loan endows, by implication, the variance between and <fant> with chronological and dialectal significance. In totality these conditions suggested to Pogatscher a borrowing in the seventh century.³⁰ Though he

²⁸ Pogatscher §§ 163–74. See also Wollmann, *Untersuchungen*, 516–17; and *idem*, "Early Christian Loan-Words in Old English," in *Pagans and Christians: The Interplay between Christian Latin and Traditional Germanic Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Hofstra, L. A. J. R. Houwen, and A. A. MacDonald, *Germania Latina* 2 (Groningen, 1995), 175–210 at 190.

²⁹ Pogatscher § 164: "Die beiden Worte *font* und *domne* sind als durchaus volkstümlich anzusehen, da sie aus volkstümlich entwickelten rom. Substraten hervorgehen. . . ."

³⁰ Pogatscher §§ 171 and 173.

did not appeal to external arguments, the date inevitably recalls the purely historical case for viewing the term as an early import of the new religion.

Later studies have challenged points of detail in Pogatscher's phonological reconstructions.³¹ It is certainly not his fault that, in the case of *fant*, spellings yield so little that is unambiguous,³² but there are other difficulties in the argument. With one subordinate clause, he dismisses outright the prospect of a borrowing directly from Latin.³³ Nor does he countenance the possibility of secondary borrowing from a Germanic dialect, as Frings would later propose. The postulated Romance ancestor of *fant* and, for that matter, the "popular" status of the loan seem, under scrutiny, like preconceptions in search of supports—which they are said to find, paradoxically, in Old English spellings wholly explicable by native sound change and reliant, in any event, on no more than an approximate "fit" between Romance close /o/ and a raised, rounded Gmc /a/. The problem rests with the major premise: without self-evident traces of Romance pronunciation (of the kind seen clearly in loans like OE *biscop* < Rom. **ebescobu*), the "popular" status of *fant* is a begged question.

Pogatscher identified "popular" loans solely by their derivation from Vulgar Latin, regardless of sound changes that acted on the word in the borrowing language. To this phonological criterion he confidently attached a socio-linguistic interpretation: "Volkstümliche Entlehnung beruht auf mündlicher Übertragung von Volk zu Volk mit Ausschluss gelehrter Vermittler. Es müssen daher vorerst alle Worte dieser Art dem abgebenden Volke eigen und geläufig sein und demnach Spuren aller jener Formen des Lautwandels aufweisen, welche bis zu dem Zeitpunkte ihrer Übertragung in das fremde Idiom das gesamte Wortmaterial der Quellsprache umgestaltet haben."³⁴ In the case of OE *fant*, as we have seen, the criterion of a Vulgar Latin input can only be established, if at all, through a tortuous reconstruction. To classify the word as popular—especially if it means having to regard as an Anglian form—

³¹ For example, Pogatscher (§ 167) assumes that the quality of Romance close /o/ remained constant through the entire period under discussion, but this is not certain; cf. Wollmann, "Early Christian Loan-Words," 190.

³² Compare the case of coexistent forms OE *calic* and *caelc* "chalice," where spellings convey much for the wholly accidental reason that the phonetic structure of the etymon, Lat. *calix*, was more susceptible to changes (in this case, *i*-umlaut and syncope) that show unambiguously in the OE forms. See the discussion by O. Funke, *Die gelehrtene lateinischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter in der altenglischen Literatur von der Mitte des X. Jahrhunderts bis um das Jahr 1066* (Halle, 1914), 2–3.

³³ Pogatscher § 165: "Da aber die aus einem Casus obliquus abgeleitete Bildung die Annahme direkter Übernahme aus dem Lat. verwehrt . . ." This does not take into account the common use of plural *fontes* for singular in collocations relating to baptism; see pp. 157–58 below.

³⁴ Pogatscher § 38.

also ignores the likelihood of spellings conserved or restored by influence of the Latin etymon; and occurs, just like <fant>, in late and predominantly West-Saxon texts. A “learned” classification, on the other hand, admits the possibility of interference from Latin spelling and is no less valid owing to the influence of Old English pronunciation and sound change suggested by <fant>.³⁵ In these respects the word actually resembles many others in the “learned” category. The label should not be too narrowly interpreted; it is, as Wollmann has recently observed, “useful primarily as a sociolinguistic term referring to the general ways of transmission, to the diffusion of a word and to certain user groups (educated speakers). In this sense, the overall majority of Christian loan-words in OE are learned.”³⁶

The implications of taking *fant* as a “learned” loan in Wollmann’s sense extend to chronology. Most handbooks apply the terms “early” or “late” to loan-words, despite some vagueness as to the limits of each.³⁷ Strictly defined, early loan-words date to the Roman and sub-Roman eras. (Scholars once subdivided this group into continental- and insular-period borrowings, but the bases of that distinction now stand in doubt.)³⁸ Relevant to the present study is the much larger class of later loan-words, consisting chiefly of Christian cultic and theological vocabulary. This category is further divisible into words received by early Anglo-Saxon Christianity and a later stratum associative with the revival of learning and monasticism in the tenth century. Accounts have tended to equate early loans with pre-Christian and popular types, and later loans with Christian and learned ones. Though harmless in many cases, this oversimplification does not always serve. Many of the words that Wollmann has distinguished as “early Christian loans,” for example, were popular insofar as they reflect Vulgar Latin sound changes, but were almost certainly learned with respect to transmission and diffusion. If Pogatscher correctly identified the ancestry of OE *fant*, the word should probably join this category

³⁵ Funke, *Die gelehrtē lateinischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter*, 42. Funke held that “popular” status is determined by conformity to patterns of sound change in the *borrowing* language, while “learned” words tended to retain their Latinate phonology and appearance. Funke also adopted from Eduard Sievers a further distinction of patriated vs. unpatriated or “foreign” learned words. Neither Funke’s criterion of classification (virtually the inverse of Pogatscher’s) nor the separate category of *Fremdwörter* has won acceptance; see Wollmann, “Early Christian Loan-Words,” 180–81, and his summary of criteria at *Untersuchungen*, 106–7.

³⁶ Wollmann, “Early Christian Loan-Words,” 206.

³⁷ Standard accounts using these categories are M. S. Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English* (London, 1935) and Campbell §§ 493–564. The following summary is indebted to the recent publications of Wollmann, especially *Untersuchungen*, 12–90, “Lateinisch-Altenglische Lehnbeziehungen,” 374–77, and “Early Christian Loan-Words,” 175–84.

³⁸ This is an important finding of Wollmann’s *Untersuchungen*; for an English summary, see his “Early Latin Loan-Words in Old English,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1993): 1–26.

of “early Christian loans,” for which the designation “popular” is at best misleading. But if the alternation between ** and *<fant>* does not necessarily point back to a Vulgar Latin input, the question of chronology stands reopened. The duration and dialectal variety of pressures on Gmc. /a/ + nasals in Old English do not narrow the range much. And even if the end of that change could be more firmly dated in, say, West Saxon, the chronology of native sound-shifts tolerates a disturbing number of exceptions among loan-words, attributable to the effects of analogy.³⁹ In the circumstance that *fant* shows nothing more than an effect of analogy, or that ** is an etymological or “book” spelling, the coexistence of the two forms invites comparison with other pairs such as *salm/sealm*, “psalm.”

Whatever the circumstances of its birth, the “popularity” of OE *fant* is probably a dispensable claim not only on phonological grounds but on historical and historical-semantic ones. Pogatscher’s view requires that the word, in an unambiguous sense as “baptismal font,” enjoyed wide currency in Romance-speaking Gaul or sub-Roman Britain, and for that reason passed from one popular lexicon to another. He never explicitly argued that this popularity had to do with a “core” Christian vocabulary diffused through the gradual processes of conversion. But it is hard to imagine that any dating to approximately the seventh century could be altogether uninfluenced by the idea. In fact, if the arguments were stronger, it would be tempting to merge Pogatscher’s linguistic hypothesis with Frings’s historical one, since the latter placed *fant* among the subset of “mission-terms” in early Christian loans.⁴⁰ But if the two roughly agree in their chronology, they still differ in important respects. Apart from Frings’s postulation of secondary borrowing from a West Germanic dialect, the very concept of *Missionswörter* implies learned transmission and so denies the word popular status (in Pogatscher’s terms).

1.c. Archaeology and Anglo-Saxon fonts

Both Pogatscher and Frings rely, in one way or another, on the notion of a core- or basic-Christian vocabulary, which is itself a suspect category—in Wollmann’s apt phrase, “another methodological crutch.”⁴¹ If the linguistic arguments for an early, popular *fant* are equivocal, what of the historical arguments that would place fonts in the “core vocabulary” of a frontier church? At issue is a tacit assumption that the object named by ModE *font* was indispensable to missionary work and would have been both common and con-

³⁹ See examples in Wollmann, “Early Christian Loan-Words,” 185, 190, and 210; also Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 421–22.

⁴⁰ See p. 146 above.

⁴¹ Wollmann, “Early Christian Loan-Words,” 185.

spicuous in the lives of new converts. So far, archaeology has found little to support either view. By the late 1980s, relatively few pre-Conquest English fonts had been identified, and nearly all datable to the late tenth through late eleventh centuries.⁴² It need hardly be said that interpreting such figures requires extreme caution, at least until the authoritative *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* reaches its completion.⁴³ Some Saxon fonts were probably done away with, even "buried" with due ceremony when replaced; others were recarved or otherwise modified, sometimes extensively.⁴⁴ Ordinary wooden tubs, which may well have been a very common type of baptismal vessel in the missions, would leave no archaeological traces; and stone fonts, would have replaced any remaining wooden ones in the Norman, if not in the late Anglo-Saxon, period.

On the other hand, it would be premature to dismiss as meaningless the apparently low number of survivals. Richard Morris has regarded the tally with a proper balance of caution and frank wonder:

The archaeological study of pre-Conquest church interiors is beset by all kinds of lacunae and shortages, some of which might be attributed to the exigencies of survival. But in the case of fonts a phenomenon of wholesale disappearance is hard to credit. From c.1100 the font was a cherished item. Unless this marks a sharp change in attitude it is reasonable to suppose that if earlier stone fonts existed more of them should have survived. Hence, it is likely that the small total of examples is to be interpreted literally, as indicating that stone fonts did not enter general local use before the eleventh century.⁴⁵

Such "general local use" of stone fonts would coincide with the emergence of a more clearly defined system of parishes and pastoral duties, developments falling at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. Before that, and especially in the seventh-century missionary church, it is hard to generalize about the normal settings of baptism because the form of the rite itself is unknown. Immersion of an adult, for example, demands a river or pool or an indoor *piscina* of some size, whereas infant baptism (the norm by our period, except in mission terri-

⁴² R. Morris, "Baptismal Places: 600–800," in *People and Places in Northern Europe, 500–1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*, ed. I. Wood and N. Lund (Woodbridge, 1991), 15–24 at 16–17.

⁴³ *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 5 vols. to date (Oxford, 1984–).

⁴⁴ For a dated but still serviceable overview of pre-Conquest fonts, see F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (London, 1908), 119–43. A number of Anglo-Saxon carved stones were later modified for use as fonts or font-supports (*ibid.*, 99–106 and 138–39). On the burial of retired fonts, see D. A. Stocker, "Fons et origo: The Symbolic Death, Burial and Resurrection of English Font Stones," *Church Archaeology* 1 (1997): 17–25. On late OE or early ME fontston, see p. 171 below.

⁴⁵ Morris, "Baptismal Places," 17.

tories) required a smaller vessel, even for immersion. If simple affusion or aspersion of water was normal practice, a small, portable vessel would suffice for children and adults alike.⁴⁶ Some early mass baptisms, according to Bede, took place outdoors in rivers or natural springs because churches and *baptisteria* did not yet exist.⁴⁷ It seems safe to conclude from the statement that (in Bede's eyes) a special building set apart for baptism was desirable but not essential, and a natural body of water would serve as circumstances required and Scripture sanctioned. The late ninth-century translator of Bede's history into Old English rendered *baptisteria* noncommittally as *fulwihtstowe* (literally "baptism-places") which may or may not imply man-made structures.⁴⁸

Nor does the lack of evidence for independent baptisteries in early England mean that small fonts quickly appeared in local churches as infant baptism once more became normative.⁴⁹ Elsewhere in Europe, baptism and distribution of the chrism remained for some time well-guarded prerogatives of the bishop. The same pattern is difficult to verify in England, where archaeological evidence for early baptismal sites lies less often near cathedrals than at important "gathering places" such as markets and royal residences, whose importance probably antedated the coming of Christianity.⁵⁰ Still later, in the eighth and ninth centuries, administration of baptism in England was perhaps a function of large, regional minster churches, devolving upon smaller local churches only as a parish-system began to emerge in the tenth century.⁵¹ Large gaps remain in the archaeological record, but current findings discour-

⁴⁶ On the various methods and their implications for the setting of the rite, see S. Foot, "By Water in the Spirit: The Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England," in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 171–92 at 177–78. On lead tanks and other small vessels possibly used for baptism in Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon churches, see *ibid.*, 183; Morris, "Baptismal Places," 19–20; and C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to A.D. 500* (Berkeley, 1981), 220–25.

⁴⁷ HE 2.14 (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford, 1969], 188). See also Morris, "Baptismal Places," 19; and J. H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 48–54.

⁴⁸ OE Bede 2.11 (*The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. T. Miller, 4 vols., EETS, o.s., 95–96 and 110–11 [London, 1890–98], 1:140). The word occurs two further times in class-glossaries; Aldhelm glosses give *ful(l)uhtbæp* for the same lemma.

⁴⁹ See J. G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London, 1962), 51–60, esp. 53; also the general discussion of Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 26–36.

⁵⁰ Morris, "Baptismal Places," 20–24.

⁵¹ On the significance of minster churches in this regard, and against the existence in England of special baptismal churches under the bishops, see Foot, "By Water in the Spirit," 180–81. For a current summary of the "minster hypothesis" and objections, see J. Blair, "Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England," *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995): 193–212.

age the assumption that fonts abounded in the period of conversion, or even for some considerable time thereafter. On the contrary, a proliferation of smaller stone fonts and, hence, an Old English vocabulary referring to them may have less to do with the missionary church than with a later, more settled period that also saw the rise of the parish. Such a link would explain why the material evidence, like that for the word *fant* itself, is rare before the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁵²

1.d. Medieval Latin usage

The semantic background is almost as shadowy as the archaeological one. While we can point to examples that carry unambiguously the meaning “vessel of baptismal water,” the precise meaning of Christian Lat. *fons* is usually more elusive. When Frings suggested that Frankish missionaries introduced the term only for the *receptacle* of baptismal water, he relegated to a footnote a key piece of the argument, concerning the supposed fortunes of the etymon outside Northwest Germanic. A clear boundary lay, he asserted, between areas that retained the original meaning of *fons* alongside its Christian one, and those that admitted only the latter (late Lat. *fontana* having replaced the former).⁵³ Green has recently repeated the claim: “Lat. *fons* ‘spring’ acquired the Christian meaning ‘font’, attested in ecclesiastical Latin from the fourth century and reflected in the western Romance languages. Only in northern Gaul did it mean ‘font’ alone; elsewhere in Romania it also retained its pre-Christian meaning.”⁵⁴ Of course, Frings’s assertion that Lat. *fons* meant only “baptismal font” in northern Gaul, while presented as an explanation for the spread of the loan-word, must in fact derive from the evidence of the vernaculars. Of the medieval Latin term itself, the most that can be claimed is that by the fourth century it could bear as its *primary* meaning what had become

⁵² For a survey of material evidence, see Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 122–23. Since completing the present essay, I have happily learned that the archaeological and documentary records of early English “fonts” are to receive thorough reassessment in John Blair’s forthcoming book, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, chap. 8, “From Minster Parish to Local Parish: The Formation of Parochial Identities, c. 850–1100,” which will argue that a proliferation of monolithic stone fonts was mainly an eleventh-century development. I am much indebted to Dr. Blair for permission to read and mention his forthcoming work, although I have not attempted to integrate fully its important findings.

⁵³ On the putative disappearance of *fons* (in its original sense) in northern Francia and elsewhere, and its replacement by *fontana*, see W. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn, 1928–), s.v. *fons*.

⁵⁴ Green, *Language and History* 333, paraphrasing Frings, *Germania Romana* 1:53 n. 1: “[the word in NWGmc.] ist alte fränkische Ausstrahlung von gallorom. *fontes*, afranz. *fons*, aprov. *fons*, nfranz. *fontis* . . . das in Nordgallien nur die Bedeutung ‘Taufbecken’, in der übrigen Romania die Doppelbedeutung ‘Quell’ und ‘Taufbecken’ hat.”

its important secondary meaning, namely, “baptismal fountain” or “spring of baptism,” and only then by further extension “receptacle for baptismal water.”

To avoid anachronism, we must consider how and why the dead metaphor in ModE *font* (or ModFr. *fonts*, or ModGer. *Taufbrunnen*) still showed signs of life in both its medieval Latin and early vernacular uses. The word had inherited a vagueness from Classical Latin, where its meaning “caput rivi” could refer to both a spot in the landscape and the waters flowing from it.⁵⁵ In Ecclesiastical Latin, the ambiguities multiplied when the word became fixed in collocations that extended the life of the metaphor. As it resonated deeply with the Christian Scriptures and, in all likelihood, with many pre-Christian cults, the image of flowing water had a much-prized symbolic value.⁵⁶ When the setting of baptism in churches resembled less and less the biblical precedent of Christ’s outdoor baptism in the Jordan, the burden fell on exegesis, art, literature and, above all, the liturgy to uphold the typologically rich image of “living water(s).”⁵⁷ And so almost everywhere the collocative uses of the word—especially in *fons baptismi* (or *baptismatis*), or the synonymous *fons lavacri*—discouraged separation of the original from a transferred meaning “vessel, receptacle.”⁵⁸ The same illusory effect followed from a use, already common in Classical Latin, of the plural *fontes* with singular sense, in imitation of Greek *πηγαί* “stream(s).”⁵⁹ The fossilized plural, surviving still in ModFr. *fonts* (*baptismaux*),⁶⁰ would have been most familiar in the Middle

⁵⁵ *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* 6.1:1022–27 (s.v. *fons*) at 1022.

⁵⁶ *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ed. E. Hoffmann-Krayer and H. Bächtold-Stäubli, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1927–42), 1:1672–85; also E. Stürzl, “Die christlichen Elemente in den altenglischen Zaurersegen,” *Die Sprache* 6 (1960): 75–93 at 78–79.

⁵⁷ For a survey of images commonly depicted on or near fonts, see F. Nordström, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts: An Iconographical Study*, Umeå Studies in the Humanities 6 (Umeå, 1984).

⁵⁸ There is no exhaustive study of the term in Christian Latin, but see F. J. Dölger, “Die Münze im Taufbecken und die Münzen-Funde in Heilquellen der Antike,” in his *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 6 vols. (Münster in Westfalen, 1929–50), 3:1–24 at 21–24. For a very limited range of citations from the liturgy, see also G. Manz, *Ausdrucksformen der lateinischen Liturgiesprache bis ins elfte Jahrhundert*, Texte und Arbeiten, Abt. I, Beiheft 1 (Beuron, 1941), § 367; A. Blaise and A. Dumas, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout, 1966), § 333. See also V. Loi, “Note sulla terminologia battesimalia latina,” in *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1969), 3:67–84 at 71.

⁵⁹ See *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 10 vols. (Stuttgart, 1933–79), 6:112–17.

⁶⁰ From OFr. *foncelfonz/funz*; for other Romance forms, see n. 54 above. The suggestion of Bond that the French plural implies divided or partitioned fonts, a later development, cannot be correct (*Fonts and Font Covers*, 61). Sporadic uses of the plural occur in Germanic languages, but they have an artificially Latinate appearance; see instances of *fantas* in the *Regularis con-*

Ages from liturgical rubrics *ad fontes benedicendos* (and permutations thereof) in the baptismal services held during the Vigils of Easter and Pentecost. In this setting, the Carolingian “Supplement” to the Gregorian Sacramentary verifies the interchangeable status of singular and plural: “His expletis procedat sacerdos ad fontes benedicendos, et dicat benedictionem fontis. . . .”⁶¹

For these reasons it is often difficult to determine whether the *fons* or *fontes* means “water(s) of baptism,” “the place of baptism,” “the vessel of baptismal water,” or some combination of these with no need for further distinction.⁶² A limiting of sense in the direction of ModE *font* is hinted quite early, though unequivocal instances are surprisingly rare. Even in deictic usage, as in baptistery- and font-inscriptions, it is hard to determine how narrowly we should translate *fons*. A fairly unambiguous early example occurs in a fourth-century verse inscription for the baptistery of St. Thecla, Milan, which refers to the *octagonus fons* below.⁶³ More typical is Isidore’s treatment of the word in his *Etymologiae*. He begins with *fontes*, “springs” or “spring-waters,” as a landscape feature that yielded the name of a certain species of pagan temple (*delubra*): “Delubra veteres dicebant templa fontes habentia, quibus ante ingressum diluebantur; et appellari delubra a diluendo.”⁶⁴ The adaptation of these sites to Christian purposes includes, he says, the use of their *fontes sacri* for the purifying rituals of baptism. But in the next sentence this *fons* (now singular), takes on attributes of an artificial structure, having steps up and down its sides: “Fons autem in delubris locus regeneratorum [var. regenerandorum] est, in quo septem gradus in Spiritus sancti mysterio formantur: tres in descensu et tres in ascensu: septimus vero is est qui et quartus. . . .”⁶⁵ Steps

cordia-gloss (cited below, n. 79). *OED2* (s.v. *font* sb.¹, sense 1.b) classifies as “rare” a ModE example of *fontes* used for the singular, in imitation of Latin or French.

⁶¹ *Supplementum Anianense*, no. 1083, in *Le sacramentaire Grégorien: Ses principales formes d’après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. J. Deshusses, 3 vols., *Spicilegium Friburgense* 16, 24, and 28 (Fribourg, 1971–82; 3d corrected reprint of vol. 1, 1992), 1:378; see also 1:371 (no. 1064 “Inde descendendum ad fontes cum litania”); cf. 1:378 (no. 1084 “Benedicto fonte . . .”). Against Deshusses’s attribution of the Supplement to Benedict of Aniane, see P. Bernard, “Benoit d’Aniane est-il l’auteur de l’avertissement ‘Hucusque’ et du Supplément au sacramentaire ‘Hadrianum’?”, *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 39 (1998): 1–120.

⁶² The ambiguity is rarely acknowledged; cf. Blaise and Dumas, *Le vocabulaire latin* § 333: “Dans les oraisons, les expressions [scil. with *fons*] désignent moins les fontes au sens concret que l’eau du baptême et ses effets”; also the note in *OED2*, s.v. *font* sb.¹, sense 1.a: “prob[ably] *fontes baptismi* originally meant only ‘the fountains (i.e. the waters) of baptism,’ the application as the name of the vessel being secondary.”

⁶³ See F. J. Dölger, “Zur Symbolik des altchristlichen Taufhauses,” in his *Antike und Christentum* 4:153–87 at 155–56.

⁶⁴ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 15.4.9 (ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1911]).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 15.4.10.

could be carved into the sides of a stone pool fed by a spring, but the description more readily calls to mind the large *piscinae* (Gr. *κολυμβήθραι*) in baptisteries of late antiquity.⁶⁶ In Isidore's comments we glimpse the end-points of a semantic range usually disguised by imprecise phrases about the *fons*/ *fontes baptismi*.

From Latin usage generally it is not possible to give even an approximate date by which the phrase "water(s) of baptism" had come to signify primarily (to say nothing of exclusively) the fixed vessel in a church or baptistery. The competing hypotheses of Pogatscher and Frings require that the borrowing of *fant* occurred after the completion of an uncomplicated semantic shift in the lending language. This may have been the case in proto-Romance, to which the evidence of medieval Latin texts, it could be argued, is irrelevant. But the prevailing ambiguity of medieval Latin itself would hardly be a negligible influence; Latin authors who wished to signify the receptacle of baptismal water without any possibility of confusion reached for a different word altogether such as *vasculum* or, eventually, *baptisterium*.⁶⁷

1.e. Old English usage: translations of *fons*/*fontes*

A review of Old English terms that translate *fons* (*baptismi*) and similar collocations ought to clarify the problem of semantic range and may in the process shed new light on the issues of chronology and diffusion. This is no place for treatment of a complicated semantic field, but a few patterns are easily surveyed. In glossed texts of all periods, Lat. *fons* in its literal sense (e.g., Ps 41:2 "sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum") and in metaphorical senses not having to do with baptism (e.g., Ps 35:10 "quoniam apud te fons vitae"), most often receives the gloss *wiell*, with *wylspring* and *æspryng* vying distantly for second place.⁶⁸

For *fons* in baptismal contexts, the picture is a little more complicated. Before the mid-tenth century, translators seem always to have chosen a native

⁶⁶ For a recent archaeological survey of the type, see S. Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 27 (Münster in Westfalen, 1998).

⁶⁷ See the examples quoted below, at n. 163. On the sense "font" for *baptisterium*, see *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. O. Prinz (Munich, 1967–), s.v.

⁶⁸ Spellings of "well" vary considerably, as do the gender and inflectional pattern (weak or strong) of the noun: in the glosses for *fons* alone, cf. nominative singulars *wælla*, *wælle*, *wælla*, *well*, *wella*, *welle*, *wielle*, *wille*, *wyl*, *wyll*, *wylle*; likewise *wælspring*, *wilspring*, *wyllspring*, *wylspreng*, *wylspring*. The element *wella* occurs often in place names, where there is some disagreement as to its meaning "spring" or "stream"; see Jacobsson, *Wells, Meres, and Pools* 219–27.

word or periphrasis, sometimes with the appearance of a loan-formation for Lat. *fons* (or *lavacrum*) *baptismi/baptismatis*. The majority of examples come from the Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the work of an unknown translator active in Mercia in the late ninth century.⁶⁹ Here a number of Latin terms and periphrases for baptism are subsumed under OE *fulwiht-bæð* (also *fulwihtesbæð* or *fulwihtes bæð*, and *fulwihtebæð* or *fulwihte bæð*).⁷⁰ The words render not only the expected *baptismus/baptisma* but several familiar collocations with *fons*:⁷¹

fons + baptismatis/baptismi/fidei/sacrosanctus/salutaris/saluatoris/sanctus

OE Bede 3.5 (ed. Miller, 1:168): *fulwihtes bæðe*; cf. *HE 3.7*: *fonte baptismi*

OE Bede 3.15 (ed. Miller, 2:222): *mid fulwihte bæðe from synnum aðwegene wærōn*; cf. *HE 3.21*: *fidei sunt fonte abluti*

OE Bede 3.16 (ed. Miller, 2:228): *hine onfeng æt fulwihte bæðe him to godsuna*; cf. *HE 3.22*: *suscepitque eum ascendentem de fonte sancto*

OE Bede 4.17 (ed. Miller, 2:302): *þa he æt fulwihte bæðe onþwegen wæs, him to godsuna onfeng*; cf. *HE 4.13*: *egressus de fonte loco filii susceptus est*

OE Bede 4.17 (ed. Miller, 2:302): *mid þa halgan wyllan þwoh fulwihtes bæðes*; cf. *HE 4.13*: *sacrosancto fonte abluebat*

OE Bede 4.18 (ed. Miller, 2:308): *fulwihtes bæðe*; cf. *HE 4.16(14)*: *fonte Saluatoris*

OE Bede 5.6 (ed. Miller, 2:402): *fulwihte bæðe*; cf. *HE 5.6*: *salutari fonte*

OE Bede (O) 5.17 (ed. Miller, 2:458): *mid fullwihte bæþe*; cf. *HE 5.19*: *fonte Saluatoris*

Some of these instances—especially in the idioms for standing as a god-parent (“to receive [someone] from the font”)—belong more to the class of paraphrase than close translation. The distinction hardly matters, for it is

⁶⁹ For a general discussion of the text, see D. Whitelock, “The Old English Bede,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 48 (1962): 57–90, rpt. in her *From Bede to Alfred: Studies in Early Anglo-Saxon Literature and History* (London, 1980), Essay VIII.

⁷⁰ Because the OE loan-creation *fulwiht* is attested as masculine, neuter, and feminine, it is hard to distinguish compounds from genitive noun-phrases (or compounds with genitive determinants); see Kastovsky, “Semantics and Vocabulary,” 363 and 369–70. I have not attempted to distinguish them for the present analysis.

⁷¹ The list of examples is based only on Miller's main text (which, unless otherwise indicated, comes from *T* = Oxford, Bodleian Library Tanner 10). I do not cite orthographic or morphological variants from Miller's vols. 3–4, which would include many fluctuations between *fulwihte(s) bæð* and compound *fulwihtbæð*. Other versions cited, by Miller's sigla, are *C* = London, British Library Cotton Otho B.xi; and *O* = Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279.

clearly not the case that *fulwihte(s) bæð* is an exclusive loan-formation based on *fons baptismi*. The translator in fact uses the same vernacular terminology for several different collocations. In addition to those with *fons*, it often renders others with *lauacrum*:

lauacrum + baptismi/baptismatis/salutare/salutis/sanctae regenerationis/vitae

OE Bede 1.16 (ed. Miller, 1:70): *fulwihtes bæðe*; cf. *HE* 1.27 (*Resp.* 5): *lauacrum baptismatis*

OE Bede 2.11 (ed. Miller, 1:138): *fulwihte bæðe*; cf. *HE* 2.14: *lauacrum sanctae regenerationis*

OE Bede 2.11 (ed. Miller, 1:140): *fulwihtbæðes*; cf. *HE* 2.14: *lauacri salutaris*

OE Bede 3.5 (ed. Miller, 1:168): *onfeng he him 7 nom æt fulwihte bæðe*; cf. *HE* 3.7: *eumque de lauacro exeuntem suscepisse*

OE Bede 3.14 (ed. Miller, 1:208): *fulwihtes bæðe*; cf. *HE* 3.18: *lauacrum baptismi*

OE Bede 4.17 (ed. Miller, 2:302): *fulwihte bæþ*; cf. *HE* 4.13: *lauacrum salutis*

OE Bede 4.18 (ed. Miller, 2:308): *fulwihte bæð*; cf. *HE* 4.14(16): *lauacrum uitiae*

The use of *fulwihte(s) bæð/fulwihtbæð* to translate such a range of lemmata is noteworthy. Elsewhere the phrase or compound may also render plain *baptismus* (OE *fulwiht*), and the translator may have regarded the forms with *bæð* as near-synonyms for the sake of stylistic variety. Whatever the reason, the result seems at first the mere replacement of one group of collocations with another group, more limited in range but equally formulaic.

On the other hand, if the translator completely ignored the variety of Latin vocabulary for baptism, that decision contrasts with his technique generally, which critics have usually faulted for its for overly literal and unidiomatic character.⁷² Against the prospect that the Old English Bede simply levels all collocations for baptism, we note at least three places where he renders *fons salutaris* more literally but, for extra clarity, adds the usual *fulwihte(s) bæð* (which has no equivalent in the Latin):

OE Bede 2.5 (ed. Miller, 1:112): *ðy halwendan wellan fulwihtes bæðes*; cf. *HE* 2.5: *fonte illo salutari*

⁷² Whitelock, “The Old English Bede,” 76; for a more favourable view, see D. K. Fry, “Bede Fortunate in his Translator: The Barking Nuns,” in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), 345–62.

OE Bede 3.16 (ed. Miller, 2:226): *mid þa halwandan wyllan fulwihte bæðes aþwoge*; cf. *HE* 3.22: *fonte salutari abluerent*

OE Bede 5.7 (ed. Miller, 2:404): *mid ða wællan fullwihte bæðes*; cf. *HE* 5.7: *fonte baptismatis*

Of course OE *wiell* (with its declensional and spelling variants) is the most common translation of *fons*, “spring,” in the glossed psalters, and its use here in pleonasm with *bæð* confirms the translator’s sensitivity to literal meaning in the Latin. Elsewhere a less common periphrasis, *unda vitalis*, “life-giving wave,” is also translated literally, with the same qualifying explanation: “þæt is *mid fulwihte bæðe*.⁷³ The translator therefore did not reduce all such expressions as a matter of course.

The unsystematic treatment of these collocations does not indicate a lack of interest. Rather, *fulwihte(s) bæð* probably suited all the instances above because its second element (*bæð*) captures the concrete senses of “water” and “washing” present in Lat. *fons*, *lavacrum*, and *unda*. In this regard the term is less abstract than *fulwiht* alone. That conclusion explains the few instances of translation by only a concrete noun (*bæð* and *wiell*), without the qualifying *fulwiht-*:

OE Bede 2.5 (ed. Miller, 1:112): *Ne willað we in þæt bæð gongan*; cf. *HE* 2.5: *Nolumus . . . fontem illum intrare*

OE Bede 3.17 (ed. Miller, 2:234): *ond sona wæs mid þa wyllan þæs halwandan bæðes from synnum aðwegen*; cf. *HE* 3.23: *mox fonte lauacri salutaris ablutus*

Among the many vague appearances of *fons* in Bede’s descriptions of baptism, these instances are noteworthy because both could easily bear the primary sense “vessel,” yet even here the translator shunned OE *fant* in favour of *bæð*. The latter word typically means “action of bathing, immersion in water,” and “water or other liquid . . . in which a bath is taken” (a number of figurative uses are attested for the latter sense, including the present applications to baptism).⁷⁴ But the question remains: as an approximation of *lavacrum* and *fons* in references to baptism, could the word not also imply the vessel or “font” in a modern sense? For the translator of the Old English Bede, at least, the answer would seem to be no. While some instances could be considered ambiguous, others cannot; for example, one of the periphrases taken unampli-

⁷³ *OE Bede* 5.6 (ed. Miller, 2:404): “mid ða lifestan yðe, þæt is *mid fulwihte bæðe, rihtlice þurhgoten*”; cf. *HE* 5.6: “*uitali etiam unda perfusus*.” Note also *OE Bede* (C) 4.17 (ed. Miller, 2:306): “*mid fulwihte bæþe aþwoh*”; cf. *HE* 4.13: “*unda baptismatis abluit*.”

⁷⁴ *Dictionary of Old English: B*, ed. A. C. Amos et al. (Toronto, 1991), s.v. *bæþ*; see esp. sense 2.c.

fied into the vernacular describes baptism in a river, and the *bæð/lavacrum* mentioned can only be an action, not an object.⁷⁵ To recapitulate, the use of *bæð* and *fulwihte(s) bæð* strongly suggests that the translator of the Old English Bede interpreted *fons*, *lavacrum*, and *unda* as synonyms when they occurred in periphrases for baptism. It follows that *fons* in such collocations still meant (to that translator, at least) the baptismal “water” or its effect. Not a single instance of *fons*, *lavacrum*, or corresponding (*fulwihtes*) *bæð* or *wiell* refers unambiguously to a vessel.

To form conclusions about the earlier Anglo-Saxon terminology of baptism on the basis of the Old English Bede is risky, since comparanda are haphazardly preserved and source relationships elsewhere usually less clear. *Fulwihte(s) bæð* and *fulwihtbæð* occur in a wide variety of texts through the end of the Old English period, and by no means always in translations from Latin. If the terms at one time stood in an analogous relation to the simplex *fulwiht* as Latin collocations with *fons* or *lavacrum* did to the basic noun *baptismus*, the converse—that *fons* or *lavacrum* always lurks behind the second element in *fulwihtbæð*—need not be true. Yet it is possible to confirm elsewhere the negative result drawn from the Old English Bede: *bæð* and *wiell* in other settings, with an implied or explicit determinant “[of] baptism,” always refer primarily to waters or washing in the rite, as do such synonyms of baptismal *bæð* as *pweal* (ca. 6 times) and *onpwegennys* (once). If translators prior to the mid-tenth century interpreted Lat. *fons* in baptismal collocations as a distinct name for the vessel, their vernacular vocabulary reveals no effort to disambiguate that sense from more literal or etymological ones. Two explanations come to mind. Either the Old English is imitating the vagueness of Latin terminology, where Scripture, iconography, and the liturgy discouraged separating the vessel from its contents and, ultimately, from the image of “living” water. Or the vernacular indicates that, where Lat. *fons* could signify “vessel,” translators so rarely regarded this as a primary meaning that the usefulness of a lexemic distinction simply never occurred to them. While the former view might serve to explain the tendencies of a single work or translator, the latter better fits the condition represented by a wide variety of texts from all periods.

The earlier Anglo-Saxons were not the only ones to choose neither a loan-word nor a clearly delimited semantic loan for *fons*, “vessel.” Otfrid’s Gospel-Harmony opts for OHG *bad*, “bath, washing,” even where an unambiguous term for the baptismal vessel would have suited.⁷⁶ The “Würzburger Beichte,”

⁷⁵ *OE Bede* 2.11 (ed. Miller, 1:140): “synna forlætnesse bæðe aðwog in þæm streame þe Glene is nemmed”; cf. *HE* 2.14: “in fluvio Gleni . . . lauacro remissionis abluer.”

⁷⁶ Otfrid, *Evangelienbuch* I.26.13: “wir gangan heile fon themo bade reine” (ed. O. Erd-

copied in the second half of the ninth century, uses OHG *brunno*, “fountain,” to render *fons* in (we infer) the collocation *ab utero fontis*, “from the womb of the *fons*,” where the metaphor functions better if *fons* is taken as a vessel, with depth and concavity.⁷⁷ It is notable, finally, that occurrences of *fulwihte(s)* *bæð* or *fulwihtbæð* in Old English seem to wane in the very period when *fant* and its compounds begin to appear in texts. Of course the appearance of a decline may be only a trick of the survivals, but the evidence of early Middle English points to the same conclusion, as *fulhtbeð* and *fulhtes beð* appear only in the thirteenth-century “Lambeth Homilies.”⁷⁸

1.f. Old English usage: *fant*

It is tempting to see in the fluidity of both the Latin collocations and OE *fulwihte(s)* *bæð* a motive for the borrowing of *fant*. If the word was adopted with only the meaning “vessel of baptismal water,” it made possible a clarity of terminology that Latin and pre-tenth-century English texts rarely achieved. The loan-word allows, for example, the author of the *Regularis concordia*-gloss in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii, to use *wyll* (once) and *fant* (four times) for the literal and baptismal senses of the lemma *fons*, respectively.⁷⁹ Aelfric employs *fant* for a concrete noun in contrast to *fulluht* for

mann, *Otfried's Evangelienbuch*, 5th rev. ed. by L. Wolff, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 49 [Tübingen, 1965]). The passage follows Otfried's paraphrase of Christ's baptism, so the image of the Jordan may deliberately inform the language applied to “our” baptism. At the comparable passage, *Heliand*, lines 977–81, focuses on the water as “bath”: “Iohannes stōd, / dōpte allan deg druhtfolc mikil, / uuerod an uatere endi òk uandard Krist, / hēran hebencuning handun sinun / an allaro baðo them bezton” (*Heliand und Genesis*, ed. O. Behaghel, 7th rev. ed. by W. Mitzka, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 4 [Tübingen, 1958]).

⁷⁷ “Würzburger Beichte,” ed. von Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, 316–17 at 317: “uona deme heilegen reue dez brunnen.” On <reue> as dat. of OHG *href* (cf. OE *hrif*, OFris. *rif, ref*) “womb, uterus,” see J. Hofmann, “Zur Würzburger Beicht,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 76 (1954): 534–52 at 546–47 n. 5. The image of the font as womb is a commonplace; see W. M. Bedard, *The Symbolism of the Baptismal Font in Early Christian Thought*, Catholic U of America Studies in Sacred Theology, 2d ser., 45 (Washington, D.C., 1951), 17–36.

⁷⁸ See the *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. *fulloght*; and H. Käsmann, *Studien zum kirchlichen Wortschatz des Mittelenglischen 1100–1350: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Sprachmischung*, Buchreihe der Anglia 9 (Tübingen, 1961), 200.

⁷⁹ *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, ed. L. Kornexl, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 17 (Munich, 1993), 49 (§ 27, line 589: *wyll lyfigendes wæteres* “fontem uiuentis aquæ”); cf. 101 (§ 48, line 1181: *santas to bletsigenne* “ad fontes benedicendos”), 109 (§ 53, line 1286: *to santum* “ad fontes”), 121 (§ 58, line 1406: *tosoran nyberystige fantes* “ante descensum fontis”), and 122 (§ 58, lines 1417–18: *to santum bletsigenne* “ad fontes benedicendos”). These instances of plural (*santas, santum*) for singular are unique in Old English.

“baptism,” while he tends to avoid *fulluhtbæð* and never uses *wiell* or the like as a semantic loan.⁸⁰ Yet the fact of such distinctions does not settle the main difficulty: did the loan-word carry *only* the limited sense of “vessel”? Or was the term drawn, from the beginning or through learned usage, towards the range of Lat. *fons*? As the following overview establishes, most of the twenty-four occurrences of the word in Old English behave much as the etymon; that is, they admit the translations “water of baptism” alongside the “vessel” of that water, with a slight favouring of the former.

The previously mentioned four in the *Regularis concordia*-gloss are naturally suspect as evidence for assimilated Old English vocabulary (especially when three of them mimic the plural of the lemma *fontes*). Three further instances occur in occasional Old English translations of similar rubrics (*ad fontes benedicendos* etc.), either from the *Concordia* or one of its derivatives.⁸¹ A single occurrence in the Life of St. Machutus, a text exhibiting “Winchester vocabulary,” corroborates *Ælfric*’s witness to the currency of the term in tenth-century reformed monastic circles, although the particular instance does little to clarify a definition.⁸² The remaining examples are distributed among the works of *Ælfric* (five occurrences) and Wulfstan (four occurrences in different versions of the same homily), in an eleventh-century Life of St. Margaret (one occurrence), and in a single gloss to Aldhelm’s *Prosa de virginitate*. All of these bear closer scrutiny for contextual clues to the meaning of OE *fant*.

Three of *Ælfric*’s uses of the term prove helpful (his remaining two are less so).⁸³ One in his homily for the first Sunday after Pentecost occurs in an extensive reference to actions at the “font,” following Bede:

⁸⁰ *Ælfric*’s usage of *fant* will be considered more closely below. His works contain over 160 instances of the noun *fulluht* but only four of *fulluhtbæp*: of the latter, three are in his Passion of St. Laurence (*Catholic Homilies* I.29, lines 91, 101, and 283 [*Ælfric’s Catholic Homilies: The First Series. Text*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS, s.s., 17 (Oxford, 1997), 421 and 428]; hereafter *CH* I); and once in his Passion of St. Sebastian (*Lives of Saints* 5, line 141 [*Ælfric’s Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 4 vols., EETS, o.s., 76, 82, 94 and 114 (London, 1881–1900; rpt. as 2 vols., 1966), 1:124]; hereafter *LS*). None of these instances closely translates a Latin source.

⁸¹ These are cited below, p. 183.

⁸² *The Old English Life of Machutus*, ed. D. Yerkes, Toronto Old English Series 9 (Toronto, 1984), 5 (7v), lines 5–6: “Pone brendanus gefulgade. 7 hine of pon fonte uparæde”; cf. Bili, *Vita S. Machuti* (*ibid.*, 4 [65v], lines 4–5): “Quem brendanus baptizans de fonte leuauit.” On the Winchester associations of the work, see Yerkes’s introduction, xxxvi–xlvi.

⁸³ The two less helpful occur in phrases *on fante*, equivalent to ambiguous Lat. *in fonte*; see *LS* 3 (St. Basil), line 570 (ed. Skeat, 1:84) and the second Old English letter to Wulfstan (or “Brief III”) 7 (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. B. Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 9 [Hamburg, 1914; rpt. with a supplement by P. Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1966], 148); on this passage, see p. 173 below.

Ðu gesyxt hine [scil. the baptizand] bedyppan on þam sciran wætere,
 and eft up ateon mid þam ylcan hiwe
 þe he hæfde æror, ær dan þe he dufe;
 ac seo halige modor, þe is Godes Gelapung,
 wat þæt þæt cild bið synnfull bedyped
 innto þam fante, and bið up abroden
 fram synnum aðwogen, þurh þæt halige fulluht.⁸⁴

(Nam uidetur quidem qui baptizatur in fontem descendere, uidetur aquis intinguui, uidetur de aquis ascendere, quid autem in illo regenerationis lauacro egerit minime potest uideri. Sola autem fidelium pietas nouit quia peccator in fontem descendit sed purificatus ascendit . . .).⁸⁵

Ælfric has taken some practical liberties, as where his assumption of infant baptism requires passive verbs for several of Bede's active ones. Otherwise the patterning of the source survives in the translation: the parallel phrases *bedyppan on þam sciran wætere . . . bedyded innto þam fante* correspond to *aquis intinguui . . . in fontem descendit*.⁸⁶ The pairs affirm a close association between the *fant* and what it contains. Hinting of the same equivalence, Ælfric paraphrases *ut loti aqua fontis aeterni* as *gehalgode on þam halwendum fante* in his *Passion of St. Thomas*.⁸⁷ The most interesting example from Ælfric's pen, however, occurs in his *Passion of St. Laurence*. While held in custody, the saint performs impromptu baptisms for his fellow prisoners and, eventually, for his jailer Hippolytus. Without any urging from the Latin source (as we know it), Ælfric reports that "laurentius þa halgode fant. 7 hine [scil. Hippolytus] gefullode."⁸⁸ Later the narrative describes the consecration of another makeshift "font" with which to baptize the converted soldier, Romanus: "brohte se gelyfeda cempa romanus. ceac fulne wæteres. 7 mid wope þæs halgan laurenties fet gesohte fulluhtes biddende; laurentius þa hrædlice þæt

⁸⁴ Supplementary Hom. 12, lines 127–33 (*Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. C. Pope, 2 vols., EETS, o.s., 259–60 [Oxford, 1967–68], 1:484).

⁸⁵ Bede, *Homelia* 2.18, ed. D. Hurst, CCL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), 312–13, repunctuated.

⁸⁶ The prepositional phrase *innto þæm fante* occurs only here. The more common expression (5 occurrences, in Ælfric and Wulfstan) is *on þæm fante*, with the sense of both "in" (locative) and "into" (motion towards). On the common use of OE *on* "in," see B. Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), §§ 1190–92.

⁸⁷ *LS* 36, line 173 (ed. Skeat, 2:410). Cf. the source, *Passio S. Thomae apostoli*, in B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1910; rpt. Hildesheim, 1978), 2:608, line 57.

⁸⁸ *CH* I.29, lines 100–101 (ed. Clemoes, 421). The source, documented by M. Godden for the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database, resembled a *Passio S. Laurentii* edited by H. Delehaye, "Recherches sur le légendier romain," *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933): 34–98, although the Latin (at cap. 21) contains nothing close to Ælfric's statement about the font.

wæter gehalgode. 7 bone geleaffullan þegen gefullode.”⁸⁹ In the setting of the prior episode, *fant* obviously cannot describe a permanent church furnishing. It might be used informally of a small vessel like Romanus’s *ceac* (translating *urceum*) that served the same function; but the simpler explanation is that Ælfric intended *halgode fant* to mean the same as *wæter gehalgode* in the second instance. The latter prospect would agree with his usage elsewhere, and with the influential liturgical formula *benedicere fontem*, “to bless the water of/for baptism.”

If a Latinate, etymologizing sense of *fant* were implied only in the works of Ælfric, we might regard it as the scruple of an atypically learned author. But other sources confirm the currency of that sense. In an anonymous (probably) eleventh-century translation of the *Passio S. Margaretae* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303, the saint’s prayer likewise creates a “font.” The occasion falls when Margaret’s persecutor, Olibrius, orders her plunged into a cauldron of boiling water that, at her entreaty, becomes a “font of salvation”:

Da wærð se gerefæ swiðe eorre and het mycel fyr onælan and ænne cytel þær ofer gesettan and bæd þære fæmne fet and handan tosomne gebindon and innen bone weallende cetel gesetton. And seo eadiga Margareta heo georne to Gode gebæd and þus cwæð: “Ic þe wille biddan, leofa Drihten Cyning, þæt þæt wæter gewurðe me to fulluhtes bæðe and to clænsunge ealra minum synnum.” And þa þær com fleogan Drihtnes ængel and he þa gehalgode þæt wallende wæter to fonte and þa halga fæmne genam be þære swiðre hand and of þan wætere þa fæmne gesette. . . .⁹⁰

The extant Latin version nearest the translator’s exemplar reads only “Fiatque mihi aqua ista sanctificatio et inluminatio salutis, et fiat mihi fons <baptismi> indeficiens.”⁹¹ The correspondence between *fulluhtes bæð* and *fons baptismi* recalls the strategy of the Old English Bede, but the following idiom, *halgian wæter to fante*, occurs nowhere else in Old English. We cannot know if this

⁸⁹ CH L29, lines 176–79 (ed. Clemoes, 424). Cf. Delehaye, “Recherches sur le légendier roman,” 90–91: “Eadem hora Romanus afferens urceum cum aqua . . . misit se ad pedes beati Laurentii et rogabat eum cum lacrimis ut baptizaretur. Et accepta aqua, benedixit et baptizavit eum.”

⁹⁰ For the version in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303, see *The Old English Lives of St Margaret* 18 (ed. and trans. M. Clayton and H. Magennis, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 9 [Cambridge, 1994], 166). The corresponding episode in a second, independent Old English version in Cotton Tiberius A. iii does not mention the angel or “hallowing” the cauldron as a font.

⁹¹ *Passio S. Margaretae* 18 (ed. and trans. Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret*, 212). The particular copy of the Latin legend printed by Clayton and Magennis from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 5574, omits the word *baptismi* (or *baptismatis*) after *fons*, but the word is found in other manuscripts (*ibid.*, 223 n. 89). The Tiberius-version of the legend translates the words of the saint’s prayer similarly: “þæt þis wæter sy me . . . to fulwihtes bæþe” (*ibid.*, 128).

translator's usage was common, but clearly he felt that the transformation "into a font" had to do with the roiling—and thus, in its own way, moving or "living"—water; he did not say, nor would Latin models have recommended, "halgode þone cetel to fonte." For the sentence in question, the legend reflects an otherwise unattested tradition. In the Latin versions it is a dove, not an angel, that descends, and there is no explicit linkage of the sign to a consecration of the water "as a font." Whether or not the detail is original to this translator, it develops Margaret's allusion to a *fons baptismi* into a recognizable liturgical tableau: the consecration of the font by God's representative—the angel standing in for a priest—rather than directly by the prayer of the baptizand.

Further examples of *fant* occur, unsurprisingly, in Archbishop Wulfstan's homily on baptism, which preserves the most detailed Old English account of the *benedictio fontis*. The homily exists in two versions (Bethurum's Homilies 8b and 8c), the second being an elaboration of the same material.⁹² In one detail, Wulfstan's revision hints of his own concern for the precise meaning of *fant*. The earlier version employs the word twice in a relatively short space: "And þurh þa orðunge þe se sacerd on þæt font orðað þonne he þone font halgað, sona wyrð se deofol þanon afyrsed."⁹³ Identical wording passed into Homily 8c, with the single substitution of *wæter* for the first instance of *font*.⁹⁴ The vagueness of "font" that served so well in associative settings, such as prayer and exegesis, proved a disadvantage when an author needed to distinguish the receptacle and its contents. (Perhaps Wulfstan, catastrophizing as always, shuddered to think of an ignorant priest dutifully blowing on the side or rim of the vessel.) Wulfstan's implied synonymy of *wæter* and *fant* adds to the growing evidence that authors who used OE *fant* usually did so with the literal sense of *fons baptismi* in mind.

A final, provocative attestation of *fant* stands apart from the instances considered so far. The lemma *gurges* in one copy of Aldhelm's *Prosa de virginitate* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 146) receives the gloss "i[d est] font."⁹⁵ The instance poses unusual difficulties. Three scribes entered the

⁹² *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), 172–74 (Hom. 8b), and 175–84 (Hom. 8c). Hom. 8b survives in only one copy, against four complete copies and one fragment of 8c.

⁹³ Hom. 8b, lines 39–41 (ed. Bethurum, 173).

⁹⁴ Hom. 8c, lines 73–74: "And ðurh ða orðunge þe se sacerd on þæt wæter orðað þonne he font halgað . . ." (ed. Bethurum, 179). At this point neither the original reading nor the revision follows Bethurum's Hom. 8a (ibid., 169–71), a Latin tract on baptism attributed to Wulfstan since K. Jost, "Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen," *Anglia* 56 (1932): 265–315 at 270–71.

⁹⁵ *Old English Glosses, Chiefly Unpublished*, ed. A. S. Napier, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 11 (Oxford, 1900), 11 (no. 358). The context of the lemma is figurative, with *gurges paradisi* serving as epithet for St. John the Evangelist; see Aldhelm, *Prosa de virginitate* 7 (ed. R. Ehwald, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi* 15 [Berlin, 1919], 234, line 21).

glosses to this manuscript over a span of time, the earliest group dating to the late tenth century (about the date of the manuscript), or very soon thereafter. But the vast majority, including the gloss to *gurges*, were entered by a single hand in the mid-eleventh century.⁹⁶ It has long been recognized that most of the glosses in this layer agree closely with those to another Aldhelm manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale 1650, usually attributed to the scriptorium of Abingdon in s. XI.⁹⁷ The fact that *gurges* lacks any gloss in the latter implies that “i[d est] font” does not descend from the large “Abingdon group.”⁹⁸ Whatever the origin of the particular gloss, then, there is no reason to think it preserves a much earlier tradition. Its value as a unique instance of *fant*, “spring, fountain” (without baptismal associations), also looks questionable, since Napier, the editor of the Digby glosses, reports that the final <↔> in “i[d est] font” is written over an erasure. One suspects that the *interpretamentum* began life as a Latin gloss *fons* (suiting *gurges* in case, number, and meaning), not the Old English baptismal word, to which it was later falsely “corrected” without reference to the lemma.

In brief, the less ambiguous attestations of OE *fant* support the definition “baptismal water” of Clark Hall and Meritt. To the degree that Ecclesiastical Latin usage informs most of the Old English examples, the tendency explains itself. But a final impetus towards a Latinate sense may have come, paradoxically, from another vernacular word: the place-name element **funta* “fountain, spring.” Occasional spellings of the baptismal term as *funt* in Middle English have been explained by influence of AN *funz*, though one alternative view holds that the spellings in <un> demonstrate a popular merger of OE *fant*/*font* with the earlier, like-sounding and etymologically related place-name.⁹⁹ The suggestion is interesting but tenuous and not, finally, necessary.

⁹⁶ N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), 381–83 (no. 320).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6–7 (no. 8).

⁹⁸ Since Ker, the majority view holds that Digby’s Old English glosses were copied directly from Brussels; see recent summaries by Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 132–48, and, on the Latin glosses, S. Gwara, “The Transmission of the ‘Digby’ Corpus of Bilingual Glosses to Aldhelm’s *Prosa de virginitate*,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 27 (1998): 139–68. Scott Gwara generously shared with me his collation of all the Latin and Old English glosses for this lemma, among which no two are identical.

⁹⁹ Käsmann, *Studien*, 206; see also A. S. Napier’s letter on “The s-plurals in English,” *The Academy* (20 Jan. 1894): 62. Against the theory, **funta* seems to have been an active element only for a short time in prehistoric OE and its meaning may not have been transparent by the late OE period (see pp. 148–49 above). Influence from Anglo-Norman remains the accepted explanation; see, e.g., H. Sauer, *Nominalkomposita im Frühmittelenglischen, mit Ausblicken auf die Geschichte der englischen Nominalkomposition*, Buchreihe der Anglia 30 (Tübingen, 1992), 368.

A learned author knew very well where *fant* came from and how the etymon meant one thing in church, another outdoors and possibly another (“source”) in metaphors from Scripture and literature.

2. OE *FANT* IN COMPOUNDS

The evidence of compounds confirms that OE *fant* never wholly escaped the pull of Latin. The seven known terms are considerably rarer than *fant*, with a total number of occurrences barely equalling that of the simplex alone. Six are of the very common structural type Noun + Noun: *fantbað*, *fantfæt*, **fantstan*, *fantwæter*, *fantbletsung*, and *fanthalgung*. A seventh compound, *fanthalig* (Noun + Adjective), is closely related to *fanthalgung* and merits treatment with the nouns. Any further classification by type proves difficult because of the uncertain reference of *fant* itself.¹⁰⁰ But as they position themselves semantically in relation to the simplex and to one another, the words may be discussed in three groups.

2.a. Renaming the act of baptism: *fantbað*

Probably a short-lived synonym for *fulwihtbað*, *fantbað* shares the former term’s emphasis on washing and, hence, its virtual equivalence with “baptism” as an action. Ælfric used the word only once, in his Life of St. Basil (“Basileus eode of þæm fantbaðe sona”).¹⁰¹ Wulfstan’s Homily 8b refers to the propriety, as soon as the preliminary rites are finished, of “eagerly hastening to baptism” (*to efstanne wið fontbaðes georne*), and later to three immersions on *þam fantbaðe*. His expansion of the same piece (Hom. 8c) left both instances unrevised.¹⁰² In a different homily, he invoked the term when referring to the godparents “who were our sponsors at [the washing of] baptism” (*þa be æt fontbaðe ure forespecan wærان*; note one manuscript substitutes *æt fulluhte*).¹⁰³ To some speakers, the idea of “vessel” may also have

¹⁰⁰ By the categories of Marchand as adapted in Kastovsky, “Semantics and Vocabulary,” 365–69, *fantbletsung* and *fanthalgung* must be rectional compounds. All the others admit classification as rectional or copulative, depending on the primary reference of the determinant *fant-* to “vessel” or “water.”

¹⁰¹ *LS* 3, line 76 (ed. Skeat, 1:54). Cf. *Vita S. Basili* in *De probatis sanctorum historiis* . . . , ed. L. Surius, 7 vols. (Cologne, 1576–86), 1:4–19, at 7. I owe the source citation to Rohini Jayatilaka’s entry for the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database.

¹⁰² Hom. 8b, lines 37–38 and 46 (ed. Bethurum, 173); cf. Hom. 8c, lines 71 and 79, respectively (ed. Bethurum, 179), the last instance altered to “on fontbaðe” (omitting the definite article from 8b, line 46), though *þam* has been added above the line in one manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419.

¹⁰³ Hom. 10c, line 38 (ed. Bethurum, 201). The variant *æt fulluhte* occurs in CCCC 419.

informed *fant-* as a determinant (especially at Wulfstan's "three immersions in the *fantbæð*"), but the attestations as a group suggest, as for *fulwihtbæð*, a recollection of Lat. *fons lavacri/baptismi*.

2.b. Distinguishing the water from its receptacle: *fantfæt*, *fantstan*, and *fantwæter*

The members of this group would have finally dispelled the vagueness of both *fant* and its etymon by clearly distinguishing the receptacle from the water. This solution, through use of compounds or noun-phrases, parallels that of ModGer. *Taufbecken* and *Taufwasser* or ModDu. *doopbekken* and *doopwater*.

2.b.1. *Fantfæt* and **fantstan*

Fantfæt occurs only twice, both times in works by Ælfric.¹⁰⁴ A single occurrence of *funtfat* in the thirteenth century suggests a like scarcity in early Middle English.¹⁰⁵ The compound is a near-tautology if *fant* carried the primary sense "vessel," also the meaning of OE *fæt*.¹⁰⁶ Granting OE *fant* its typically Latinate sense would, on the other hand, yield a sense "vessel of/for the *fant* [= baptism, or baptismal water]," comparable to the solution seen in OIr. *ommar bastid* "tub of baptism."¹⁰⁷

**Fantstan* would have served a similar, specifying end, if only incidentally. It entered wide use only in Middle English, where its popularity may reflect the increased use of monolithic stone fonts in parish churches newly built, or rebuilt, from the early Anglo-Norman period.¹⁰⁸ But stone fonts were certainly familiar to the Anglo-Saxons and, by some indications, preferred. One of the most telling accounts of baptism in an Anglo-Saxon text records not only that the infant St. Rumwold commanded a large concave stone be fetched for his

¹⁰⁴ Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies* II.15 (Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*. Text, ed. M. Godden, EETS, s.s., 5 [London, 1979], 153; hereafter *CH* II): "hædēn cild . . . bið ge-
broht . . . to ðam fantfæte" (one manuscript, Cambridge, University Library II.4.6, reads *fant-
wætere* for *fantfæte*). The second instance, from *CH* II.2, is quoted below, p. 189.

¹⁰⁵ See Käsmann, *Studien*, 206.

¹⁰⁶ Thus Sauer, *Nominalkomposita*, 395: "wörtl. Taufstein-Gefäß."

¹⁰⁷ See *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, s.v. *ommar* (*amar*); cf. ModIr. *umar baiste*; Middle Irish also records *soithech*. Against these, Middle and Early Modern Irish occasionally use a loan-translation of *fons baptismi*, *tobur* (ModIr. *tobar*) *baisti* "fountain, stream of baptism"; see citations *ibid.*, s.v. *topar*.

¹⁰⁸ See the *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. *font-ston*; also *follow-ston* (s.v. *fulloght*); and Käsmann, *Studien*, 206. For Norman fonts, see Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 127–43. J. Blair (see n. 52 above) has helpfully suggested the link between ME *fontston* and the spread of stone fonts in parishes.

own baptism, but that he rejected the alternative of smaller, more portable vessels (an *urna* or *cadus*).¹⁰⁹ This example notwithstanding, a preference, if such there was, for stone scarcely registers in the Old English terminology. We find the earliest instance of *font-stone* in a text that is, strictly speaking, early Middle English, namely the thirteenth-century soul-body debate among the “Worcester Fragments.”¹¹⁰ Some scholars have perceived behind that text an earlier exemplar, perhaps of the twelfth century,¹¹¹ but the postulation of OE **fantstan* rests only on such inference and on the spread of the word in Middle English. (For those reasons I have treated the Old English form as a reconstruction, indicated by the preceding asterisk.) As already hinted, however, the popularity of ME *fontston* may have more to do with an actual late eleventh-century proliferation of stone fonts than with the supposed currency of a late Old English word for which, strangely, there is no direct evidence. On the other hand, the compounding or collocation of “font” with “stone” is difficult to chart with confidence because the impulse was apparently widespread, affecting Medieval Latin (*lapis fontis/fontium*) and eventually many European vernaculars (e.g., ModGer. *Taufstein*, Da. *døbsten*, ModW *bedyddfaen*).¹¹² Some of the similarities across languages no doubt arose from borrowing, but the popularity of such words must also owe something to the trend in canon law, from as early as the mid-ninth century, to encourage (though not require) use of stone as the standard material for fonts.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ *Vita S. Rumwoldi* 5 (*Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*, ed. and trans. R. C. Love [Oxford, 1996], 100 and 102). Love (102–3 n. 3) suggests that Rumwold’s preference had to do with the size of the alternative vessels, not their material. The implications of the whole episode are discussed in Foot, “By Water in the Spirit,” 171–72.

¹¹⁰ Fragment “G,” lines 36–38: the soul protests, “Ic was þe biwedded wyrþlice <so winbow>e (et) þen fontstone, þet þu hauest ifuled; mid þine fule opes” (*The Soul’s Address to the Body: The Worcester Fragments*, ed. D. Moffat [East Lansing, Mich., 1987], 81); on the conjecture *so winbowe* and alternatives, see *ibid.*, 107–8.

¹¹¹ The most recent editor, Moffat, is justly cautious about inferring a date for the original; see *ibid.*, 16–17 and 25.

¹¹² It was once claimed that a worn runic inscription on a supposed “font” at Bingley, Yorkshire, includes the term *dæpstan*; see G. Stephens, *Handbook of the Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* (London, 1884; rpt. Felinfach, 1993), 137. Modern runologists deem the inscription illegible; see R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (London, 1973), 31.

¹¹³ An early example is Hincmar’s first capitulary (of 852), cap. 3 (ed. R. Pokorny and M. Stratmann, MGH Capitula episcoporum 2 [Hannover, 1995], 35–36); in major collections from the central Middle Ages, see Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* 4.13 (PL 140:730D); and Gratian, *Decretum* 3, “De consecratione,” d.4 c.106 (ed. E. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici* [Leipzig, 1879–81], 1:1395). On the preference for stone fonts, see also L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932–33), 1:386. For other materials used throughout the Middle Ages, see Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 75–87.

2.b.2. *Fantwæter*

In contrast to **fantstan*, the compound *fantwæter* unquestionably dates to the late Old English period, at least, and shows, like its counterpart *fantfæt*, close ties to the works of Ælfric. With one exception, *fantwæter* was challenged by no close synonyms.¹¹⁴ The liturgical motives of the word are clearest in Ælfric's second Old English pastoral letter for Wulfstan (ca. 1005), which describes for secular clergy the blessing of baptismal water on Easter Eve: "On þam haligan fante, ærþan þe ge hy [scil. the baptizands] fullian, ge scylon don crisman on Cristes rode tacne. And man ne mot besprengan men mid þæm fantwætere, syððan se crisma bið þær on gedon."¹¹⁵ The instructions correspond to Ælfric's remarks in an earlier, Latin version of the letter, which adds an explanation why aspersions from the font take place before the infusion of chrism, not after: "Et in fontem baptismatis debetis mittere oleum crismatis, antequam infantes in eo mergantur. Et non licet aquam baptismatis spargere super homines, postquam crisma in eam missum fuerit, ne bis baptizentur."¹¹⁶ The correspondence of *fantwæter* to *aqua baptismatis* encourages the translation "[f]ont-water, baptismal water," or "water used at baptism, laver of baptism."¹¹⁷ Yet the mere definition does not explain the need for such a term, which bespeaks changing attitudes towards baptism as a ritual and baptismal water as a holy thing.¹¹⁸ Ælfric's provision marks the arrival in England of a more technical concern for the "font" as a sacred vessel, its water as a substance to be safeguarded. Here the backgrounds of medieval liturgy and canon law repay closer attention.

The pastoral letters take for granted a small but significant development in liturgical practice. A sprinkling of the congregation with baptismal water was originally permitted but later forbidden.¹¹⁹ The change proceeded fitfully,

¹¹⁴ For *fulwihtwæter*, see Vercelli Hom. 1, lines 260–62 (*The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. D. G. Scragg, EETS, o.s., 300 [Oxford, 1992], 38). No ME compound descended from OE *fantwæter* is recorded in the *Middle English Dictionary*, but cf. *vollouth water*, s.v. *fulloght*.

¹¹⁵ Brief III.7–8 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 148), quoted from Fehr's manuscript *O* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190). In this and other quotations from Fehr's edition, I have disregarded his frequent but inconsistent use of hyphens between elements.

¹¹⁶ Brief 3.7–8 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 59).

¹¹⁷ The glosses in Bosworth-Toller, s.v. *fant-wæter*, and Clark Hall and Meritt, s.v. *fant-wæter*, respectively. Just as for *font*, Bosworth-Toller has an unjustifiable separate entry, s.v. *font-wæter*, "[f]ont, fountain or spring water."

¹¹⁸ The rise of formalism in early medieval baptism has been much discussed; see A. An- genendt, "Der Taufritus im frühen Mittelalter," in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, 2 vols., Settimane di studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo 33 (Spoleto, 1987), 1:275–321 at 294–301.

¹¹⁹ This was vaguely noted by Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 59 (apparatus to Brief 3.8), citing "OR I"

however, and was subject to much regional and temporal variation. Of the precise forms for blessing baptismal water in early Anglo-Saxon England few indications remain, though there are reasons to think that, as in the Mass liturgy, Gallican, Celtic, and Roman usages at first competed and intermingled. Scholars have perceived traces of most all the major types of sacramentaries ("Old Gelasian," "Eighth-Century Gelasian," and eventually "Supplemented Gregorian") in Anglo-Saxon liturgical books,¹²⁰ and each type usually included a form of baptismal service. Most influential were the *ordines* for baptism in the Gelasian books and in the closely related *Ordo Romanus* [= *OR*] XI, adaptations of earlier Roman custom wherein baptism was the climax of a long series of initiation rites.¹²¹ The consecration of the font typically included a sequence of exorcisms and blessings, punctuated by such symbolic gestures as parting the waters with signs of the cross, insufflations in various shapes (commonly the Greek letter Ψ) and, in later times, immersions of the paschal candle.¹²² The last act in the series was usually an immixture of blessed oil in the waters; the oil is specified as chrism in the earliest sources, although this also varied. The description of the series of acts in *OR* XI may serve as representative of the earlier tradition:

Haec omnia expleta [scil. the prayers "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus" and "Deus, qui invisibili potentiae tuae"], fundit crisma de vasculo aureo intro in

at PL 78:956 (=*OR* XXVIII.71–72 in the edition of M. Andrieu cited in n. 121 below) and Ménard's commentary on the Gregorian Sacramentary (Paris, 1642) at PL 78:341.

¹²⁰ See C. Hohler, "The Type of Sacramentary Used by St. Boniface," in *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölftausendsten Todestag* (Fulda, 1954), 89–93; C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c. 650-c. 850*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (London, 1995), 137–38 and 145–46; and Y. Hen, "The Liturgy of St Willibord," *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997): 41–62.

¹²¹ For *OR* XI, see *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, ed. M. Andrieu, 5 vols., *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, *Études et Documents* 11, 23–24, and 28–29 (Louvain, 1931–1961), 2:417–47 (hereafter cited as *OR*, with *ordo* and sentence number). The relation of *OR* XI to the baptismal *ordo* in the Old Gelasian has been variously interpreted; see C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (1981), rev. and trans. W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986), 164–66. For a recent analysis of the consecration of the font in the Old Gelasian, see G. Rouwhorst, "De kracht van het water. De wijding van het doopwater in de Romeinse liturgie van de late Oudheid tot aan het einde van de Middeleeuwen," in *De betovering van het middeleeuwse christendom: Studies over ritueel en magie in de Middeleeuwen*, ed. M. Mostert and A. Demyttenaere, *Amsterdamse Historische Reeks*, Grote Serie 22 (Hilversum, 1995), 129–70.

¹²² For a convenient overview, see H. A. P. Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1957), 2:848–49 (Conspicetus XV) and 850–61. On the evolution of the whole complex, good summaries are A. Stenzel, *Die Taufe: Eine genetische Erklärung der Taufliturgie*, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Theologie* 7–8 (Innsbruck, 1958), and B. Kleinheyer, *Sakramentliche Feiern I: Die Feiern der Eingliederung in die Kirche*, *Gottesdienst der Kirche* 7.1 (Regensburg, 1989).

fontes super ipsam aquam in modum crucis. Et cum manu sua miscitat ipsum crisma cum aqua et aspergit super omnem fontem vel populum circumstantem.¹²³

In *OR XI* and most early texts, immediately following the addition of oil, the mixture was used to sprinkle first the font, then the congregation. Thereafter many forms of the rite also allow those present to carry away portions of the water in vessels brought especially for the purpose. *OR XI* and its kin go so far as to describe appropriate uses for this water: “Hoc facto [scil. the addition of chrism], omnis populus qui voluerit accipiet benedictionem unusquisque in vase suo de ipsa aqua, antequam baptizentur parvuli, ad spargendum in domibus eorum vel in vineis vel in campis vel fructibus eorum.”¹²⁴ The basic order—addition of oil, sprinkling of the font and people, distribution of the water to those who want it—served as the pattern for most early medieval *ordines baptisterii*. It occurs in the *Ordines Romani*, in the Eighth-Century Gelasian, and in a majority of Supplemented Gregorian and mixed sacramentaries from the ninth through eleventh centuries; it also stands in most manuscripts of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, and therein exercised great influence from the later tenth century onwards.¹²⁵

If in origin the addition of holy oil was merely the last of several, supersanctifying accretions to an older core of ritual, its placement and accompanying formula (“Sanctificetur et fecundetur fons iste renascentibus ex eo in vitam aeternam”)¹²⁶ seem to have gained through time a constitutive status. Whereas modern liturgists focus on the words of the epiclesis—that is, the specific “calling down” of the Spirit—as the structural and theological apex of

¹²³ *OR XI*.94; with minor variants the same provision recurs in *OR XXVIII*.71; *OR XXVIII* A.5; and *OR XXXI*.81. *OR L*.29.52–53 requires both chrism and the oil of catechumens.

¹²⁴ *OR XI*.95; also *OR XXVIII*.72; *OR XXVIIIA*.6; *OR XXXI*.82; and *OR L*.29.54.

¹²⁵ For the *Ordines Romani*, see references in the preceding two notes; for the Eighth-Century Gelasian, see *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, ed. A. Dumas, CCL 159 (Turnhout, 1981), 100 (no. 705), and the additional *ordo* later in the same book (*ibid.*, 335, no. 2318); on the sources of these two *ordines*, see J. Deshusses, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis: Introductio, tabulae et indices*, CCL 159A [Turnhout, 1981], xxx–xxxii. For the comparable provision in Gregorian books, see examples among the “Textes complémentaires divers” in Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire Grégorien* 3:100, 104, 105, and 107. For the relevant portion of the Romano-German Pontifical, see *OR L*.29.52–54 and *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, 3 vols., *Studi e Testi* 226–27 and 269 (Vatican City, 1963–72), XCIX.368–69 and CVII.31–32 (hereafter cited as *PRG*, plus *ordo* and sentence number).

¹²⁶ Quoted from *OR L*.29.52 (=PRG XCIX.369), this formula does not yet appear in the early sacramentaries or in *OR XI* or *OR XXVIIIA*. On perceptions of the *infusio olei*, see E. Stommel, *Studien zur Epiklese der römischen Taufwasserweihe*, *Theophaneia* 5 (Bonn, 1950), 19 (though his remarks are based on a later form of the rite).

any consecration,¹²⁷ the medieval rite hints of a different perception, whereby the infusion of the oil made the crucial difference. The consecration of the font in *OR XI* and related sources implied no technical distinction between the quality of water before and after the infusion of oil: exactly the same water was used for sprinkling the people and their houses as was used for baptisms proper. From the middle of the ninth century, some canonists began to take exception to this arrangement and assert that water for baptism ought to remain set apart for that purpose and none other. Some feared that any congregant sprinkled with the same type of water as used for baptizands would be, in effect, rebaptized, which the universal church forbade.¹²⁸ At the same time there was a growing reverence towards the holy oils and their efficacy in more conspicuous applications, such as sacerdotal and royal anointings. Fear of their desecration increased accordingly.

These concerns would eventually result in a canonical distinction between “baptismal” and “holy” water and, consequently, a need for clearer terminology. The earliest move in the former direction appears in late Carolingian capitularies restricting the uses of font-water after the addition of oil.¹²⁹ Most influential of the new regulations was book two, cap. 77, of the mid-ninth-century canon collection of Benedictus Levita: “Quod in sabbato sancto passionis vel in sabbato pentecostes, si qui velint aquam consecratam ad aspersionem in domos suas recipere, ante chrismatis infusionem accipient.”¹³⁰ No precise source for Benedict’s canon has been found, and his reputation as a forger raises doubts that such ever existed.¹³¹ It is unlikely, on the other hand, that he would introduce this minor teaching if it did not address a real concern. Within a short space, we meet quotation of Benedict’s canon in the ca-

¹²⁷ In studies of the baptismal rite, emphasis on eucological structure informs Stommel, *Studien zur Epiklese* and an entire tradition of approach; see refs. in Rouwhorst, “De kracht van het water,” and Kleinheyer, *Sakramentalische Feiern I*, 115–16.

¹²⁸ See H. Schneider, “*Aqua benedicta*—Das mit Salz gemischte Weihwasser,” in *Segni e riti* (n. 118 above) 1:337–64 at 359–61.

¹²⁹ See A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 1:52; and P. Hofmeister, *Die heiligen Öle in der morgen- und abendländischen Kirche: Eine kirchenrechtlich-liturgische Abhandlung*, Das östliche Christentum, neue Folge 6/7 (Würzburg, 1948), 223–24.

¹³⁰ *Capitularia Benedicti levitae* 2.77 (ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH Leges 2.2 [Hannover, 1837], 77).

¹³¹ The *Quellenverzeichnis* at the head of Pertz’s edition does not help. Most plausibly, Benedict’s canon developed from a concern that the chrism not be defiled, as earlier ninth-century capitularies routinely insist; see E. Seckel, “Studien zu Benedictus Levita: Studie VII, Teil I,” *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 34 (1909): 319–81 at 340.

pituitary of Isaac of Langres (860 × 880).¹³² A freer adaptation of the same teaching in the capitulary of Herard of Tours (858) proves even more revealing, since it includes a justification for the rule: “Ut, qui aquam consecratam vult accipere in sabbato sancto vel pentecosten, ante infusionem chrysatis sumat; nam illa chrysatis mixtio ad regenerandos pertinet.”¹³³ At approximately the same time, the necessary change of order (first the sprinkling and distribution, then the addition of oil to the font) begins to penetrate the baptismal rubrics of service books; the earliest example known to me is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2290, a sacramentary copied at Saint-Amand (for Saint-Denis) in the second half of the ninth century.¹³⁴ The allowance for aspersion and distribution of water before, but not after, the infusion of oil would be enshrined in the twelfth-century *Decretum of Gratian*.¹³⁵

The concern to define distinct types of holy water was creative as well as restrictive. In his first capitulary (of 852), Hincmar of Reims made the aspersion and public distribution of water a weekly practice, to take place every Sunday before Mass. In his directive he listed possible uses for such water, a list clearly modelled on the corresponding phrases in *OR XI* and related rubrics for the Easter Vigil.¹³⁶ Thus the provision for sprinkling and distributing water from the consecrated font, as in *OR XI*, underwent an important transformation. Hincmar completely separated the blessing of water for mundane purposes from the solemn context of baptism: in place of the font he required merely any *vas nitidum*; for the once-per-year Vigils of Easter and Pentecost, he substituted a weekly routine outside the framework of public liturgy.¹³⁷ Though his words do not make it explicit, Hincmar probably took for granted that this type of *aqua benedicta* would consist only of water and salt, blessed

¹³² Isaac of Langres, *Capitula* 11.11 (ed. Pokorny and Stratmann, MGH *Capitula episcoporum* 2:234).

¹³³ Herard of Tours, *Capitula* 52 (ed. Pokorny and Stratmann, MGH *Capitula episcoporum* 2:139, emphasis mine).

¹³⁴ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire Grégorien* 3:102: “Tunc spargit sacerdos de ipsa aqua super populum. Et accipiunt qui voluerint in vasculis ad spargendum per domos. Inde mittatur chrysma in vasculo et uergatur in fontem in crucis modum dicente sacerdote: ‘Fecundetur et sanctificetur fons iste ex eo renascentibus in uitam.’”

¹³⁵ Gratian, *Decretum* 3, “De consecratione,” d.4 c.126 (ed. Friedberg, col. 1400), indebted to the formulation of Benedictus Levita.

¹³⁶ Hincmar of Reims, *Capitula* 1.5 (ed. Pokorny, MGH *Capitula episcoporum* 2:36): “Ut omni dominico die quisque presbiter in sua ecclesia ante missarum sollempnia aquam benedic tam faciat in vase nitido et tanto mysterio convenienti, de qua populus intrans in ecclesiam as pergatur. Et qui voluerit, in vasculis suis nitidis ex illa accipient et per mansiones et agros ac vineas, super pecora quoque sua atque super pabula eorum, nec non et super cibos et potum suum conspergant.”

¹³⁷ For discussion, see Schneider, “*Aqua benedicta*,” 358–59. On the probable derivation of Hincmar’s teaching from rituals at the font, see Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* 1:98.

according to a short formula found in most sacramentaries. Just as baptismal water became a restricted property, Hincmar's solution of providing simple "holy water" for ordinary uses was adopted widely in synodal decrees of the ninth and tenth centuries.¹³⁸ The distinction between holy and baptismal water received its ultimate (though spurious) sanction in a pseudo-Clementine letter, produced in the company of forged decretals of the eleventh century.¹³⁹

In several points Ælfric's pastoral letters to Wulfstan—with their placement of the aspersion before the adding of oil, their caution (in the Latin version only) against inadvertent rebaptism, and their provision elsewhere for a weekly blessing and aspersion of holy water¹⁴⁰—demonstrate all the important developments of ninth-century continental sources. Similarly, though it lacks the term *fantwæter*, his Old English letter to Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne (ca. 993–1002), states "Ne do man nænne ele to þam fante, buton mann þær cild on fullige," again implying, as in the ninth-century models, that the presence or absence of oil is decisive.¹⁴¹ The correspondences are not surprising. Much in Ælfric's pastoral letters reached him and his fellow-reformers through the capitularies of Theodulf of Orléans, Ghärwald of Liège, Radulf of Bourges, and Ansegisus.¹⁴² The Anglo-Saxon reformers regarded as new and timely these imported texts, not minding that most of them were already a century old or more. It would be rash to claim that Ælfric *introduced* a distinction between baptismal and other holy waters, but it is quite possible that such teachings about the font and *fantwæter* would have seemed innovative to his audience. The very inclusion of so minor a point in an otherwise general description of baptism hints that the audience needed reminding (or so Ælfric thought) that the aspersion came first. The only significant departure in Æl-

¹³⁸ On the spread of Hincmar's practice, see Schneider, "Aqua benedicta," 361–63.

¹³⁹ See the most recent study and edition by H. Fuhrmann, "Eine Fälschung im Stile der Pseudo-Clemensbriefe," *Variorum munera florum: Latinität als prägende Kraft mittelalterlicher Kultur. Festschrift für Hans F. Haefele zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. A. Reinle, L. Schmugge, and P. Stotz (Sigmaringen, 1985), 157–67.

¹⁴⁰ The provision of a weekly blessing and aspersion appears at Brief III.64 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 170); and in Latin at Brief 3.28 (ibid., 61). See also Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. and trans. C. A. Jones, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 24 (Cambridge, 1998), 112 and 155–56.

¹⁴¹ Brief I.129 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 28). The statement implies that a procession to and consecration of the font took place—at least up to the infusion of the chrism—even when no baptisms actually followed.

¹⁴² Ælfric's pastorals are written in the voice of their bishop-recipients, who, it is understood, will preach or circulate the canons among their clergy. See J. Hill, "Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context," in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford, 1992), 103–17; also C. A. Jones, "Ælfric's Pastoral Letters and the Episcopal *Capitula* of Radulf of Bourges," *Notes and Queries* 240, n.s., 42 (June 1995): 149–55.

fric's teaching is that he does not allow a distribution of the water to the people, a point to which we shall return.

It is likely that *fantwæter* elsewhere carried the same technical meaning as in the letter for Wulfstan. Excluding that instance, then another that soon follows but adds little new information,¹⁴³ the word occurs eight more times in Old English: of that number, five are in Ælfric's writings (and one is a variant reading in a single manuscript).¹⁴⁴ Again in the second Old English letter to Wulfstan, though at a point widely separated from the previous instances, he decries a particular abuse in the blessing of baptismal water. The argument is unusually full and merits quotation:

Sume preostas mencað win to þam fantwætere, swyðe unrihtlice, ongean þa gesetnysse swaswa he cwyð to Gode on þære fantbletsunge: "Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito." Ðæt is on engliscum gereorde: Bletsa, þu drihten, þas anfealdan wæteru mid þinum halgan muðe. Ac þæt wæter ne bið na anfeald, gyf þær bið win to gedon. And Crist ne het na fullian his folc mid wine, ac mid anfealdum wætere, swaswa us gewissað þæt godspell.¹⁴⁵

Unlike the provisions considered so far, these have less definite antecedents in continental literature, though they do accord with Ælfric's statements in the prior, Latin version: "Quidam clerici miscent uinum cum aqua baptismatis non recte, cum in benedictione ipsius fontis dicitur ad deum: Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito; quæ aquæ non erunt simplices, si uino misceantur. Et Christus non iussit baptizari uino, sed aqua."¹⁴⁶ It has recently been shown that Ælfric's Latin letter is the source of the same instruction in the so-called *Excerptiones pseudo-Ecgberhti*, a canon collection assembled and reworked by Archbishop Wulfstan himself.¹⁴⁷ Whatever its ultimate origin, the prohibition against adding wine to the font says much by implication. The error being denounced is hardly so exotic as it might sound. The rite of blessing the font included, in a long recitation of aquatic miracles, Christ's production of wine

¹⁴³ Brief III.5 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 148): "Mid þam haligan ele ge scylan þa hæpenan cild mearcian on þam breoste and betwux þæm gesculdru on middewearðan mid rode tacne; ærþan þe ge hit fullian on þam fantwætere"; cf. Brief 3.5 (ibid., 58): "Cum oleo sancto debetis signare infantes in pectore et inter scapulas, antequam mittantur in fontem baptismatis."

¹⁴⁴ The variant occurs in *CH* II.15 (ed. Godden, 153), quoted above, n. 104.

¹⁴⁵ Brief III.116–19 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 188), quoted from Fehr's manuscript *X* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 121). I have ignored Fehr's sentence-division.

¹⁴⁶ Brief 3.64–67 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 65); the same teaching occurs in another Latin letter of Ælfric, also addressed to Wulfstan but not intended for circulation; see Brief 2a.10 (ibid., 224).

¹⁴⁷ See *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. and trans. J. E. Cross and A. Hamer, Anglo-Saxon Texts 1 (Cambridge, 1999), 129 ("Recension B," canon 48); on the relations between the collection and Ælfric's letters, see *ibid.*, 17–22.

at the wedding feast of Cana.¹⁴⁸ An even more likely source of error, however, lies in other forms of blessing holy water that did make wine an ingredient. The Old Gelasian Sacramentary contains a formula for sanctifying water *ad spargendum per domos* that requires not only the traditional elements of salt and water, but also wine and *oleum sanctificatum*.¹⁴⁹ The backgrounds of this formula are obscure, however, and it does not seem to have travelled widely.¹⁵⁰ The addition of wine in a hallowing of water would have been much more familiar to medieval clerics through the blessing of *aqua dedicationis*—a mixture of water, wine and, in some sources, ashes—sanctioned originally in the Gallican rite for dedicating a church.¹⁵¹ Ælfric's worry therefore need not imply a bizarre practice among diocesan priests; more likely, he wishes to impress on ordinary clergy that different forms of blessing water, while legitimate, have their separate functions. One form of blessing may not be substituted for another, nor individual elements of one merged with those of the other. On the basis of purely external similarities—especially the final infusion of holy oil—the Old Gelasian form of blessing water for household uses would have invited confusion with the rituals of blessing the font.

Given Ælfric's strict understanding of *fantwæter*, two further appearances of the word in his writings come as a surprise. His translation of the *Visio S. Fursei* relates how Fursey, an Irish monk, fell into a death-like trance and witnessed the torments of hell, from which he emerged only after receiving a painful burn across his shoulder and cheek. Before returning to consciousness, Fursey heard precise instructions from his angelic guide: “*Donne ðu geedcud cod byst. ofergeot ðinne lichaman mid fantwætere. and þu ne gefretst nane sarnysse buton ðam bærnnette þe ðu on ðam fyre gelæhtest*”; Fursey promptly obeyed and, upon waking, “*He wearð begoten mid fantwætere swa swa se engel het.*”¹⁵² The passage raises a difficulty: elsewhere, as we have seen, Ælfric uses *fantwæter* to mean exclusively “baptismal water”; the motives that led him to distinguish it from other types of holy water would also seem to prohibit its use for such purposes as the angel here requires. The Latin

¹⁴⁸ “*Benedico te . . . per Jesum Christum. . . . Qui te in Cana Galilaeae signo admirabili sua potentia convertit in vinum*” (quoted from Stommel, *Studien zur Epiklese*, 12 [section 2.b]).

¹⁴⁹ *Liber sacramentorum romanae aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (*Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56*) (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*), ed. L. C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer, and P. Siffrin, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, series maior: Fontes 4* (Rome, 1960), 225–26 (3.76, nos. 1557–61).

¹⁵⁰ See Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* 1:130–32. The rite was perhaps originally associated with the *aqua dedicationis*; see A. Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire Gélasien*, Bibliothèque de théologie, série 4: *Historie de la théologie 1* (Tournai, 1958), 54–55.

¹⁵¹ Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* 1:54–60 and 132–33.

¹⁵² *CH II.20*, lines 238–41 and 247–48 (ed. Godden, 197).

source, an anonymous *Vita S. Fursei*, explains some of the confusion: the angel there says, “Reviviscens corpus tuum aqua fontis superfundatur, et nullum dolorem, nisi tantum concremationis, sentire poteris. . . . Atque viva superfusus aqua. . . .”¹⁵³ Ælfric has apparently overtranslated *fons* and *aqua viva* as “baptismal font” and “living water” in their ecclesiastical senses, rather than in the more literal meanings of “spring” and “flowing water.” Of course, in any Christian context, the one set of associations inevitably recalled the other, so the error is natural enough. Ælfric may have also felt that Fursey’s extraordinary trauma called for an extraordinary remedy, and that, while an affusion of *fantwæter* would ordinarily imply a second baptism, this was tolerable in the case of a saint who had, for practical purposes, descended into hell but been given a second life. More likely, however, Ælfric’s translation simply joins that in the anonymous Life of St. Margaret, quoted above,¹⁵⁴ in witnessing a medieval tendency to recast vaguely baptismal language in graphic, contemporary liturgical terms.¹⁵⁵

Two extraordinary examples of *fantwæter* in the so-called Elf Charms remain to be considered against Ælfric’s practice, but they will yield more information if treated under the next heading, with some unusual attestations of *fanthalzung* and the difficult adjective *fanthalig*.

2.c. Distinguishing prayers over the *fant*: *fantbletsung* and *fanthalzung* (with *fanthalig*)

The terms *fanthalzung* (five occurrences), *fanthalig* (one occurrence), and *fantbletsung* (one occurrence) reflect the same emergence of status as does *fantwæter*, but they do so differently, through particularization of the priestly act rather than of the substance blessed.

2.c.1. *Fantbletsung*, *fanthalzung*, and collocations for “consecrating the font”

We have already met the hapax term *fantbletsung* in Ælfric’s canon about

¹⁵³ *Vita S. Fursei* 32 (*Acta sanctorum*, January 2:405). Ælfric’s exemplar differed slightly from the text printed by the Bollandists. For the identification of the source, I am indebted to M. Godden’s entry in the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database.

¹⁵⁴ See p. 167 above.

¹⁵⁵ For another example of this type of liturgically motivated anachronism, note the mention of anointings with oil and chrism at Christ’s own baptism in a pseudo-Wulfstanian homily printed as no. 45 in *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, ed. A. Napier, *Sammlung englischer Denkmäler* 4 (Berlin, 1883), 226–32 at 228–29. In the same vein are representations of Christ’s baptism in a font; see P. A. Patton, “*Et partu fontis exceptum: The Typology of Birth and Baptism in an Unusual Spanish Image of Jesus Baptized in a Font*,” *Gesta* 33 (1994): 79–92; also Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 159 and 165; Nordström, *Mediaeval Baptismal Fonts*, 98–101.

the error of mixing wine with the font: “Sume preostas mencað win to þam fantwætere, swyðe unrihtlice, ongean þa gesetnysse swaswa he cwyð to Gode on þære fantbletsunge: ‘Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito.’”¹⁵⁶ The definition “blessing of baptismal water”¹⁵⁷ is safe, but the precision of Ælfric’s reference to the prayer-text may admit a more exact gloss. In a majority of medieval sources down to the twelfth century, the prayer quoted by Ælfric (“Tu has simplices aquas”) did not stand as an independent segment, nor was it yet accompanied, as later, by the celebrant’s breathing thrice onto the water.¹⁵⁸ In Ælfric’s service, the phrase would have occurred within the prayer “Haec nobis praecepta servantibus” introducing the epiclesis.¹⁵⁹ We may therefore wonder if Ælfric’s *fantbletsung* refers to the epiclesis—the “calling down” of the Spirit—as a discrete segment within the series. So precise a definition finds modest support in his famous homily, the *Sermo de sacrificio in die pascae*: “þæt halige fantwæter þe is gehaten lifes wylspring. is gelic on hiwe oðrum wæterum . . . ac þæs halgan gastes miht genealæhð þam brosnendlicum wætere. ðurh sacerda bletsunge.”¹⁶⁰ It is impossible, just as in the case of *fantbletsung*, to determine how narrowly Ælfric understood this *sacerda bletsung* in terms of specific prayers and gestures. The source of this part of the homily, chapter seventeen of *De corpore et sanguine domini* by Ratramnus of Corbie, also links the “blessing” to the descent of the Spirit upon the water,¹⁶¹ but the idea stands preeminently in the words of the epiclesis itself: “Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus spiritus sancti, totamque huius aquae substantiam regenerandi fecundet effectu.”¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Brief III.116–19 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe* 188), as at n. 145 above; for the corresponding Latin, see p. 179 above. One of Fehr’s three manuscripts (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190) reads *bletsunge* for *fantbletsunge*; another (Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 343) reads *bletsunge font* but is marked for correction.

¹⁵⁷ Bosworth-Toller Supplement, *Addenda*, s.v. *fantbletsung*; Campbell’s is a clearer ModE definition than Clark Hall and Meritt’s “consecration of a font.” The term was missed in Bosworth-Toller and in Toller’s Supplement.

¹⁵⁸ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta* 2:859.

¹⁵⁹ Stommel, *Studien zur Epiklese* 18–19.

¹⁶⁰ CH II.15, lines 111–15 (ed. Godden, 153).

¹⁶¹ Ratramnus, *De corpore et sanguine domini: Texte original et notice bibliographique*, ed. J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 87* (Amsterdam, 1974), 47: “Sed accessit sancti spiritus per sacerdotis consecrationem virtus. . . .” Ælfric’s translations of *fons baptismatis* and *fons vitae* in the same passage draw out the sense of *fons* “water,” not “receptacle”: “Considere mus sacri fontem baptismatis [=fantwæter]. Qui fons vitae [=lifes wylspring] non immerito nuncupatur. . . .”

¹⁶² Quoted from *OR* L.29.50 (=PRG XCIX.367), though recorded as early as the beginning of the ninth century (*OR* XXVIII A.4). All these sources indicate a pause, after the word *sancti*, for a three-fold insufflation.

Ælfric's use of terms with the element *blets-* when discussing the epiclesis appears all the more deliberate when we recognize that elsewhere forms with *halg-* are overwhelmingly preferred in expressions for "consecrating the font" (i.e., blessing the baptismal water).¹⁶³ To these our few attestations of *fant-halgung* and *fanthalig* naturally look. In psalter glosses, *(ge)halgian* and *(ge)bletsian* may distinguish *consecrare* (or *sanctificare*) and *benedicere* respectively, but the Old English terms may stand as virtual synonyms in their frequent meaning "make holy."¹⁶⁴ Of course, a similar ambiguity pertains to Latin terminology in the earlier Middle Ages.¹⁶⁵ Apart from the usages implied in Ælfric's *fantbletsung* and by his phrase *ðurh sacerda bletsunge*, the collocation of *bletsian* and *fant* occurs only in the interlinear gloss to the *Regularis concordia*. The instances there, moreover, occur in glosses on the familiar phrase *ad fontes benedicendos* (and others like it), and their weight as a preferred native idiom is questionable.¹⁶⁶ More idiomatic translations of the same rubric use periphrases with *halg-*, such as *halgie fant* among instructions for Holy Saturday in a nonauthorial addition to one copy of an Ælfrician pastoral letter.¹⁶⁷ Other Old English directions for the Vigils of Easter and Pentecost follow suit: "gange se mæssepreost to þam fanthalgunge. . . . Ponne se [sic] fanthalgung beo gedon . . ."; and similarly, "swa gangende to þam fante . . . halgige mann ponne fant."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ ModE "consecrate the font" is usually understood to mean the blessing of baptismal water. Medieval *ordines* for blessing the "font" (i.e., the vessel itself) distinguish that rite as a *dedicatio baptisterii*; see, e.g., *PRG* LII.2-4, which uses *vasculum* and *baptisterium* for the vessel, *fons* for the "water of baptism."

¹⁶⁴ See Gneuss, *Lehnbildungen*, 58-61, and comments on *bletsung-* and *halgungboc* in idem, "Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 91-141 at 131.

¹⁶⁵ E.g., *consecrare*, *sanctificare*, and *benedicere*; see Rouwhorst, "De kracht van het water," 130 n. 5; also examples in Blaise and Dumas, *Le vocabulaire latin* §§ 87-88.

¹⁶⁶ See citations in n. 79 above.

¹⁶⁷ Brief III.59 (ed. Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 168). The phrase occurs only as a marginal addition (and one of several alterations to the text) in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190 (*O*). Fehr has incorporated these changes and emended to yield the awkward sentence: "Don syþhan þa \seofon letanias/ þenunge, swa eower bec eow tæceað \and <mid> fif letanias halgie fant." (Fehr supplies *mid* and reports that *halgie fant* is added in the margin and over an erasure. Also, perhaps read *seofonfealde* for *seofon*.) At this point, the three other manuscripts all agree in reading: "Don syððan þa þenunge, swa eower bec eow tæceað" (quoted from *X*). The alterations in *O*, though not Ælfric's, show the influence of instructions *ad fontes benedicendos* on Holy Saturday.

¹⁶⁸ These abbreviated vernacular *ordines* occur in the eleventh-century manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, and are printed by Fehr, *Hirtenbriefe*, 228, 230, and 232 (quotations from 230 and 232). The Latin extracts from an epitome of the *Regularis*

The preference for formations with *halg-* continues in Wulfstan's homilies, where he speaks of both the ceremony as a whole and, like *Ælfric*, of its individual components. The contrast of general and specific is clearest when Wulfstan renders "In consecratione baptismatis prima oratio deprecatur Dominum adesse" as simply "þurh þa fonthalgunge ðær gewyrð sona Godes ælmihtiges midwist."¹⁶⁹ Wulfstan associates the call for God's presence with the entire complex (*consecratio baptismatis* = *fanthalzung*) by omitting the reference to a *prima oratio* or any other single prayer in the series. Later in the same homily, Wulfstan again opts for *halgian* (or related terms), never *blets-*, to describe the celebrant's actions over the *fant*.¹⁷⁰ *Ælfric* himself, in less technical discussions of baptism, repeats the collocation (*ge*)*halgian ful-luht*.¹⁷¹ *Ælfric*'s St. Laurence "gehalgode" the water used to baptize the pagan, Romanus, and the author of the Passion of St. Margaret tells that the descending angel "gehalgode þæt wallende wæter to fonte," as noted already.¹⁷²

Though it seems *halg-* was preferred to describe actions over the font-water, no converse relation exists between nonbaptismal "holy water" and (*ge*)*bletsian* or *bletsung*. That is, *bletsian* pertains to baptismal water only in *Ælfric*'s *fanbletsung* and *ðurh sacerda bletsunge*, both of which may refer to only one specific part of the larger "consecration" rite. On the other hand, *halgian* and especially *gehalgod* join *gebletsod* in routine reference to other types of holy water (OE *haligwæter*), especially the sort used for sprinkling

concordia, printed by Fehr on each facing page, are not likely direct sources of the Old English but will suffice for comparison: "descendant ad fontes [scil. benedicendos]. . . . Sequitur consecratio fontis . . ." and "descendat . . . ad fontes benedicendos. Sequitur oratio et prefatio" (*ibid.*, 231 and 233).

¹⁶⁹ Hom. 8a, lines 33–34 (ed. *Bethurum*, 170) and 8b, lines 38–39 (*ibid.*, 173); identical Old English wording at 8c, lines 71–72 (*ibid.*, 179). The Latin source (8a, lines 35–36) clarifies that the *prima oratio* is the opening prayer after the procession to the font: "Omnipotens . . . Deus, adesto magne pietatis tue mysteriis, et reliqua"; see *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* 1.44, no. 444 (ed. *Mohlberg*, 72); also *OR* L.29.49 (=PRG XCIX.366).

¹⁷⁰ E.g., the passage already cited above (p. 168) from Hom. 8b, lines 39–41 and 43–45: "And þurh þa orðunge þe se sacerd on þæt font orðað þonne he bone font halgað, sona wyrð se deofol þanon afyrsed. . . . And eall þæt se sacerd deð þurh þa halgunge þenunge gesewenlice, eall hit fulfremed se halga gast gerynelice" (ed. *Bethurum*, 173); cf. similar wording at Hom. 8c, lines 73–74 and 76–78 (*ibid.*, 179). The Latin of Hom. 8a has nothing corresponding to either *bonne he bone fænt halgað* or *þa halgunge þenung*. The latter (if it is not an error; cf. *ða halgan þenunge* in 8c) looks like a loan-translation of *consecrationis officium*; cf. Jost's suggestion ("Einige Wulfstanntexte," 270) that this line renders Theodulf's *De ordine baptismi*: "sicut caetera baptismatis sacramenta per sacerdotes visibiliter fiunt, per Deum invisibiliter consecrantur" (PL 105:226A).

¹⁷¹ The context is usually the relation between Christ's baptism and all baptisms; see *CH* II.3, line 96 (ed. *Godden*, 22); Supplementary Hom. 11, lines 17–19 (ed. *Pope*, 1:416); and Supplementary Hom. 12, lines 103–4 (ed. *Pope*, 1:483).

¹⁷² Both passages are quoted above, pp. 166 and 167, respectively.

and ingesting in remedies.¹⁷³ Here too *Ælfric* is exceptional: only once, to my knowledge, does he use the verb *halgian* with *wæter* for a context *other* than the blessing of baptismal water: namely, for the weekly blessing of salt and water for asperges before the principal Mass of Sunday—the very practice that, we have seen, was commended in the ninth century by *Hincmar* and others as an alternative to the distribution of water directly from the font at Easter and Pentecost.¹⁷⁴

2.c.2. *Fanthalig*

Lexically, the adjective *fanthalig* invites comparison with *fanthalgung* and the collocation *(ge)halgian fant*. But the adjective presents greater challenges of interpretation, for it could mean “holy by mixture with baptismal water” or “holy by placement in/contact with a [consecrated] *fant*.” Context helps little. The word appears only once among medical recipes in London, British Library Harley 585, fols. 130–93, a collection known as the *Lacnunga* and copied about the beginning of the eleventh century.¹⁷⁵ The text is of some concern, for it contains not only the unique occurrence of *fanthalig* but also a final attestation of *fanthalgung*, though in an unusual expression.

The instance of *fanthalig* occurs near the end of a lengthy recipe for a headache-salve: “nim þonne nygon clufa garleaces gehalgodes, cnuca on wine,

¹⁷³ E.g., the trans. of Gregory’s *Dialogues* (C) 1.10: “Pa sona se arwyrða wer Furtunatus gebletsode wæter & cwað to his diacone: stregd þis gehalgode wæter ofer þes ligendan mannes lichaman” (*Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. H. Hecht, 2 vols., Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 5 [Leipzig, 1900–1907], 1:82); also *OE Bede* 3.11 (ed. Miller, 1:192) “Pa gehalgode ic wæter & scæfspan dyde in þes foresprecenan treoes, & sealde þam untruman drincan.” See also vernacular rubrics in the “Durham Ritual” (*Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. A. H. Thompson and U. Lindelöf, Surtees Society 140 [Durham, 1927], 114–15); in the “Missal of Robert of Jumièges” (ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 11 [London, 1896], 287); and *passim* in texts ed. by B. Fehr, “Altenglische Ritualtexte für Krankenbesuch, heilige Ölzung und Begräbnis,” in *Texte und Forschungen zur englischen Kulturgeschichte: Festgabe für Felix Liebermann*, ed. M. Förster and K. Wildhagen (Halle, 1921), 20–67.

¹⁷⁴ Originally much simpler than the consecration of baptismal water, the form of blessing salt and water soon attracted accretions of its own. One form, the *benedictio maior salis et aquae*, took this elaboration so far as to vie with the *benedictio fontis* in length and complexity; see the specimen at *PRG* CLXXXI and the discussion in Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* 1:154–92.

¹⁷⁵ Ker, *Catalogue*, 305–6 (no. 231, item 2), dated the manuscript to s. X/XI, with additions of s. XI¹. The most recent editors date the copy to ca. 1000; see *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine: Illustrated Specially from the Semi-Pagan Text “Lacnunga,”* ed. and trans. J. H. G. Gratian and C. Singer (London, 1952), 209. For an alternative dating “ca. 1050,” see below, n. 184. On the collection as a whole, now see M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 7 (Cambridge, 1993), 45–57.

wring þurh clāð, scaf on myrran þa wyrt 7 fanthalig wex 7 brynestor [MS brimne stor] 7 hwitne rycels.”¹⁷⁶ While the exotic subject matter of the *Lacnunga* discourages emendations, an early editor, Cockayne, found *fanthalig wex* sufficiently obscure to need correction to “fanthalig <wæter 7> wex.”¹⁷⁷ In its favour, the proposed change resolves the crux in a well-supported direction (the primary reference of OE *fant* to water); “wax,” though it appears elsewhere in the remedies, seldom has any specifying adjective of its own.¹⁷⁸ Against Cockayne, the more recent editors, Grattan and Singer, accept the manuscript reading and translate: “Take then nine cloves of garlic that has been blessed; pound in wine, wring through cloth; scrape myrrh the plant into it and font-holy wax, and burning storax and white incense.” They remark, in a note, “*Fount-holy wax* is that blessed for use in candles for which there was a special blessing on Holy Saturday. The *Benedictio Cerei* finds a place in several A[nglo-]S[axon] documents. . . .”¹⁷⁹ As an explanation, the comment does not go very far. By *benedictio cerei* must be meant the solemn blessing of the paschal candle that began the Easter Vigil. Parts of this ceremony are as old as the fourth century, but its typical configuration in most medieval sources dates to the Carolingian era. In certain places, fragments of the paschal candle were distributed to the people, who considered them to have healing and apotropaic powers.¹⁸⁰ But there is more evidence for distribution of wax to the faithful through a different, though similarly motivated, custom. On the morning of Holy Saturday, the Roman liturgy provided a separate blessing for a large quantity wax (mixed with oil), from which were fashioned not only the paschal candle but the so-called *agnus dei*. These medallions bore the image of a lamb and, when distributed on the first Sunday after Easter, would be burned in private homes to release their sacred potency. The earliest clear evidence of the *agnus dei* at Rome comes from the later eighth century,

¹⁷⁶ *Lacnunga*, no. 31 (Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 112).

¹⁷⁷ *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. and trans. O. Cockayne, 3 vols., Rolls Series 37 (London, 1864–66), 3:14. His translation follows the emended text: “and holy water from the fount” (3:15). The emendation is accepted without comment by Stürzli, “Die christlichen Elemente,” 78.

¹⁷⁸ Wax was common as a glutinante in salves; see G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague, 1948), 242. In the *Lacnunga*, wax appears in remedies at nos. 39 and 148 (Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 114 and 178). The only other reference specially qualified is to *scyttisc wex* at no. 118 (*ibid.* 168).

¹⁷⁹ Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 113 and n. 2.

¹⁸⁰ See references, from as early as ca. 500, at Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* 1:19–53, esp. 52–53; and in more detail, A. J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil*, Alcuin Club Collections 71 (Collegeville, Minn., 1992), 299–409, esp. 403–4.

and knowledge of the custom travelled to northern Europe with certain of the *Ordines Romani*.¹⁸¹

The blessing of the paschal candle naturally occurs, as Grattan and Singer state, in service books from Anglo-Saxon England, although there is very little evidence for knowledge, much less imitation, of the Roman *agnus dei* custom. The difficulty would in any case remain that the wax used in the manufacture of the candle or the medallions has no obvious connection to the “font,” save by ingenious arguments.¹⁸² A far simpler way around the crux (barring Cockayne’s emendation) would define *fanthalig wex* as merely “wax dipped in (or sprinkled, or kneaded with) baptismal water.” Ælfric’s restrictions on *fantrwæter* have, as we have seen, the whiff of novelty. Many of his contemporaries may have continued to distribute baptismal water or left it standing in the font after baptisms, readily accessible to all who entered the church. For that matter, its availability to the people need not be an issue at all, since the *Lacnunga* and related texts probably enjoyed a less marginal status in the Anglo-Saxon church than was once supposed. Mentions in these remedies of holy waters and oils, or of access to the altar and sacred vessels, were once blamed on thieving laymen or decadent clergy.¹⁸³ Recent scholarship inclines to view the intersection of folk medicine, pre-Christian lore, and elements of official liturgy as typical of late Anglo-Saxon popular religion. The healing and protective rituals in question constitute, in this view, “middle practices” between the categories of pagan and Christian, oral and literate, or popular and elite culture.¹⁸⁴

The lesson serves when we return to the few instances of *fant*-words not yet discussed. Our last instance of *fanthalzung* also occurs in the *Lacnunga*, as part of a recipe with many quasi-liturgical elements: “7 ða wyrtæ calle

¹⁸¹ See *OR* XXVI.7–8 and XXVII.9–10. For citations in other sources, see E. Mangenot, “*Agnus Dei*,” *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1923–50), 1:605–13; and Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* 1:553–75.

¹⁸² Some later sources indicate that the previous year’s paschal candle was recycled into *agnus dei*. The wax from the old candle, which (from the tenth century on) might have been submerged in the water during a consecration of the font, would suit the description “font-holy.” Likewise, in the fifteenth century, the blessing of the *agnus dei* involved a “baptismal” immersion of the medallions in a blessed mixture of water, oil, and chrism. Neither of these conditions, however, is chronologically viable as an explanation of *fanthalig*.

¹⁸³ E.g., Stürzl, “*Die christlichen Elemente*,” 92–93.

¹⁸⁴ For these texts as evidence of “middle practices,” see K. L. Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996). Jolly dates the *Lacnunga* later than Ker and Grattan-Singer, to “ca. 1050” (*ibid.*, 106). Some directions of Jolly’s thesis were anticipated by R. A. Banks, “The Uses of Liturgy in the Magic, Medicine, and Poetry of the Anglo-Saxons,” in *The Timeless and the Temporal: Writings in Honour of John Chalker by Friends and Colleagues*, ed. E. Maslen (London, 1993), 19–39.

gescearfā swiðe smale tosomne, 7 wæter gehalga fonthalgunge, 7 do ceac innan in ða buteran.”¹⁸⁵ Grattan and Singer translate, “And shred up all the plants together very small; and hallow water with font-hallowing; and put a bowl of it into the butter”; Cockayne renders the key phrase more idiomatically: “and hallow some water with the hallowing of the baptismal font.”¹⁸⁶ The pleonastic *halgian wæter fanthalgunge* recalls the expression *halgian wæter to fante*, where the context could only be the full-fledged “consecration of the font.”¹⁸⁷ The instruction in the *Lacnunga* demands a user with priestly rank, who has access to the lengthy text of the *benedictio fontis* and, most importantly, to the holy oils.¹⁸⁸ The use of *fanthalig* and *fanthalgung* in the *Lacnunga* finally points to two occurrences of *fantwæter* in the manuscript known as the *Leechbook* (London, British Library Royal 12 D.xvii). Copied around 950 at Winchester, the book consists of three parts, of which the first two (or *Bald’s Leechbook*) are believed to depend on exemplars written some fifty years earlier; the third part (or *Leechbook III*), seems to come from different sources whose compilation may not much antedate the extant copy.¹⁸⁹ In *Leechbook III* a long charm “against elf sickness” (“Wip ælfadle opþe ælfsgogðan”), densely crowded with elements from both Germanic folklore and Christian liturgy, calls for *fantwæter* on two separate occasions.¹⁹⁰

The evidence of the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbook* complements the very different picture of attitudes towards baptismal water glimpsed in Ælfric. However weighty his ninth-century capitular sources, and however prescient his wish to encourage among English clergy the canonical distinction between “holy” and

¹⁸⁵ *Lacnunga*, no. 63 (Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 124).

¹⁸⁶ Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 125; and Cockayne, *Leechdoms* 3:25.

¹⁸⁷ See pp. 167–68 above.

¹⁸⁸ At three points charms in the *Leechbook* require use of the *oleum infirmorum*; see no. 17, “Wip ælfadle opþe ælfsgogðan,” line 80 (Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 17). At the two occurrences in *Leechbook III* 65.5 (Cockayne, *Leechdoms* 2:297), some later reader, perhaps troubled by use of the sacramental oil for such purposes, has tried to erase *infirmorum*.

¹⁸⁹ Cameron calls *Leechbook III* “the oldest surviving strata of Anglo-Saxon medicine” only in the sense that it seems to be “the least contaminated by Mediterranean medical ideas”; see the discussion at *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, 30–31 and 35–42 (quotation from 31). See also Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 105 and 156. For the date and localization, see Ker, *Catalogue*, 332–33 (no. 264).

¹⁹⁰ *Leechbook III* 62 (Cockayne’s numbering = no. 17 in Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, 222–29, commentary at 228–33). For *fantwæter*, see lines 3–4, “Bebind ealle þa wyrta on clape, bedyp on font-watre gehalgodum þriwa” (*ibid.*, 222; trans. 223: “hallowed baptismal water”), and 77, “Wyrc þonne drenc: fontwæter, rudan, salvian cassuc . . .” (*ibid.*, 226; trans. 227 “baptismal water”). The charm is discussed by Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 159–65, who translates the occurrences as “hallowed font water” and “font water,” respectively (at 160 and 164).

“baptismal” waters, in this (as in other points of doctrine and discipline) Ælfric’s standards may have been a good deal more rigorous than those of his countrymen, even those who counted themselves “reformers.” Behind his restrictions about the font must have lain very real concerns about the desecration of its contents. At this point we recall that Ælfric suppressed what his own liturgical and capitular sources probably allowed—a distribution of the blessed water before addition of the chrism. He would not have been unaware that the makers of remedies considered *fantwæter* a highly potent ingredient. His homily for the feast of St. Stephen tells a remarkable story about the abuse of that powerful substance for wicked ends (it also contains important instances of the words *fant* and *fantfæt*). A Cappadocian woman fell under the devil’s temptation to lay a curse on her children: “Pæt earme wif gelyfde his [scil. the devil’s] wælhreowum geðeahte. and . . . eode þa to ðam fantfæte. and tolysde hire feax. and bedypte on ðam fante. and mid micelre hatheortnysse ealle hire bearn manfullice wirigde.”¹⁹¹ The story comes ultimately from an Augustinian account, which Ælfric appears to have known as transmitted in an anonymous homily for Stephen’s feast.¹⁹² But when retold in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the anecdote must have served an end that Augustine could not have foreseen—as an exemplum about the need to safeguard *fantwæter*. A Christian Anglo-Saxon healer would have condemned the woman’s sorcery, too, and hastened to point out that the use of baptismal water in remedies involved no malice and invoked God, not the devil. Ælfric’s modern view of the font-water, however, saw only licit and illicit uses, regardless of intention.¹⁹³ In his concern, he represents a widespread

¹⁹¹ *CH* II.2, lines 114–17 (ed. Godden, 15).

¹⁹² I owe the source-reference to M. Godden’s entry for *CH* II.2 in the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database. The Latin source, extant as Hom. 15 in the *Homiliarium Floriacense*, is printed in PL Supplementum 4:1903–10. Ælfric omitted from the relevant passage (at col. 1909) the interesting detail that water was still accessible in the font because it was Paschaltide: “Diebus enim Paschae dum adhuc aqua ubi competentes fuerant baptizati esset in fonte, mulier illa . . . ingressa est baptisterium. Et solvens crines suos depositus eos in aqua quae in fontibus erat. . . .” The ultimate source (purportedly the testimony of one of the afflicted children) is printed as Augustine’s *Sermo* 322 (at PL 38:1443–45).

¹⁹³ The fear of unauthorized popular custom may explain why neither Ælfric nor other products of the “Winchester school” tried to coopt a native word as a semantic loan for *fons*, such as *wiell*. Unlike other examples (esp. *weofod* “altar” whose pagan sense was utterly eclipsed), *wiell* in a nonreligious sense was very common and would have resisted semantic substitution. Ælfric and Wulfstan preached against the pagan habit of worshipping wells and springs (see Ælfric’s Supplementary Hom. 21, “De falsis diis,” ed. Pope 2:667–724; Wulfstan’s version is Hom. 12, ed. Bethurum, 221–24). A loan-word *fant* perhaps avoided undesirable connotations.

reaction, the same that would ultimately lead to the securing of baptismal water beneath locked font-covers.¹⁹⁴

CONCLUSIONS

While study of surviving medieval fonts belongs in the main to archaeologists and art historians, documentary evidence is crucial for those times and places, such as pre-Conquest England, from which material survivals are scarce. Interpreting medieval descriptions of baptism requires a sensitivity to little-acknowledged problems of vocabulary, both Latin and vernacular. Unfortunately, the linguistic record is as susceptible to misinterpretation as the archaeological one, given the loss of texts and the chance disproportions among those that have survived. But we may at least hope to determine where widely held assumptions lack real support.

The attestations for *fant* and its compounds in the entire corpus of Old English do not exceed fifty. If the modesty of the sample discourages generalizations, the tallies themselves are remarkable, given the importance of baptism and the ecclesiastical character of most writing extant in Old English. Other surprises follow from a review of the chronology and distribution of texts that witness the terms. The citations cluster in the later Old English period, with a majority in writings by Ælfric (d. ca. 1010), followed by Wulfstan (d. 1023). The unknowable prehistory of texts in the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbook III* obscures the lower chronological limit, though on strictly palaeographical grounds, the attestations of *fantwæter* in *Leechbook III* (copied around 950) are perhaps earliest in the group. And even if occurrences in the charms and remedies reflect an earlier stratum, they do not greatly challenge the overall impression of a word-family without deep or far-spreading roots. Turning, for comparison, to verifiable translations of Lat. *fons* and *fons baptismi* in the Old English Bede, we see a variety of strategies. Rarely these involve semantic loans (such as *wiell*), and more often a loan-rendition or periphrasis, such as *fulwithe(s) bæð*. A thorough study of Old English baptismal terminology in all periods would be most welcome, but it is already clear that a loan-word *fant* does not appear among the alternatives adopted in translations or glosses from the Alfredian and earlier periods.

The only theories that have so far addressed the date and transmission of the loan-word acknowledge neither its scarcity nor its confinement to late

¹⁹⁴ Davies, *Architectural Setting of Baptism*, 69–72. The precaution continued, with the same motive, through the late Middle Ages and beyond; see E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1500* (New Haven, 1992), 280.

texts. The arguments for an early borrowing are of two kinds, internal (the evidence of phonology and spelling) and external (the evidence of spread in other languages and its historical causes). The former, expounded by Pogatscher, claims that the variable spellings ** and *<fant>* would not have arisen save by a popular borrowing from spoken Romance at a period after the import of words like OE *munt* (< Lat. *mont-em*) but while the changes to Gmc /a/ + nasals were still widely operative. The theory may work, but it begs the question of a spoken Romance input (and hence “popular” status) in the first place, while allowing the possibility of neither sound change by analogy nor Latinized respellings. In sum, nothing in the internal evidence actually requires an early date or—by Pogatscher’s own criteria—a popular diffusion. The external argument, advanced by Frings, works backwards from the medieval spread of the word in (mostly) Anglo-Frisian and Low German, to an origin in the vocabulary of sixth-century Frankish missionaries. Frings’s model involves its own share of difficulties, not least its assumption of a conspicuous place for “fonts” in a missionary church. Archaeology has yielded little to support the view, and the narrative record (most notably Bede’s history) is uncooperative because of the ambiguity of Lat. *fons* in its typical collocations.

The chameleon-like signification of *fons (baptismi)* thwarts Frings’s other basic assumption, about the univocal sense of the word as “vessel of baptismal water” in the Romance dialect of northern Gaul and, hence, in the language of converted Merovingian Franks. On the contrary, the Old English evidence—possibly the earliest in any Germanic language—shows a decided attraction towards the semantic range of *fons* in Ecclesiastical Latin. Whether we regard this fluidity as an original quality of the loan-word or subsequent mimicry of Latin usage will depend, to a degree, on our view of its earlier or later, popular or learned status. But the fact of such range cannot be dismissed, since a translation of OE *fant* as anything other than “water (of baptism)” is at times impossible. These findings reinforce the impression of “learnedness” about the term and, at the same time, weaken the notion that it belonged to a core of elementary Christian vocabulary. By viewing the vernacular word-group against its immediate liturgical and literary backgrounds, an alternative to Frings’s thesis takes ready shape, and one that accords better with the chronology and distribution of the evidence available.

That alternative is, of course, the revival of learning and ecclesiastical discipline that began under King Alfred in the late ninth century and reached its apex in the Benedictine reforms of the later tenth. The canonistic writings of Ælfric, the greatest student of those reforms, contain instances of words from the *fant*-family crucial not only for defining the terms, but also, I

believe, for establishing the context of their borrowing or coinage. His restrictions about *fantwæter* derived from the kind of ninth-century Carolingian sources that were vital to the monastic reformers, especially in their outreach to the secular church. A new concern (new, at least, among the Anglo-Saxons) for the protection of the font and for proscribing misuses of baptismal water would account for the spread of the loan-word in the technical language of clergy. As part of the same movement, a proliferation of compounds formed with *fant* helped better define what the simplex risked leaving vague. In either instance, the need to draw distinctions that set the “font” (be it water or vessel) apart by its own vernacular name points to the specialized influences of canon law, liturgy and—no less technical—the production of remedies and charms. In the presence of OE *fant* we are, by this reading, some distance removed from “popularity” (whether in its ordinary sense or Pogatscher’s technical one) or from the rudiments of a “mission vocabulary.” Whether or not the relative lateness, learnedness, and seeming rarity of the *fant*-word group also correspond to a delay in the arrival of standing fonts as a common feature in local churches is a question for the archaeologist rather than the historian of language.¹⁹⁵

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¹⁹⁵ This essay is offered with thanks to the editor and staff of the *Dictionary of Old English*, who kindly allowed me to read forthcoming entries for all the *fant*-words but who are not, of course, responsible for any errors in the preceding pages. The research and writing were made possible by a fellowship in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. For discussion of specific points, special thanks to Alfred Bammesberger, John Blair, Scott Gwara, Ian McDougall, John Van Engen, and Gabriele Waxenberger.

ALFONSO VII OF LEÓN-CASTILLA, THE HOUSE OF TRASTÁMARA, AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL

Bernard F. Reilly

IN the second half of the eleventh century the new Leonese dynasty, under Fernando I, launched a successful reconquest of those lands destined to become the first nucleus of the kingdom of Portugal. Lamego, Viseu, and finally Coimbra were retaken definitively from the Muslims, and the lands between the Duero and the Mondego were added to those territories between the former river and the Miño already held by León. Fernando's successor, Alfonso VI, married his natural daughter, Teresa, to Count Henry of Burgundy in 1095 and then endowed the two with control of the fisc lands there. Subsequently, when Alfonso betrothed his daughter and heir, Urraca, to the king of Aragón in 1109, Count Henry and his then pregnant wife withdrew from court never to return, taking up residence at Coimbra.¹ Instead, Count Henry died in 1112 in the midst of a struggle for the crown of León-Castilla. For the remainder of her own life, Teresa of Portugal was her half-sister's rival for the inheritance of the dynasty or for the delimitation of their respective shares of it in the west of the peninsula.

There, geographically, Galicia and Portugal form a single, shallow plain, separated from the *meseta* to the east by substantial mountain ranges, stretching from Cape Finisterre in the north to Lisbon in the south. Linguistically too, Gallegan had more in common with Portuguese than it did with the languages of the *meseta*. At the same time, the only other organized institution of Christian Iberia, the church, regarded the Galicia and northern Portugal as a part of a single ecclesiastical province subject to the archbishop of Braga, that arrangement having prevailed in late classical antiquity. That church province extended east of the coastal barrier to include Astorga and the upstart see of Zamora as well. In Galicia the sole exception to the sway of Braga was the

¹ For a general introduction, see Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988). Since its publication, Andrés Gambra, *Alfonso VI: Curia, cancillería e imperio*, 2 vols. (León, 1997–98), has supplied a massive study and edition of Alfonso's documents.

pilgrim see at Santiago de Compostela, whose special independence was established by the papacy itself in 1095.

All these factors determined that Urraca and Teresa should contest the control of Galicia. There two local powers had parts to play. In the center of that territory, Diego Gelmírez (1100–1140), bishop and subsequently archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, was guardian of Uracca's son Alfonso, alternately counselor and opponent of the queen, and an ecclesiastical architect who engineered the elevation of Santiago de Compostela into an archbishopric in 1120 with papally provided suffragan sees at Avila and Salamanca.² The pope also obligingly provided that Santiago should have such other suffragans that had been held by the metropolitanate of Mérida in antiquity, as those should be liberated from the Muslims. Ominously, those sees included Lamego, Viseu, Coimbra, and Lisbon.³

The other power was the house of Trastámar, whose current head was Count Pedro Froilaz, the other guardian of the future Alfonso VII. Its plentiful dynastic holdings lay predominantly in the north of Galicia, about the bishopric of Mondoñedo and the monasteries of Jubia, Cines, and Sobrado, which establishments they patronized and controlled.⁴ Nevertheless many of the magnate families of Galicia had a long history of interest and involvement in the affairs of the territories to the south of the Miño River, having been major actors in the reconquests and resettlements of Oporto and Coimbra as the Muslim and Leonese powers contested control of the area during the ninth and tenth centuries. That relationship may have become attenuated over time but it was by no means dead at the beginning of the twelfth century.⁵

² R. A. Fletcher, *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela* (Oxford, 1984), is a sophisticated yet painless introduction to an extraordinary man and institution.

³ In addition, Gelmírez himself must have been personally offensive in the south, having looted relics of the church of Braga and carried them off to Compostela. The episode is described in the *translatio*, dated to 1102, that forms a part of the *Historia Compostellana* (hereafter *HC*) 1.15 (ed. Emma Falque Rey, CCCM 70 [Turnhout, 1988], 32–36).

⁴ A brief but sound introduction to the count and his family is Simon Barton, *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century León and Castile* (Cambridge, 1997), 278–79 and 241–42. Margarita Torres-Sevilla-Quíñones de León, *Linajes nobiliarios en León y Castilla* (Junta de Castilla y León, 1999), 312–52, is exhaustive for the genealogy of the family in light of present knowledge, although sometimes too trusting of her sources in various particulars as will be noted when appropriate.

⁵ José Mattoso, *Portugal Medieval: Novas Interpretações* (Lisbon, 1883) reprints a lifetime of painstaking chronicling the connections. For purposes here, see especially “A nobreza medieval galaico-portuguesa: A Identidade e a diferença,” 171–96, and “A primera tarde portuguesa,” 11–35.

Under Queen Urraca (1109–26) these players combined and recombined, sometimes raising the standard of revolt in the name of the rights of her son.⁶ In 1121 the Trastámaras count opted for Teresa of Portugal, his sons Fernando Pérez becoming her husband in that year and Vermudo Pérez marrying Teresa's daughter in 1122. In response, Urraca imprisoned Count Pedro Froilaz and such of his offspring as she could catch in 1123 but the damage was done. The magnates of southern Galicia, Count Gómez Núñez and his son-in-law, Fernando Yáñez, also defected to Teresa. Urraca was driven to accept a truce with her half-sister, providing for the latter's control of the lower valley of the Miño from Orense down to the sea at Tuy. In 1117, Teresa had begun to employ the title of "Queen of Portugal."

But the Leonese queen reacted strongly to this threat to her entire authority west of the mountains of Galicia and Portugal. With the assistance of a papal legate in 1124, Urraca was able to strengthen the independence of the see of Zamora from the claims of Braga's suffragan at Astorga and to advance the claim of Santiago de Compostela to be metropolitan of Coimbra itself. Even more significant, in the long run, was the knighting of Teresa's son and soon-to-be supplanter, Afonso Henriques, at Zamora in the territory of León in 1125.⁷

Such was the tangled state of affairs when Afonso VII became heir to his mother's divided inheritance and its resultant enmities.⁸ During the roughly

⁶ For a study of Urraca's reign, see Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109–1126* (Princeton, 1983); for present purposes, see esp. 153–80. Since I then wrote, Cristina Monterde Albiac has produced the critical edition of Urraca's documents: *Diplomatario de la Reina Urraca de Castilla y León (1109–1126)* (Zaragoza, 1996).

There is no critical history of Teresa's reign. Two studies by Torquato de Sousa Soares, "O governo de Portugal pelo Conde Henrique de Borgonha: Suas relações com as monarquias Leonesa-Castelhana e Aragonesa," *Revista Portuguesa de História* 14 (1974): 365–97, and "O governo de Portugal pela Infanta-Rainha D. Teresa (1112–1128)," in *Colectânea de Estudos em honra do Prof. Doutor Damião Peres* (Lisbon, 1974), 95–119, remain useful but need to be updated.

⁷ José Idalino Ferreira da Costa Brochado, *D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon, 1947) and José Tomaz da Fonseca, *D. Afonso Henriques e a Fundação da Nacionalidade Portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1949) are two older attempts at a history of the reign of Afonso Henriques, which still needs a full critical study. Monica Blöcker-Walter, *Alfonso I. von Portugal* (Zurich, 1966), has laid much of the groundwork for such a task.

⁸ For a general history, see Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Afonso VII, 1126–1157* (Philadelphia, 1998). It treats the relationships between León-Castilla and Portugal in good detail, of course, but the fluctuations and motivations of royal policy toward the Trastámaras clan in relation to that particular dynamic are not there as specifically developed as I should now like. Moreover, new materials and studies have become available in satisfying number since I wrote, which now permit further clarifications to be noted in particulars below. There is no critical edition of the documents of Afonso VII, but a partial collection has been assembled by Manuel Recuero Astray, Manuel González Vázquez, and Paz Romero

thirty years of the reign of that Leonese king and emperor, Alfonso VII's policy toward the Portuguese inheritance of his dynasty, and toward his close relatives who possessed it, displays two distinct phases of roughly equal length. The first of these was marked by his attempt to control the course of events there and the second by the effort to secure the collaboration of an independent power that he was unable any longer to subdue.

Initially, while he consolidated his power at home against the threat presented by his former stepfather, Alfonso I of Aragón, Urraca's son sought the friendship of his aunt. He met with Teresa at Ricobayo in early 1126 and simultaneously received the homage of the brothers Trastámaro; Fernando and Vermudo Pérez, at Zamora. The patriarch of the Galician clan, Count Pedro Froilaz, however, was either dead or dying and its ability to act swiftly and in unison was thereby impaired.⁹ As a result, this alliance of convenience was short-lived, for the affairs of all of its parties were themselves in flux.

Early in 1127 Teresa vigorously pursued old ambitions of hers in the valley of the Miño while Alfonso VII strengthened his own position against Aragón. Subsequently, the young king marched west in late 1127 and spent some six weeks ravaging the territories of Teresa south of the Miño. We do not know the role of Afonso Henriques in this campaign but when the Leonese monarch proceeded to Santiago de Compostela in November the young Portuguese was in his entourage.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the very successes of the Leonese may have resulted in clearing the way to power for his Portuguese cousin. On 19 March 1128, Alfonso VII confirmed a charter of Teresa to the Templars.¹¹ On 26 March, Teresa and her husband, Count Fernando Pérez confirmed a charter of Alfonso to Count

Portillo, eds., *Documentos Medievales del Reino de Galicia: Alfonso VII (1116–1157)* (Santiago de Compostela, 1998). I have been unable to obtain it to date.

⁹ There are no known documents of the count dated later than 1125. On 3 May 1126, his widow, Mayor Rodríguez, made a donation to the Leonese monastery of Sahagún for the welfare of his soul. José Antonio Fernández Flórez, ed., *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857–1300)*, vol. 4: 1110–1199 (León, 1991), 98–102. The study of José Luis López Sangil, "La familia Froilaz-Traba en la Edad Media gallega," *Estudios Mindoniensis* 12 (1996): 275–404, is invaluable for the mass of material that it assembles. However, it must be used with caution. The author places the old count at Zamora and his death in 1128 (*ibid.*, 296), neither of which is supported by the sources. Unfortunately, the equally rich study of Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, *Linajes*, 322, follows López Sangil in placing the old count in Zamora in 1126 and his death in 1128. The account of the Zamora meeting can be found in the "Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris" (hereafter *CAI*) 1.5 (ed. Antonio Maya Sánchez in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII*, CCCM 71 [Turnhout, 1990], 109–248 at 151–52).

¹⁰ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 24.

¹¹ Marquis d'Albon, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple, 1119?–1150* (Paris, 1913), 7.

Suero Vermudez of Asturias.¹² It appears entirely possible then that, so early, the queen and her consort had sought out the support of the Leonese king against an incipient rebellion to be led by her own son.

That revolt emerges clearly by the end of April. On 27 May, the young king demonstrated his determination to exercise full royal power as he granted confirmation of the right to a mint to the see of Braga.¹³ On 24 June, Afonso defeated his mother and her supporters at the battle of San Mamede.

Teresa and her faction retreated to her stronghold at the castle of Lanhoso, northeast of Braga, where she was able to maintain herself until her death on 1 November 1130.¹⁴ Her continuing resistance in that area may have been due largely to the resources that Count Fernando, her husband, was able to summon from his tenancies in and about Ginzo de Limia not far to the north.¹⁵ The count appeared at the court of Alfonso VII on 6 January 1129, and again on 25 March 1129, possibly negotiating for that monarch's support.¹⁶ He did not again appear at the Leonese court until after his wife's death, but his

¹² Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Sección Clero, Carpeta 1.591, no. 20; ed. Antonio Floriano Cumbreño, *El monasterio de Cornellana* (Oviedo, 1949), 28–29, but with a bad date. It is likely an original. Suero Vermúdez was cousin to the Trastámaras. See Barton, *Aristocracy*, 300–301; and Torres Sevilla-Quiñones de León, *Linajes*, 331.

¹³ Rui Pinto de Azevado, ed., *Documentos Medievais Portugueses* (hereafter DMP), vol. 1.1 (Lisbon, 1958), 111–12. The diplomatic of the early Portuguese royal charters generally lack the place of their issue and the wealth of confirmations by the magnates that are so helpful to the narrative historian of the Leonese kingdom.

¹⁴ Blocker-Walter, *Alfons I.*, 152; Manuel Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, emperador: El Imperio Hispánico en el siglo XII* (León, 1979), 148 n.74, asserted that Teresa and Fernando Pérez were captured and expelled from Portugal, taking refuge in Zamora but does not document his assertion.

¹⁵ In *Alfonso VII*, 178 and 188, I was less than convinced of his tenancy there because of the character of some of the evidence. Now, however, José Miguel Andrade Cernadas, ed., *O Tombo de Celanova*, 2 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), has made some of the documents of that important center more available, if not in a complete or critical edition. It is to be hoped that Emilio Sáez and Carlos Sáez, eds., *Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Celanova (842–1230)*, vol. 1 (842–942) and vol. 2 (943–988) (Alcalá, 1996–2000), will carry that task to completion before long. In Andrades Cernada, *O Tombo de Celanova* 1:172–73, a document dated 16 March 1085 cites a Count Fernando holding Limia but it is clearly false, citing as well an otherwise unknown Bishop Ordoño of Orense. Another of 22 November 1108 (*ibid.*, 196–97), should probably be redated to 1128, for it cites Alfonso VII in León and Regina Teresa and Count Fernando in Limia. However, it also cites a Count Muño as tenant in Limia. José Luis Martín, *Orígenes de la orden militar de Santiago* (Barcelona, 1974), 172–74, gives a private donation of 27 October 1131 that cites Count Fernando as tenant in Limia.

¹⁶ 6 January 1129: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1082, no. 8; also Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional (hereafter BN) 18387, fol. 304r–v. The royal charter is dated erroneously to 1109. 25 March 1129: Archivo Catedral de Compostela, Tumbo A, fols. 40v–41r, also (copy) Tumbo A, fols. 113v–115v, and Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia (hereafter Acad. Hist.), Colección Salazar, O-22, fol. 265r, *HC* 3.7 (ed. Falque Rey, 428–32).

brother, Vermudo Pérez, continued there through spring of the same year, very likely for the same reason.

The documents suggest that Teresa and her supporters were able to deny her son the full submission of the north for the time being. These same charters of January and March in 1129 show the key bishops of Tuy and Orense at the Leonese court. On the other hand, the four known charters of Afonso of Portugal of the summer of 1129 give no evidence of their attendance on him, and that situation continued to be evidenced by the first seven of his charters in 1130 up until mid-August.¹⁷

Resistance to the young Portuguese prince, however, continued to weaken. Bishop Alfonso of Tuy waited upon Afonso VII at the Council of Carrión in February of 1130. Thereafter he vanished from the Leonese charters for the rest of the year.¹⁸ Bishop Alfonso was last seen in circles connected with León when he attended the provincial council held at Santiago de Compostela by Archbishop Diego Gelmírez in April 1130.¹⁹ Bishop Diego of Orense was found neither at court nor at Compostela. However, he confirmed a diploma of Afonso of Portugal given on 18 September 1130 at Villaza, that is, about five kilometers west of Verín and well inside present Spanish territory. On the same date it also seems that Afonso granted a charter to the monastery of Celanova, which sat astride one of the better routes north from Portugal to Orense.²⁰

There are indications even so early that the Trastámaras were trying to salvage something from the impending wreck of Teresa's party. One of the figures who confirmed the charter was Count Fernando. In addition, nobles of Galician ancestry, and even contemporary ties with the Galician nobility, continued to play a part in the new Portuguese regime. The almost exclusively documentary record of this phenomenon results in some confusion as to what pertains properly to the slow decline of Teresa's party and what rather to Afonso's early attempts to appeal to her former supporters.²¹ Clearly, however, the young prince's victory at San Mamede was not so unequivocal in character or as immediate in effect as has sometimes been assumed.

¹⁷ *DMP* 1.1:122–27 and 128–36.

¹⁸ 7 February 1130: Madrid, BN 13073, fols. 220r–221v; ed. Toribio Mingüella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1910), 1:352–54. 27 June 1130: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1794, no. 2, and Códices, 60B, fol. 2r. This latter, however, is a forgery.

¹⁹ *HC* 3.15 (ed. Falque Rey, 443).

²⁰ *DMP* 1.1:136. Andrades Cernada, *O Tombo de Celanova* 1:372, prints the Celanova charter.

²¹ Mattoso, "Primera tarde," 19–22, and "Nobreza medieval galaico-portuguesa," 176–79.

So too, the monastery of Celanova had very old ties to Compostela, whose bishop, San Rosendo, had founded it in 934, although at that time he was still but bishop of Mondoñedo. The relationship had continued and involved Diego Gelmírez himself. He is probably that “Gelmirus archidiaconus” who joined its Abbot Pelayo in confirming the private donation of 8 December 1088, just as he confirmed the donation of *Infanta* Elvira of some houses in Compostela to that monastery on 19 May 1097.²²

This new activity, combined with the death of Queen Teresa on 1 November 1130, probably explains the visit of Alfonso VII to Santiago de Compostela in the winter of 1131. His charter to the masters of the cathedral works there on 18 March 1131 was confirmed by Bishop Alfonso of Tuy and counts Rodrigo Pérez, Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria, and Gómez Núñez of Toroño.²³ Clearly the powers of Galicia were alarmed. The first two of these counts still accompanied Alfonso VII in April and in May they confirmed the major grant of the honor of Orense to Bishop Diego of that city.²⁴ The Leonese monarch was doing what he could to retain the adhesion of the latter prelate. Neither Diego nor Bishop Alfonso appear in any of the six known diplomas of Afonso of Portugal in 1131.²⁵

These activities may have encouraged Vermudo Pérez to revolt in his castle of Seia at the foot of the Sierra de Estrella in 1131.²⁶ It proved a foolish initiative. Afonso Henriques took the castle and drove him north into Galicia. The party of the late queen thus collapsed in Portugal proper.

One of the Trastámaras, Count Rodrigo Pérez, chose to join the party of the Portuguese outright. In September of 1132 Prince Afonso granted him an honor near strategic Ponte de Limia in northern Portugal and for the next three years he held the district of Oporto under that same prince.²⁷ Although none of the ten known diplomas of Afonso Henriques for the year show either

²² Andrades Cernada, *O Tombo de Celanova* 1:97–98 and 154–55.

²³ Antonio López Ferreiro, ed., *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. 4 (Santiago de Compostela, 1901), appendix, 16–18.

²⁴ 14 April–15 May 1131: ed. Peter Rassow, “Die Urkunden Kaiser Alfonso VII von Spanien,” *Archiv für Urkundenforschungen* 11 (1930): 71. The date of this original charter is partially obscured. 15 May 1131: Archivo Catedral de Orense, and also Madrid, Acad. Hist., Catedrales de España, Santiago de Compostela y Orense, 9-25-1-C-9, fols. 48v–54r, ed. Tomás Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros y cartas pueblas* (Madrid, 1847), 501–2.

²⁵ DMP 1.1:138–44.

²⁶ Blocker-Walter, *Alfons I.*, 152. The little hamlet of Seia had been conquered by Fernando I as long ago as 1057 and perhaps had been a local center of the regal fisc lands for as long. See Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, eds. *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (New York, 2000), 48–49 (commentary to their translation of the *Historia Silense*).

²⁷ DMP 1.1:150. See also, Barton, *Aristocracy*, 297–98.

the bishop of Túy or of Orense in the latter's camp, at some point before the end of the year the new Bishop Pelayo Menéndez of Túy deemed it prudent to make his obedience as suffragan to the archbishop of Braga.²⁸

On the other hand, Bishop Diego of Orense continued in the camp of Alfonso VII,²⁹ and on 28 May that king made him a major grant which would have had the effect of reinforcing his loyalty.³⁰ But Bishop Diego died shortly thereafter and was succeeded by his brother, a canon of Santiago de Compostela and royal chaplain to Alfonso VII.³¹ The new bishop was steadfastly loyal to Alfonso VII but it is questionable to what extent he then had actual control of his see. Bishop Martín appears to have spent all of 1133 up until mid-September at the Leonese court and during that time Alfonso VII made no fewer than four grants to the cathedral of Orense.³² The king was sparing no effort to retain the loyalty of the bishop, chapter, and burgers of Orense. Most of the same documents indicate that Count Rodrigo Vélaz and the Trabacions, Vermudo Pérez, were at court for the same period.

The Leonese monarch, however, was most busy in 1133 with a successful campaign in Andalucía against the Muslims and a less fortunate one against the rebel Count Gonzalo Peláez in Asturias. The diplomas of Afonso Henriques reveal little that is relevant except that of May 1133, a grant to a "Fernão Peres."³³ It is rather the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* that informs us of the activities of the Portuguese prince, if not very precisely.

In late 1132 or 1133 the latter invaded southern Galicia and took Túy itself. He also secured the support of Count Gómez Núñez as well as Count Rodrigo Pérez. However, the other Galician nobles, led by Count Fernando Pérez, Count Rodrigo Vélaz, and Fernando Yañez, attacked and repelled the Portu-

²⁸ See R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), 51; and Avelino de Jesus da Costa, ed., *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracarensis Ecclesiae*, vol. 1 (Braga, 1965), 247.

²⁹ A document of 6 January 1132 shows the bishop of Orense at the royal court: Archivo Catedral de Compostela, Tumbo A, fols. 11v–18r, and Tumbo C, part 2, fol. 202r.

³⁰ 28 May 1132: Archivo Catedral de Orense, Reales, no. 12; Madrid, Acad. Hist., Catedrales de España, Santiago de Compostela y Orense, 9-25-1-C-9, fols. 20r–23r; ed. Enrique Flórez, *España Sagrada*, vols. 1–27 (Madrid, 1747–72), 17:250–52.

³¹ See Fletcher, *Episcopate*, 49; and Bernard F. Reilly, "On Getting to Be a Bishop in León-Castile: The 'Emperor' Alfonso VII and the Post-Gregorian Church," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n.s., 1 (1978): 45–46 and 51.

³² 18 January 1133: ed. Manuel Castro y Sueiro, "Documentos del Archivo catedral de Orense," *Boletín de la Comisión Monumental de Orense*, 2 vols. (Orense 1922–23), 1:430–31. 11 April 1133: *ibid.*, 451–53. 13 May 1133: *ibid.*, 454–55. 18 September 1133: *Colección diplomática de Galicia*, 2 vols. (Santiago de Compostela, 1901–3), 1:28–30.

³³ DMP 1.1:153–60; that of p. 157 is likely to the Portuguese prince's *alférez* rather than to his Galician namesake. See José Mattoso, *Identificação de um País*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1985), 176–77.

guese. Subsequently Afonso Henriques invaded the district of Limia, south of Orense, and constructed and garrisoned a castle at Celmes. Count Fernando Pérez was tenant of the strategic Ginzo de Limia, and Fernando Yáñez held the castle of Allariz a few kilometers further north. These latter dominated the road to Orense. The Portuguese incursion posed a threat to Leonese positions there that could hardly be ignored. In the spring of 1134 Alfonso VII marched rapidly against the enemy position at Celmes, surprising it, and took it together with many prisoners.³⁴ Six charters of Afonso Henriques for 1134 survive but add no information about this campaign.³⁵

In Galicia, the powers that be appeared to have been mending fences. On 8 February, Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela restored the cathedral chapter of the ancient see of Iria Flavia (Padrón), which gave him additional patronage to dispense.³⁶ On 3 October, the archbishop and Count Fernando Pérez exchanged properties.³⁷ Finally, on 17 December, Archbishops Diego Gelmírez and Paio of Braga both confirmed a private foundation of a monastery in Limia.³⁸ This latter episode suggests that a truce was probably being sought by both parties at this time.

Once again, in 1135, the nine surviving diplomas of Afonso Henriques tell us little in this regard.³⁹ More informative is the bull of Pope Innocent II of 26 May 1135, that indicates the active diplomacy of the Portuguese prince with Rome. Innocent implicitly recognized therein the status of "Queen" Teresa, Afonso's mother, took the church of Coimbra under apostolic protection, and recognized the former's jurisdiction over the unrestored sees of Lamego and Viseu.⁴⁰

Quite as significant was what the Portuguese prince did not do. On Pentecost of 1135, in the royal city of León, Alfonso VII was formally crowned "emperor" in the presence of the king of Navarra, the counts of Barcelona,

³⁴ See CAI 1.74–77 (ed. Maya Sánchez, 185–86) for a description of the campaign; see also Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 42–43. For the tenancy of Count Fernando Pérez at Ginzo de Limia, see *ibid.*, 178 n. 101. In light of the other evidence from Celanova, I am now inclined to accept the citation of the count there as early as 27 October 1131.

³⁵ DMP 1.1:160–66.

³⁶ Archivo Catedral de Compostela, Tumbo de Santa María de Iria, fols. 2r–3r, and Archivo Histórico Diocesano, Legajo 314, fols. 9r–11v, ed. Fidel Fita and Antonio López Ferreiro, *Monumentos antiguos de la iglesia compostelana* (Madrid, 1882), 9.

³⁷ Eduardo de Hinojosa, *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y Castilla* (Madrid, 1919), 58–59.

³⁸ A. Manrique, ed., *Cisterciensium seu Verius Ecclesiasticorum Annalium a Condito Cistercio tomus secundus [Annales Cistercienses 2]* (Lyons, 1642), 53.

³⁹ DMP 1.1:166–73 and Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 3548, no. 9.

⁴⁰ Carl Erdmann, *Das Papsttum und Portugal in ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1928), 185–87.

Toulouse, Urgel, Comminges, Montpellier, Pallars, and possibly Foix.⁴¹ The dynasty of León was represented by Queen Berengaria, by Alfonso VII's sister, Sancha, his aunt, Elvira, and his first cousin, Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse. Also gracing the occasion were the archbishops of Toledo, Santiago de Compostela, ten other bishops of the realm, the bishops of Zaragoza, Tarazona, and Lescar, and the papal legate, Cardinal Guido. Bishop Martín of Orense was there and, on 18 August, Alfonso VII made yet another grant to the see of Orense.⁴² Conspicuous among those absent was, of course, his first cousin, Afonso Henriques of Portugal. Bishop Pelayo of Tuy was also absent, as were the Portuguese archbishop of Braga, and his suffragans of Coimbra and Oporto.

During the same year Vermudo Pérez of Trastámarra was at court in February, on 27 March, 29 May, and 31 May the Leonese king made an important grant to Vermudo and his brother, Count Fernando Pérez.⁴³ Royal diplomas reveal the continuing presence of Count Fernando and his brother through the latter part of the year and that they were joined there in the fall by Count Rodrigo Vélaz as well.⁴⁴ Interestingly, in early November even the rebel Count Rodrigo Pérez of Trastámarra was at the royal court in Nájera, indicating that negotiations over matters in the west may have been in train.⁴⁵ The other rebel count of the west, Goméz Nuñez, never appeared.

Relations between Alfonso VII and his first cousin, Afonso of Portugal, continued to worsen but the five charters of the latter for 1136 are unenlightening in this respect.⁴⁶ Diplomas of the Leonese king indicate that Count Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria, a chief prop of royal power in southern Galicia, was

⁴¹ For a short account of the imperial coronation and attendant matters, see Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 49–50.

⁴² 18 August 1135: *Colección diplomática de Galicia* 1:142–44.

⁴³ February 1135: Madrid, BN 13093, fols. 81r–82r. 27 March 1135: ed. Luis Miguel Villar García, *Documentación medieval de la catedral de Segovia (1115–1300)* (Salamanca, 1990), 60–61. 29 May 1135: ed. Pilar Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1976), 2:24–25. 31 May 1135: Archivo Catedral de Zamora, Tumbo Negro, fols. 19v–20r.

⁴⁴ 18 August 1135: *Colección diplomática de Galicia* 1:142–44. 26 November 1135: Madrid, AHN, Ord. Mil., Cajón 94, nos. 1 and 1 bis. 5 December 1135: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 556, no. 1, and Códices, 1002B, fols. 3r–4r and 32v–33r, Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, O-8, fols. 67r–68r; ed. Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses* 2:53–54. 30 December 1135: Madrid, BN 720, fols. 280r–281r; Acad. Hist., Colección Velasquez, vol. 4, Legajo 4, nos. 1399 and 1454.

⁴⁵ 5 November 1135: ed. Margarita Cantera Montenegro, *Colección documental de Santa María Real de Nájera, Tomo I (siglos X–XIV)* (San Sebastián, 1991), 64–65.

⁴⁶ DMP 1.1:174–87.

at court through the winter and spring and Count Rodrigo Pérez of Traba was there in June.⁴⁷

One can assume that the actions of Alfonso VII in 1136 would have widened the breach with Portugal. On 11 April a royal charter indicates that he had the men of Zamora do homage to his son Raimundo. This was the equivalent of naming the boy as his successor. Now Afonso of Portugal had continued to stress his own descent from Alfonso VI in the intitulations of his charters but the official recognition of the child, likely part of a procession through the realm with similar episodes elsewhere, was a rejection of whatever lingering hopes the Portuguese ruler may have had. Even though the boy did not live to manhood, the slight was significant.⁴⁸

Nonetheless, one may be able to detect some attempts at negotiation. The unruly Count Gómez Nuñez was at the Leonese court in mid-March.⁴⁹ On 31 May, Archbishops Paio of Braga and Gelmírez of Santiago cooperated in an amicable agreement.⁵⁰ These may be indications of a partial rapprochement, signaled by the attendance at a great council held at Burgos in the fall of 1136, presided over by Cardinal Guido and attended by Archbishop Paio of Braga, Bishop Bernard of Coimbra, Pelayo of Tuy, and Martín of Orense. One purpose of Alfonso VII in holding the council was to secure the removal of his over-mighty prelate, Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela. The king failed roundly in that effort but it was an attempt that could not fail to interest the Portuguese prince. In its aftermath, there was some adjustment of respective claims in the west. A new bishop, John Peculiar, was elected to

⁴⁷ 2 January 1136: ed. Francisco J. Hernández, *Los Cartularios de Toledo* (Madrid, 1985), 38 (partial publication). 3 January 1136: ed. Juan Loperráez Corvalón, *Descripción histórica del obispado de Osma*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1788), 3:15–16. 3 January 1136: ed. José Luis Martín Martín, Luis Miguel Villar García, Florencio Marcos Rodríguez, and Marciano Sánchez Rodríguez, *Documentos de los archivos catedralicio y diocesano de Salamanca (siglos XII–XIII)* (Salamanca, 1977), 91–92. 9 April 1136: ed. Villar García, *Documentación medieval de la catedral de Segovia*, 62–63. 12 April 1136: Madrid, Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, O-16, fol. 267r–v, ed. Martín Martín, Villar García, Marcos Rodríguez, and Sánchez Rodríguez, *Documentos*, 93–94. 24 April 1136: Archivo Municipal de Toledo, Cajón 10, Legajo 8, no. 3; ed. Alfonso García Gallo, “Los fueros de Toledo,” *Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Español* 45 (1975): 467–68. 13 June 1136: Madrid, AHN, Ord. Mil., Cajón 94, no. 1; BN 5790, fols. 127r–129r.

⁴⁸ The action was noted Alfonso VII’s 11 April 1136 confirmation of a 22 June 1102 charter of his parents to the cathedral of Salamanca; ed. Martín Martín, Villar García, Marcos Rodríguez, and Sánchez Rodríguez, *Documentos*, 83–85.

⁴⁹ 1136: ed. Fernández Flórez, *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún* 4:155–56. 15 March 1136: Archivo Catedral de Pamplona, Libro Redondo, fols. 62r–63r, and Usún, no. 16.

⁵⁰ Avelino de Jesus da Costa, *O Bispo D. Pedro e a Organização da diocese de Braga*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1959), 2:423–24.

Oporto and Portuguese predominance in that city was ceded, after almost a quarter century during which the see had been controlled by a protege of Gelmírez of Compostela. At the same time, a new bishop, Pelayo, was elected to the see of Mondoñedo and this Galician was subsequently consecrated by the archbishop of Braga.⁵¹

Perhaps the evident falling out between the Leonese monarch and his powerful prelate at Santiago de Compostela suggested to Afonso Henriques the possibility of a successful foray into Galicia. Accordingly, he concerted plans with King García Ramírez of Navarra for a joint attack on Alfonso VII in the spring of 1137.

For his part, Afonso Henriques invaded southern Galicia with the assistance of Count Rodrigo Pérez, Count Gómez Núñez, and probably the Asturian exile and rebel Count Gonzalo Peláez.⁵² With their help, Afonso routed loyal local forces led by Count Fernando Pérez and Count Rodrigo Vélaz at Cernes, overran the lower valley of the Miño, and once again captured Tuy.

When Alfonso VII, then at Palencia, learned of the assault, he made a forced march to Galicia and surprised Tuy at the end of June. The city capitulated without resistance and became the base for counter-operations in Portugal itself. The riposte of the Leonese king was so successful that Afonso Henriques was forced to sue for peace in the most abject terms. On 4 July, near Tuy, the "infans" did homage to Alfonso, became his "fidelis" in perpetuity, guaranteed the integrity of the Leonese territories, pledged to protect the latter against attack by any king, Christian or pagan, and to accept responsibility if any of his own nobles violated these terms. Afonso and 150 of his followers swore to these conditions and the document was confirmed by the Archbishop of Braga and the bishops of Oporto, Tuy, and Orense.⁵³

In triumph, Alfonso VII moved north to Santiago de Compostela where he remained until the end of the month. He was accompanied by the archbishop of Braga and the bishops of Tuy and Orense.⁵⁴ The king then traveled east to deal with the second of the allies, Navarra. With him traveled the faithful

⁵¹ For the machinations, see Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 55–56.

⁵² López Ferreiro, *Historia* 4:269 n. 2, identified the wife of Count Fernando Pérez, Sancha González, as the daughter of Gonzalo Peláez, which would have made the latter's partisanship embarrassing indeed. However, Barton, *Aristocracy*, 241 n. 3, demonstrates Sancha to have been the daughter rather of the Leonese Gonzalo Ansúrez.

⁵³ For the sources on the campaign, see *HC* 3.51 (ed. Falque Rey, 519–20), and *CAI* 1.74–77 (ed. Maya Sánchez, 184–87); for commentary and context, see Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 58–60; and for the text of the treaty, see Fernández Flórez, *Colección* 4:161.

⁵⁴ 17 July 1137: López Ferreiro, *Historia* 4, appendix, 28–30. 20 July 1137: ed. Juan Pérez Millán, *Privilegios reales y viejos documentos de Santiago de Compostela* (Madrid, 1965), no. 2. 20 July 1137: Madrid, Acad. Hist., *Colección Salazar*, O-8, fol. 66r–v; ed. Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses* 2:53. 29 July 1137: *Colección diplomática de Galicia* 1:433–35.

Count Rodrigo Vélaz.⁵⁵ He must have presumed that he left a secure frontier behind him in the west. Not only had the Portuguese prince sworn to the treaty but shortly afterward had to succour the critical fortress of Leiria south of Coimbra, under attack by the Almorávids. Nevertheless, by October 31 Afonso was again courting the always receptive bishop of Túy.⁵⁶

Notwithstanding, 1138 was a quiet year. The two known diplomas of Afonso Henriques show no spectacular developments.⁵⁷ In March, at León, Alfonso VII may have made a grant to the see of Santiago that was confirmed by all of his principal supporters in Galicia; Count Fernando Pérez de Traba and his brother Vermudo, by Count Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria, and by Fernando Yañez.⁵⁸ On July 22, Count Goméz Nuñez made a grant to the key monastery of Celanova that was confirmed by Bishop Martín of Orense and Bishop Pelayo of Túy.⁵⁹ What lay behind it is impossible to say.

By the end of the year the Leonese monarch was in Santiago de Compostela itself. There he made a series of grants to local institutions that were confirmed by his key supporters but also by Count Gómez and by Bishop Pelayo.⁶⁰ A fair supposition is that Alfonso was sufficiently powerful at this time to recommend to even his opponents that attendance on him was discreet.

The following year presents much the same picture. The seven surviving charters of Afonso Henriques offer no instance of a grant to Galician principals or churches.⁶¹ On 25 July, the feast day of St. James, he is supposed to have scored a great victory over the Muslims at Ourique but that mysterious event need not concern us here.⁶² A variety of Leonese royal diplomas of the

⁵⁵ 20 October 1137: ed. Martín Martín, Villar García, Marcos Rodríguez, and Sánchez Rodríguez, *Documentos*, 94–95. 29 October 1137: Madrid, BN 712, fol. 139r–v, 8863, fol. 29r, and 9194, fol. 111r. 21 November 1137: ed. Juan del Alamo, *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1950), 1:214–15.

⁵⁶ DMP 1.1:199–200.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 201–3.

⁵⁸ 7 March 1138: Archivo Catedral de Santiago de Compostela, copy of Tumbo A, fols. 118r–119r, Tumbo C, fols. 201v–202r. The charter is dated to 1135 but 1138 is necessary for those who confirm.

⁵⁹ Andrades Cernada, *O Tombo de Celanova* 2:749.

⁶⁰ December 11, 1138. Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 556, no. 3. 12 December 1138: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 526, nos. 8, 9, 12, 13; ed. Rassow, “Die Urkunden,” 79–80. 18 December 1138: Archivo Catedral de Túy, no. 4/2; ed. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, 22:261–62.

⁶¹ DMP 1.1:203–14.

⁶² See Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I*, 153–54; and Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 64–65.

year present the chief Galician supporters at court, as well as Counts Rodrigo Pérez and Gómez Núñez, although the latter less regularly.⁶³

However, another major struggle, on the order of 1137, was in preparation, although its outcome would be far different. Almost from the beginning of 1140, the seven known diplomas of Afonso Henrique show him entitled as “rex” rather than, as previously, “infante.”⁶⁴ His claim is now, explicitly, to rule the Portuguese as an independent monarch rather than as a scion of the house of León. That style is continued in all seven of his charters in 1141 and indeed henceforth.⁶⁵

Very possibly the change signified Afonso’s practical despair of personally acceding to the Leonese royal title, since his cousin now had yet other male heirs, the eight-year-old Sancho and the newly-born Fernando. On another front, Afonso’s ambitions to intervene along the line of the Miño were certainly encouraged by the death in the spring of 1140 of the venerable Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela and the resultant disarray of Alfonso VII’s party in Galicia over the very embittered question of his successor. A number of charters of the Leonese king show the presence at court in late spring and summer of his major secular supporters in Galicia.⁶⁶

While its exact timing is open to question, probably sometime in the early spring of 1141 the Portuguese attacked and may even have once again secured the possession of the stronghold of Túy. The Portuguese and the Leonese chronicles give somewhat different particulars.⁶⁷ It is clear, however, that Alfonso VII had the news by May of 1141 at Zamora when the Leonese re-

⁶³ 21 January 1139: ed. Manuel Mañueco Villalobos and José Zurita Nieto, *Documentos de la Iglesia Colegial de Santa María la Mayor de Valladolid*, 3 vols. (Valladolid, 1917–20), 1:185–89. 24 June 1139: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1794, no. 5. 25 July 1139: Archivo Catedral de Orense, Reales, no. 249; Madrid, AHN, Códices, 1008B, fol. 3r–v and fol. 77r–v. 15 November 1149: ed. Rassow, “Die Urkunden,” 84–85. 30 November 1139: ed. Villar García, *Documentación medieval de la catedral de Segovia*, 75–77.

⁶⁴ DMP 1.1:214–24.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 224–33.

⁶⁶ 14 May 1140: Madrid, BN 714, fol. 133v; Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, M-59, fol. 169r. 24 June 1140: Madrid, BN 714, fol. 139r–v; ed. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, *Libro de Privilegios de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y León (siglos XII–XV)* (Madrid, 1994), 193–95. 24 June 1140: ibid., 192–93. 26 June 1140: Archivo Catedral de Santiago de Compostela, Tumbo C, fols. 154v–155r, ed. *Colección diplomática de Galicia* 1:75–76. 4 July 1140: Américo Castro and Federico de Onís, eds. *Fueros leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes* (Madrid, 1916), 291–92. 12 August 1140: ed. López Ferreiro, *Historia* 4, appendix, 30–32. The last of these is not completely reliable.

⁶⁷ See CAI 1.82–87 (ed. Maya Sánchez, 188–90); and Blocker Walter, *Alfonso I.*, 154–55. The account of the campaign given here is based on the reconciliation of these two and the relevant charters of Alfonso VII, whose diplomatic allows us to follow his movements.

warded the fidelity of the all-important abbot of Celanova.⁶⁸ At the head of an impressive force, he invaded Portugal down the valley of the Rio Sistelo and established his camp at Arcos de Valdevez, just above Ponte de Barca, thus threatening to dominate the whole of the valley of the Lima.

His troops fanned out from there to ravage and to force the Portuguese to commit to battle. Instead, the latter managed to surprise and badly defeat a very sizeable portion of the Leonese army, probably returning from a raid, capturing most of the Galician partisans of Alfonso's cause. Afonso Henriques then went on to invest the very camp of his cousin. In the direst of straits, Alfonso VII invoked the good offices of the archbishop of Braga and a peace was arranged. The interest of the Portuguese in a settlement was doubtless due to the fact that the Muslims had meanwhile taken the castle of Leiria, essential to the defences of Coimbra, and their leader had to rush south to repair the damage. By 24 September, Alfonso VII was in Santiago de Compostela far to the north.⁶⁹

The terms struck included the return of prisoners, and the mutual surrender of castles held in the other's territories. Afonso Henriques gave up his Galician allies. Subsequently, the Leonese monarch exiled the fractious Count Gómez Nuñez to Cluny, where he became a monk. The other perennial rebel, Count Rodrigo Pérez of Traba, the king seems to have attached more or less permanently to his own court.⁷⁰ Rodrigo confirmed a scattering of royal charters in the years between 1145 and 1147 but was not fully reconciled with Alfonso until 1152. Consequently the Leonese position in the south of Galicia was materially strengthened. A document of Celanova of 16 October 1141 cites Fernando Pérez as count in Limia and one Nuño Velasquéz as his vicar. The latter is probably Fernando's nephew.⁷¹

Nonetheless, the Leonese monarch's hope to enforce Portuguese recognition of his hegemony had been dealt a fatal blow. A new *modus vivendi* must now be found. Its direction was indicated by the near collapse of the Almorávid power in Iberia and Morocco. The Leonese monarch had already consolidated his position in and around Toledo with the capture of the Muslim castle at Oreja in 1139 and had led great sweeps, *razzias*, through Andalucía. He was perhaps preparing the reconquest of Coria, effected in 1142. Afonso

⁶⁸ 5 May 1141: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1430, no. 19, and Carpeta 1431, no. 11; ed. Rassow, "Die Urkunden," 85–86.

⁶⁹ September, 1141: López Ferreiro, *Historia* 4:228 n. 1. 24 September 1141: Archivo Universitario, Santiago de Compostela, Documentos, no. 1.

⁷⁰ CAI 1.87 (ed. Maya Sánchez, 189–90).

⁷¹ Torres-Sevilla Quiñones de León, *Linajes*, 324, follows López Sangil, *La familia*, 338, in making one Velasco Pérez, a brother of Fernando, count in Limia. This Nuño Velasquéz may have been the former's son.

Henriques too had good reason to be concerned about his southern border. Disputes between the two cousins now gave place to coordinated actions against the Muslims, resulting in great successes as early as 1147. That such a mutual reorientation was deliberate finds confirmation in the documents.

The eight known charters of the Portuguese monarch for 1142 not only fail to indicate any activity in Galicia but display some increased attention to the military stance of the southern border.⁷² On the other hand, on 23 March 1142, at Zamora, that king's sister, Sancha Henriques, granted dynastic properties just south of the city of León to the Leonese king's favorite, Albertino and his wife.⁷³ We may assume that Sancha was the agent of wider negotiations.

Alfonso VII himself carried out the successful conquest of Coria between May and June. His diplomas indicate the presence in his court of his chief supporters in Galicia and, in August, he made a major grant to the city and church of Túy.⁷⁴ Further consolidation of his power in the region may be indicated by a private donation made by his favorite, Pons de Cabrera. In it Pons appears as the husband of María Fernández, daughter of the Trastámaro count, Fernando Pérez. Together they made a grant to the important south Galician monastery of Tojos Outos on 26 March 1142.⁷⁵ Pons had perhaps already been invested with the strategic honors of Zamora and Sanabria on the borders of Galicia and Portugal and was to be raised to the countship that same fall.⁷⁶

The year 1143 saw the consummation of a great deal of continuing diplomacy and issued in the acceptance of a new realationship between Portugal and León-Castilla, formalized following the Council of Valladolid in the fall of that year. There Cardinal-legate Guido had proclaimed the canons of the Second Lateran Council in the presence of the two archbishops and sixteen bishops of León-Castilla, the bishop of Pamplona, and of the archbishop of Braga and the bishop of Coimbra. All outstanding disputes in the peninsula

⁷² DMP 1.1:233–44.

⁷³ José María Fernández Catón, ed., *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León, 1109–1187*, vol. 5 (León, 1990), 207–8.

⁷⁴ 6 June 1142: Archivo Catedral de Zamora, Tumbo Negro, fols. 12v–13r. 29 July 1142: ed. Alexandre Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876–1903), 5:425–26. August 1142: *ibid.*, 426–27. August 1142: Archivo Catedral de Túy, nos. 1/5, 1/6, 4/3, and Primero Libro Becerro, fol. 145r–v; Madrid, Acad. Hist., Catedrales de España, Túy, 9-25-1-C-3, fols. 6r–8v; Archivo General de Simancas, Gracia y Justicia, Legajo 1672 (varios), Túy, no. 2.

⁷⁵ Madrid, AHN, Códices, 1002B, fols. 16v–17r.

⁷⁶ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 166 and 174–75.

were resolved by papal authority and the way was cleared for the campaign against the Muslim south, already scheduled for mid-September of 1144.

The presence of the two Portuguese prelates was doubtless to set the agenda for a meeting of their own sovereign and Alfonso VII in Zamora. There, in early October, the latter formally recognized the royal dignity of Afonso Henriques.⁷⁷ The Leonese monarch also seems to have invested the latter, as his vassal, with the town of Astorga.⁷⁸ Perhaps as a sop to the Trastámar family in advance of his rapprochement with his Portuguese cousin, Alfonso VII may at this time have formally invested Count Fernando Pérez with the guardianship of his son, the future Fernando II. At least a document of Celanova, dated 16 July 1143, cites the count not only as tenant of Limia but also of the important castle of Allariz and, more important still, as guardian of the young heir.⁷⁹ It is the first document we know that does cite him in either of the latter two capacities.

Moreover, there was to be a most important epilogue to these events. In the last of the six known diplomas of Afonso Henriques (now Afonso I of Portugal) for that year, on 13 December, that king declared himself a "miles beati Petri," pledged an annual tribute to the Holy See of four ounces of gold yearly, and swore never to accept any authority in his possessions, "secular or ecclesiastical" except the papal. This last was a very neat stroke. By it, Afonso limited the scope of his vassalage to his Leonese cousin to the territory of Astorga, not Portugal, and circumscribed the legal and moral force of his obedience of 1137. In addition, he also assumed the Portuguese church to be independent of the whatever authority the archbishop of Toledo might claim as primate in the peninsula.⁸⁰ Certainly this initiative was made in concert with Cardinal-legate Guido. Whether or not Alfonso VII was aware of it is not clear but it is most doubtful that he would have approved such a demarche.

⁷⁷ See *ibid.*, 79–81, for a general discussion of the council and its sources. 20 September 1143: Madrid, BN 13073, fols. 208r–209v, ed. Toribio Mingüella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1910), 374–75. 23 September 1143: Madrid, AHN, Ord. Mil., Carpeta 577, no. 1. 4 October 1143: Madrid, BN 712, fol. 363r–v; Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, O-16, fol. 446r–v, and Appendices, Legajo C, Carpeta 2, no. 5; Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General de Sellos, Legajo 1491, Abril, fol. 1r–v, ed. Joseph Sáenz de Aguirre, *Collectio Maxima Conciliorum Hispaniae*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1755), 54–55. 5 October 1143: Madrid, BN 3147, fols. 420v–421r, ed. Isabel Alfonso Antón, *La colonización cisterciense en la meseta del Duero* (Zamora, 1986), 294–95. While the Portuguese king does not confirm them he is cited as king of Portugal in the last two documents.

⁷⁸ 20 July 1143: Archivo Diocesano de Astorga, Carpeta 1, no. 5, cites the Portuguese king as castellan there.

⁷⁹ Andrade Cernada, *O Tombo de Celanova* 1:168–69.

⁸⁰ DMP 1.1:245–51.

Afonso I's five known charters of 1144 make no mention of the new relationship with the Roman pontiff.⁸¹ Equally interesting, when Pope Lucius wrote in that spring to the Portuguese king he made no reference to either his royal title or the independence of his lands or church.⁸² On the other hand, when he wrote to Archbishop Ramón of Toledo on 13 May, Pope Lucius expressly reaffirmed that prelate's primatial dignity in the peninsula and the canonical obedience and due reverence owed it.⁸³ The contest of wills between the two cousins might have moved off the battlefield, in deference to their mutual need for greater coordination against the failing Muslims of the south, but it continued in the diplomatic and the ecclesiastical arena.

In Galicia itself, Alfonso VII may have taken steps to see that there were no unfortunate initiatives. From this time forward it appears that Count Fernando Pérez was almost continuously with the court and seldom, therefore, in Galicia.⁸⁴ Perhaps in connection with this realignment, the most sensitive tenancy of Ginzo de Limia on the Portuguese border was transferred to one Arias Pérez by 4 March 1146.⁸⁵ This, in all probability, was the minor, south Galician noble Arias Pérez de Deza who figures so often in the *Historia Compostellana*. He married the daughter, Ildaria, of Count Pedro Froilaz around 1122 or 1123 when the contest between the latter and Queen Urraca was reaching its climax.⁸⁶ The count doubtless was then seeking support in the south. Arias remained, nonetheless, a sort of outrider of the Trastámaras. Thus the family was not being deprived outright of an important tenancy in the south but its influence there was nevertheless diluted by his appointment.

Count Rodrigo Vélaz of Sarria had died in late 1143 or early 1144.⁸⁷ His son Alvaro Rodríguez, strikingly, did not achieve comital rank until very late in the reign. That may be coincidental or it may be due to the fact that he had married Sancha Fernández, daughter of Count Fernando Pérez and of Queen Teresa of Portugal.⁸⁸ Through his wife Alvaro had a claim to the budding kingdom of Portugal and that may have been most inconvenient in the new circumstances. Finally, that other early bulwark of Leonese power in the west against Portugal, Fernando Yáñez, from this time on was almost always at

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 252–57.

⁸² Erdmann, *Das Papsttum*, 32–33.

⁸³ Madrid, AHN, Códices, 987B, fols. 109v–110r, but dated erroneously to 10 May 1147.

⁸⁴ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 166.

⁸⁵ Andrades Cernada, *O Tombo de Celanova* 1:424–25.

⁸⁶ Barton, *Aristocracy*, 50–51, puts the marriage toward 1121 or 1122.

⁸⁷ Eduardo Pardo de Guevara y Valdés, *Los señores de Galicia: Tenentes y condes de Leemos en la Edad Media*, 2 vols. (La Coruña, 2000), 65, puts it before 22 June 1144.

⁸⁸ López Sangil, "La familia," 346.

court and was rewarded with the tenancies of Talavera de la Reina, Maqueda, and Montoro, all of them on the southern frontier, far from Galicia.⁸⁹

The new recognition of Afonso of Portugal as "king" and his reconciliation in large measure with Alfonso VII should not be thought to have ended the interest of the Trastámar family in the lands south of the Miño. It did change the character of their pursuit as the bower of Venus was substituted for the field of Mars. About this time Ildaria Pérez, daughter of Count Pedro Froilaz, whom we have seen above married to the Galician noble, Pedro Díaz, may now have been united in a second marriage with the important Portuguese magnate, Afonso o Moço.⁹⁰ Similarly her cousin, Sancha Vermúdez, daughter of Vermudo Pérez and granddaughter of Teresa of Portugal, about this time may have wed the Portuguese magnate Soeiro Egas, brother of Afonso o Moço.⁹¹ While such marriages had clear political implications, in the twelfth century it is important to recall that kingdoms such as Portugal and León were as much congreges of private, noble holdings as they were regal lordships. As a result, such nuptials were often hard to prevent even though they were sometime an effective road to political and economic influence.

The Leonese monarch continued, on 21 August 1145, to reward his faithful bishop of Orense, this time with a considerable stake in the strategic castle at Allariz.⁹² 31 January of that year had seen his sturdy ally, the Trastámaran Vermudo Pérez, patronizing the Galician monastery of San Martín de Jubia.⁹³ On 8 September, his daughter, and granddaughter of Queen Teresa of Portugal, Urraca Vermúdez, did the same for the monastery of Sobrado in a charter that was confirmed by Count Fernando Pérez, other members of the family in addition to Vermudo himself, and the abbots of the monasteries of Antealtares and Cines.⁹⁴

On the broader stage, Pope Eugenius III responded, on 9 May 1145, to a request of Alfonso VII by threatening Archbishop John Peculiar of Braga with suspension unless he made his obedience to the primate of Toledo by the following Passion Sunday.⁹⁵ Perhaps because of this shadow on his authority, the

⁸⁹ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 188–89.

⁹⁰ José Mattoso, *A nobreza medieval Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1980), 194–96. The date of the marriage cannot be established exactly but the disappearance of Arias Díaz from the scene after 1139 and the general thawing of relations about 1144 suggests such a date.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁹² Castro y Sueiro, "Documentos del Archivo catedral de Orense" 1:33–34.

⁹³ Madrid, AHN, Códices, 1047B, fol. 4r–v, ed. Santiago Montero Díaz, "La colección diplomática de San Martín de Jubia," *Boletín de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela* 7 (1935): 84–85. A critical edition of the monastery's documents is needed.

⁹⁴ Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 526, no. 13.

⁹⁵ Erdmann, *Das Papsttum*, 34.

Bragan does not confirm any of the five known charters of Afonso I in 1145.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the Portuguese king continued to heighten the military readiness of his realm for forthcoming battle with the Muslims. On June 10 Fernão Melendes made over a castle to the Templars and Archbishop John confirmed the charter, in June Afonso Peres made a grant to the Templars in a charter that Afonso I confirmed, and in August John himself made a grant to the Templars.⁹⁷

The Portuguese monarch also undertook other measures to enhance his new dignity. How long this initiative had been in preparation we do not know but, some time before 23 May 1146, he had married Matilda, daughter of Count Amadeo III of Savoy.⁹⁸ By 5 March 1147, the new queen had presented him with his first son, Henrique.⁹⁹ Both events acted to heighten the disjunction of the new dynasty of Portugal and the parent one of León-Castilla. Most of Alfonso's diplomas for that year are confirmed by Archbishop John of Braga, signaling perhaps that an appeal had been made to Rome against the earlier judgment of Eugenius III.

All of these actions pale before the great successes of 1147. By year's end Alfonso VII held all of upper Andalucía, excepting Granada and Jaén. Afonso I, in his turn, had taken Santarém in March and, after a long summer siege in concert with a crusading fleet of Germans, Fleming, and English bound for the Holy Land and the Second Crusade, Lisbon itself was taken in October. The participation of the crusaders in the capture of Lisbon has long been regarded as little more than a fortuitous, temporary diversion of that expedition. The most recent, extended study of its circumstances establishes fairly firmly that it resulted, in part at least, from the direct appeal of Afonso I to Bernard of Clairvaux in late 1146 for assistance in that project.¹⁰⁰ Given the well-documented activity of Alfonso VII at just the same time to rally the forces of Christian Iberia and to secure wider European assistance for a general crusading campaign there, it seems likely that the Leonese and the Portuguese appeals were mutually encouraged if not coordinated.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ *DMP* 1.1:257–60.

⁹⁷ Marquis D'Albon, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple*, 228–29, 230–31, and 232–33.

⁹⁸ The "Chronica Gothorum" places the marriage in 1145; see Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I.*, 156–57. In the seven known royal diplomas of 1146, the new queen first appears in the intitulation of that of May 23. See *DMP* 1.1:262–70.

⁹⁹ "De Expugnatione Scalabis," *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Scriptores* 1 (Lisbon, 1856), 94.

¹⁰⁰ Jonathan Phillips, "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 485–97.

¹⁰¹ See Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 90–96, although obviously some of what I then wrote needs now to be modified in light of Phillips's findings.

While the Leonese conquest of upper Andalucía would prove ultimately to be unsustainable, the new kingdom of Portugal had permanently reclaimed the lands south of Coimbra down to the line of the Tajo. The prestige and the independence of the new monarchy was thus further enhanced. The six diplomas of Afonso for that year partially record these deeds and also illustrate the further strengthening of the bond between the crown and the Templars in April and a perhaps new association with the Hospitallers in March.¹⁰²

Alfonso VII, while campaigning, still attended to the consolidation of his hold on the far western land of Galicia. Between June and December he made grants to the cathedrals of Santiago de Compostela and of Orense as well as to the monasteries of Antealtares, Caabeiro, and Sar.¹⁰³ In most of these the Trastámar family, in the persons of Count Fernando Pérez and his brother, Vermudo, confirmed. On 24 April, Vermudo Pérez himself again patronized the monastery of Sobrado.¹⁰⁴

On the ecclesiastical front, Archbishop John of Braga held a what amounted to a national council sometime in 1148. To it resorted the bishops of Coimbra, Lamego, Porto, and Viseu, while the new English, Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon sent a representative. Gilbert had been consecrated by John. This event may be reflected in one of the four diplomas of Afonso I of that year but there are difficulties with it.¹⁰⁵ At all odds, in such meetings a totally new archiepiscopal province was taking shape whose boundaries would coincide with that of the new kingdom. While the papacy would yield to that logic of events elsewhere in the peninsula, the bull of Eugenius III to Archbishop John of Braga of 8 September 1148 still lists the ancient suffragans of the latter's province as including Astorga, Tuy, Orense, Lugo, and Mondoñedo, all of which had been irreparably lost to León-Castilla and its archbishopric of San-

¹⁰² DMP 1.1:270–75 and Jean Delaville le Roux, ed., *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1110–1310*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894–1900), 1:109–10.

¹⁰³ 8 June 1147: Archivo Diocesano de Compostela, Carpeta 5. 9 June 1157: Archivo Catedral de Orense, Reales, no. 21; *Colección diplomática de Galicia* 1:145–47. 11 July 1147: ed. Jesús Carro García, "El privilegio de Alfonso VII al monasterio de Antealtares," *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 7 (1952): 153–55. 17 July 1147: Madrid, AHN, Códices, 1439B, fol. 7r–v. 25 December 1147: Archivo Diocesano de Compostela, Fondo San Martín, Serie Priorato de Sar, Carpeta 14, no. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* 1:378–79.

¹⁰⁵ Erdmann, *Das Papsttum*, 34–35; DMP 1.1:276–80. That of August (ibid., 278–79) is dated to 1140 which is impossible in terms of those who confirm. Azevado dates it between August 1148 and August 1154. However, Bishop John of Coimbra who confirms could have done so only in 1148 or 1149. Additionally, Bishop Pelayo of Tuy is given as Bishop Pedro in his confirmation.

tiago de Compostela by this date.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the same pope had written to Alfonso VII on 27 April to advise him that Archbishop John had once more been admonished to make his obedience to the primate of Toledo or face suspension.¹⁰⁷

After the halcyon days of 1147 and the triumphs over the Muslims that they had brought, there was a perhaps inevitable diminution in activity while consolidation of the lands won was undertaken. Alfonso VII did make an attempt on Jaén in 1148 of indeterminate seriousness and duration.¹⁰⁸ The mutual accommodation reached in 1144 had demonstrated its worth and it was not seriously disturbed, even if it was not further complemented. For 1149 the four charters of Afonso I are irrelevant here.¹⁰⁹ In León-Castilla his cousin went on mending fences in Galicia. There, in January, Alfonso confirmed an agreement between those key prelates, the bishop of Orense and the abbot of Celanova. In March he was looking after the welfare of the church of Santiago de Compostela. In April the region of Tuy was among his concerns. In September his sister, Sancha, made a grant to the church of Santiago.¹¹⁰

To the extent that the old quarrels perdured, they were ecclesiastical in nature. On 29 December, Pope Eugenius III wrote to the archbishop of Braga demanding that he make his proper obedience to the archbishop of Toledo as primate in the peninsula, before Palm Sunday of 1150, once again under pain of being suspended from office. The same day the pope wrote of his action to Alfonso VII.¹¹¹ This time the bull would have effect.

By the year 1150 the pressure on both kings was increasing. The rapid extension and consolidation of Almohad power in Andalucía was closing off opportunities that the collapse of their Almorávid predecessors had presented. New initiatives were required if the expansion of the Christian realms southward was to be continued. To that end, some further concert of their activities was in order. In April Alfonso VII led a great army to the attack at Córdoba.

¹⁰⁶ Carl Erdmann, ed., *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, n.s., 20.3 (Berlin, 1927), 211–13.

¹⁰⁷ Demetrio Mansilla, ed., *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)* (Rome, 1955), 94–96.

¹⁰⁸ Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 103–4. What I ventured there has now been supplemented somewhat by Simon Barton, “A Forgotten Crusade: Alfonso VII of León-Castile and the Campaign for Jaén (1148),” *Historical Research*, 73 (2000): 312–20.

¹⁰⁹ DMP 1.1:281–84.

¹¹⁰ 6 January 1149: ed. Miguel Serrano y Sanz, “Documentos del monasterio de Celanova, 975–1164,” *Revista de ciencias jurídicas y sociales* 12 (1929): 45–46. 8 March 1149: ed. López Ferreiro, *Historia* 4, appendix, 49–50. 23 April 1149: ed. Rassow, “Die Urkunden,” 103–5. 23 April 1149: Archivo Catedral de Tuy, no. 3/24, and *Primero Libro Becerro*, fols. 37v–38r. 15 September 1149: ed. Luisa García Calles, *Doña Sancha* (León, 1972), 153–54.

¹¹¹ Erdmann, *Das Papsttum*, 108.

His attempt to subdue central Andalucía was underway. Shortly after he left Toledo, however, on 16 May, Archbishop John of Braga arrived there to make his obedience to the primate of Toledo. He was received by Archbishop Raymond of Toledo, by Alfonso's second son, Fernando, and by Count Fernando Pérez, the Trastámaro guardian of the latter. The note that informs us of this event also tells us that the embassy was intended to "repair" the peace between the two kings.¹¹²

Alfonso VII's attacks on both Córdoba and Jaén that summer failed, underlining the need for cooperation between the Christian powers. But there is little further information for 1150. Afonso of Portugal's two known diplomas for the year tell us nothing relevant.¹¹³ Alfonso VII can be observed in May patronizing the Galician priorate at Sar.¹¹⁴

Despite his other preoccupations, the king's attention to Galicia was striking in 1151. On 14 March, he saw to the restoration of the monastery of Barrantes. On 12 May, he donated a village to that of Osera on the same day that he gave it immunity from tolls. On 14 May, he made a grant to the monastery of San Miguel de Canales. On 5 December, he made a grant of immunity to the monastery of Armenteira. Finally, on 26 December, he made a grant to Sobrado.¹¹⁵ Such grants were made at court and Count Fernando Pérez and Fernando Yáñez, though far from home in those days, usually confirmed them. Nevertheless, it appears that the king was anxious to keep up good relations with Portugal. On 6 June 1151, Pope Eugenius wrote to the archbishop of Toledo expressing his pleasure at being notified of the recognition of the latter's primateship by Archbishop John of Braga.¹¹⁶ But the Leonese monarch spent most of the summer in Andalucía intent on consolidating his gains about Córdoba and Jaén though the fall of those two cities themselves was not to be.

Afonso of Portugal may himself have attempted a strike against Alcácer do Sal, as probably had been agreed at Toledo the year before. That strongpoint

¹¹² Hernández, *Cartularios*, 74.

¹¹³ DMP 1.1:285–87.

¹¹⁴ May 1150: Archivo Universitario de Santiago de Compostela, Clero, Fondo Bando Cicerón, no. 125.

¹¹⁵ 14 March 1151: Archivo Catedral de Tuy, no. 3/76, and Libro Becerro Primero, fols. 28v–29r, ed. Flórez, *España Sagrada* 22:270–72. 12 May 1151: Madrid, AHN, Códices, 15B, fol. 80v and 1008B, fols. 4v–5r. 12 May 1151: Archivo Catedral de Orense, Reales, no. 255; Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1509, no. 16. 14 May 1151: Archivo Catedral de Tuy, no. 3/2; ed. Ermelindo Portela Silva, *La colonización cisterciense en Galicia, 1142–1250* (Santiago de Compostela, 1981), 186, but misdated to 1131. 5 December 1151: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1749, no. 3. 26 December 1151: ed. Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* 2:79–80.

¹¹⁶ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, 104–5.

was the logical first objective in the Muslim territories south of the Tajo and was to be repeatedly attacked without success until 1158. Negotiation with local Muslim leaders at Silves also proved unable to prevent Almohad expansion into that region. Two Portuguese royal charters of the year reflect none of this.¹¹⁷ Instead, other sources tell us of the despatch of Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon to solicit aid in England in 1151 and Alfonso VII sent a similar embassy to France.¹¹⁸

The events of 1152 in good measure mirrored those of the preceding year. The Leonese king again attempted the reduction of Jaén unsuccessfully. His benefactions to Galician monasteries are also noteworthy. On 20 May, a grant to the monastery of San Julian de Moraime, on 18 September to the monastery of Sobrado, and on 26 December, he made still another to Sobrado. In them all the Trastámar Count Fernando Pérez figured, his brother Vermudo confirmed the last, and Alfonso's supporter, Fernando Yáñez confirmed the first two.¹¹⁹

Alfonso VII continued, as well, to be careful of the feelings of his Portuguese cousin. Having secured the election of Abbot Juan of Samos as new bishop of Lugo, Alfonso both advised John of Braga and requested his consecration of Juan.¹²⁰ For years the see of Lugo had been firmly within the Leonese orbit but, technically, it still lay within the ecclesiastical province of Braga and the Leonese monarch observed the niceties in the interest of securing Portuguese cooperation in secular matters.

Afonso I may have again in 1152 made an attempt on Alcácer do Sal but it is difficult to be sure. If so it came to nothing and there is no evidence for it in his five known diplomas of the year.¹²¹ The same is true of the four known diplomas of 1153.¹²² At the same time, the polite skirmishing over matters ecclesiastical continued. On 13 June, Pope Eugenius III wrote to Archbishop John of Braga defining the suffragan sees of his province. The pope of course listed Porto, Viseu, Lamego, Idanha, and Coimbra. These were the sees of the emergent kingdom of Portugal. But he also listed the ancient sees in Galicia,

¹¹⁷ DMP 1.1:287–89.

¹¹⁸ See Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 110–11 and 114–15.

¹¹⁹ 20 May 1152: Archivo Biblioteca Seminario de Compostela, Fondo San Martín; *colección diplomática de Galicia* 1:80–81. 18 September 1152: Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* 2:71–72, 77–78, and 264–65. 26 December 1152: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 527, nos. 1 and 2; ed. Rassow, “Die Urkunden,” 114–15.

¹²⁰ Manuel Lucas Alvarez, ed., *El tumbo de San Julián de Samos, siglos VIII–XII* (Santiago de Compostela, 1986), 476–77.

¹²¹ DMP 1.1:290–95.

¹²² Ibid., 296–300.

once subject to Braga, now firmly in the unyielding grasp of the king of León-Castilla, i.e., Tuy, Orense, Lugo, and Mondoñedo. For good measure, the pope added the see of Astorga in León and the see of Zamora, which had been carved out of the territories of Astorga in 1120. Alfonso VII was no more likely to admit the authority of Portugal over Zamora and Astorga than he was over Galicia. Surely the action of Eugenius resulted, as such things always did, from the petition of Braga and Afonso I and reveal the ambitions of both. Rome made no mention of the recently restored see of Lisbon.¹²³

In 1153 and 1154 the king of León-Castilla made no incursions into Andalucía. Instead he was busy on the diplomatic front, attempting to draw other Christian powers into the struggle there. To that end, one thinks, he sent his daughter, Constanza, to be wedded to Louis VII of France. He continued to value the potential help of his Portuguese cousin, of course. At the same time he looked to the security of Galicia. On 27 October 1153, the Leonese made yet another grant to the church of Lugo.¹²⁴ Alfonso may have taken a long step dynamically that bound that far province still more closely to the remainder of the realm. In any event, some private documents begin to cite his second son, Fernando, as reigning there.¹²⁵ The move may have purely honorary at this point, designed further to placate the Trastámaras, for the head of the lineage was guardian of that royal scion. Count Fernando and his brother, Vermudo, made grants on 18 March and 1 May of that year to the monastery of Sobrado, practically a family establishment.¹²⁶

The charters of Afonso I for 1154 indicate the development of the royal fisc and the structures of its exploitation but have no direct bearing on his relationship with his Leonese cousin.¹²⁷ More to the latter point, on 11 November of that year his successor, the future Sancho I, was born.¹²⁸

In ecclesiastical matters, Archbishop Juan had succeeded the late Archbishop Raymond at Toledo and the new pope, Anastasius IV, was soon busy, on 8 April, requiring the archbishoprics of Iberia; Tarragona, Compostela, and Braga, to make their obediences to him as primate.¹²⁹ In particular, the pope pursued Archbishop John of Braga reminding him again on 19 September, and making the enforcement of this act a particular duty of his new legate to

¹²³ Erdmann, *Papsturkunden*, 215–18, calls it an original.

¹²⁴ 27 October 1153: Archivo Catedral de Lugo, Tumbo Viejo, fols. 17v–18r, and Tumbo Nuevo, fol. 172r, ed. Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros*, 431–32.

¹²⁵ See Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 119, for the fuller context.

¹²⁶ Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* 2:32–34 and 40.

¹²⁷ DMP 1.1:300–308.

¹²⁸ Blöcker-Walter, *Alfons I.*, 158.

¹²⁹ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, 113–14.

the peninsula, Cardinal Hyacinth. On 15 November, that cardinal was at Túy, dealing with the affairs of the churches of both Galicia and Portugal.¹³⁰

The pope, however, had also written to Archbishop Pelayo of Santiago de Compostela on 8 April, confirming to that prelate, as the canonical successor of the ancient metropolitan of Mérida, not only the suffragans of Salamanca, Avila, and Coria but also the see of Lisbon which had been suffragan of Mérida in antiquity.¹³¹ Doubtless, Pope Anastasius did so at the instance of Archbishop Pelayo but such a disposition of the see of newly reconquered Lisbon was completely unacceptable in Portugal.

Meanwhile, Alfonso VII was busy as always reinforcing his position in Galicia. On 3 January, he endorsed the settlement of boundary disputes between the bishops of Oviedo, Lugo, and Orense. On 28 April, and again on 24 December, he made grants to the Trastámaran monastery of Sobrado.¹³² He made a grant to the monastery of Meira on 6 July 1154.¹³³ On 18 March, Count Fernando Pérez had also made a grant to his favorite monastery.¹³⁴ By 2 December of that year the latter bolstered his influence south of Compostela by a grant to the monastery of Tojos Outos.¹³⁵

In 1155 Alfonso VII once again readied to launch a major assault on Muslim Andalucía. His preparations included a new appeal to the papacy to support such a drive and that request was approved. In January, at Valladolid, a major council of the realm was graced with the attendance of Cardinal-legate Hyacinth, now returned from Galicia. The *Acta* of the council proclaimed a crusade in Iberia and the legate indited a circular letter to all of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, Templars, and Hospitallers of the peninsula calling on them to take the cross.

¹³⁰ Fidel Fita, "Primera legación del cardenal Jacinto en España: Bulas inéditas de Anastasio IV. Nuevas luces sobre el concilio nacional de Valladolid (1155) y otros datos inéditos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 14 (1889): 548–49. Erdmann, *Papsturkunden*, 222–25.

¹³¹ Fita, "Primera legación," 538–42.

¹³² 3 January 1154: Archivo Catedral de Lugo, Tumbo Viejo, fols. 18r and 57r–v, and Tumbo Nuevo, fols. 172v–173r; Madrid, BN 13074, fols. 134r–36r; Acad. Hist., Catedrales de España, Lugo, 9-25-1-C-1, fols. 64r–65v; ed. Santos García Larragueta, *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* (Oviedo, 1962), 409–11. 28 April 1154: ed. Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* 2:36–37. 24 December 1154: *ibid.*, 105.

¹³³ 6 July 1154: Madrid, Acad. Hist., Colección Salazar, O-8, fol. 64v; ed. Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses*, 1:456.

¹³⁴ Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 527, nos. 9–10.

¹³⁵ Vicente Salvador Martínez and B. Salvado, eds. "Tumbo de Toxosoutos: siglos XII y XIII," *Compostellanum* 36 (1991): 187–88.

The council was attended by the bishop of Pamplona, representing Navarra, but none of the bishops of Aragón-Barcelona. Nor would the latter realm respond to the crusading appeal. From Portugal, the bishops of Porto, Coimbra, Viseu, and Lamego are cited in the acts and Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon appeared later. Certainly the aid of Portugal in the coming campaign was in the mind of Alfonso VII but at the council a violent quarrel broke out over a variety of ecclesiastical questions.¹³⁶ Finally, the legate suspended Archbishop John for refusing even to appear there.¹³⁷ Negotiations continued but in vain. By 10 June 1155, matters had gotten so out of hand that Pope Hadrian IV wrote to the archbishop of Toledo that he intended to interdict the whole of the Portuguese realm if Afonso I did not restore Bishop John of Coimbra to his office.¹³⁸ One suspects that the latter, who had attended the council, had apparently failed in some particular of his behavior there. Portuguese royal diplomas for the year are no help in deciphering this situation.¹³⁹

The lack of assistance either from Aragón-Barcelona or from Portugal effectively limited the successes of the Leonese monarch that summer. He did consolidate his hold on the middle Guadalquivir and the middle Guadiana basins but that proved insufficient in the long run.

At the same time, he continued his careful attention to affairs in the northwest. No fewer than eight royal grants of that year went to the province of Galicia.¹⁴⁰ Private documents show the Trastámaras, Fernando and Vermudo Pérez busy enhancing their influence in the province as well.¹⁴¹ Their other brother and former rebel, Rodrigo Pérez, finally appears to have been rehabilitated in royal eyes and was active at court by the end of this year.¹⁴² The same year also, saw the first concrete evidence that Alfonso's son, Fernando, had begun to take an active part in affairs in Galicia. Such authority of the

¹³⁶ Erdmann, *Papsturkunden*, 55–63.

¹³⁷ Mansilla, *La documentación pontificia*, 114–15

¹³⁸ Erdmann, *Das Papsttum*, 40.

¹³⁹ DMP 1.1:309–17.

¹⁴⁰ 20 January 1155: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1749, no. 4. 4 February 1155: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1431, no. 1; ed. Rassow, "Die Urkunden," 130–32. 4 February 1155: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1506, nos. 1 and 15; ed. Arturo Vázquez Nuñez, "Documentos Históricos," *Boletín de la Comision Monumental de Orense* 2 (1903): 169–71. 7 February 1155: ed. López Ferreiro, *Historia* 4, appendix, 68–69. 15 September 1155: *ibid.*, 70–71. 28 October 1155: Madrid, BN 13093, fol. 157r–v. 28 December 1155: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1240, no. 10, and Códices, 323B, fol. 196r–v; ed. Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses* 1:436. 31 December 1155: ed. Enrique Fernández Villamil, *Privilegios reales de Museo de Pontevedra* (Pontevedra, 1942), 82–83 (misdated to 1124).

¹⁴¹ 20 March 1155: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 527, no. 11. 1 July 1155: ed. Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, *Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes* 2:449–50, 451–52, and 467–68.

¹⁴² Reilly, *Alfonso VII*, 166

future Fernando II was strengthened when at Christmas Alfonso VII had him formally armed and so inducted into adulthood and made full participant in dynastic affairs.¹⁴³

That action, portentous as it was, proved to be the last initiative of Alfonso VII directly concerned with the Portuguese relationship. After initiating a new campaign into Andalucía in 1156 he fell ill and was incapacitated for the remainder of the year. In 1157 he had to respond to a major Almohad assault on Almería and in its course he again fell ill and this time, on 21 August 1157, he died.

The diplomas of the Leonese king for 1156 and 1157 display his continuing attention to the sensitive province of Galicia. In late 1156 he made grants to the bishoprics of Mondoñedo and Tuy. In 1157 he followed them up with a grant to the bishopric of Orense.¹⁴⁴ He also made a gift of property in late 1156 in San Juan de Caabeiro to one Mayor Fernández, a nun and probably a daughter of Count Fernando Pérez.¹⁴⁵ The Trastámaras also continued building their influence. On 1 July 1157, Vermudo Pérez and his wife Urraca may have made a grant to the monastery of Monfero.¹⁴⁶ On October 9, Count Rodrigo Pérez made another to the monastery of Tojos Outos.¹⁴⁷

Afonso of Portugal's diplomas for this period continue to be of limited use for present purposes.¹⁴⁸ He did make one grant in favor of the Hospitallers in April 1157, and another to the Templars in July, looking perhaps toward their further assistance against the Muslims of the south. But the most significant document is a bull of Pope Hadrian IV addressed to Archbishop John of

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 128, and the document of 31 July 1155: Madrid, AHN, *Códices*, 417B, fol. 18r-v and 267B, fol. 175r-v.

¹⁴⁴ 9 November 1156: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1185, no. 9; BN 5928, fols. 37v-38r; Acad. Hist., *Catedrales de España*, Mondoñedo, 90-25-1-C-3, fols. 16r-19r; ed. Flórez, *España Sagrada* 18:352-54; see Pedro Floriano Llorente, "El fondo antiguo de pergaminos del Instituto 'Valencia de Don Juan': Documentos reales, primera serie (año 875-1224)," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 168 (1971): 468-69. All of these except the copy of the Academia bear the erroneous date of 28 October 1156. Enrique Cal Pardo, ed., *Catálogo de los documentos escritos en pergamino del archivo de la catedral de Mondoñedo* (Lugo, 1990), 19, supplies an excerpt from what he called an original also dated to 28 October. 1 December 1156: Archivo Catedral de Tuy, no. 1/7, and Libro Becerro Primero, fols. 13v-14r and 191r-192v; ed. Flórez, *España Sagrada*, 22:273-79. 1157: Madrid, Acad. Hist., *Catedrales de España*, Orense, 9-25-1-C-9, fols. 10r-13r and 23r-27r; ed. Castro y Sueiro, "Documentos del Archivo catedral de Orense" 2:38-40.

¹⁴⁵ 29 December 1156: Madrid, AHN, Sección Clero, Carpeta 1749, no. 5.

¹⁴⁶ César Vaamonde Lores, ed., *Colección de documentos históricos*, vol. 1 (La Coruña, 1915), 331-33; but the document is at least badly dated, citing Archbishop Pelayo, deceased in 1155, at Compostela.

¹⁴⁷ Madrid, AHN, *Códices*, 1002B, fol. 17r.

¹⁴⁸ DMP 1.1:317-25.

Braga, which indicates that the latter, and by implication King Afonso himself, had been restored to favor at Rome. Moreover, this pontiff too continues the troublesome Roman traditionalism, citing the suffragans of Braga as not simply those bishoprics of the emerging kingdom but also Tuy, Orense, Mon-
doñedo, Lugo, and even Astorga and Zamora.¹⁴⁹

After 1157 there remained then, much in the way of material to provoke continuing difficulties between the kingdoms of León and of Portugal. The valley of the Miño would again see sporadic Portuguese efforts to establish themselves at Tuy and Toroño. The claims of Braga to ecclesiastical predominance over the sees of Galicia and eastern León endured until finally adjudicated away by the Fourth Lateran Council in the thirteenth century. But with the fall of Alcácer do Sal in 1158, the seal would be set upon a more rewarding expansion of the Portuguese realm into the Muslim Algarve.

Even after the division of the realm of León-Castilla in 1157 into two separate kingdoms, Fernando II of León and his brother Sancho III of Castilla could plot the conquest and partition of Portugal between them. But the death of Sancho III in 1158 and the long minority of the future Alfonso VIII in Castilla inevitably drew most of the attention of his uncle away from Portugal and towards the promise of aggrandizement in the east. Even though the Trastámaras of Galicia had been the tutors of Fernando's youth, cooperation with the Castros in Castilla proved the superior attraction to the former.

Fernando II of León did take a Portuguese wife in the person of Urraca, daughter of Afonso I, and the future of the two dynasties long continued to be closely related. Fernando and Afonso again would contest the lower valley of the Miño but increasingly the focus of the rivalry of both lay across the Tajo in the middle basin of the Guadiana. There the Almohad realm presented them with a common danger and a common opportunity, over which they would be serious rivals. Nevertheless, one thinks that both had assumed a posture which, at least implicitly, recognized the independence and integrity of the other.

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¹⁴⁹ Erdmann, *Papsturkunden*, 225-27.

CHEF D'OIRE DANS *PARTONOPEUS DE BLOIS*: LA VILLE COMME ESPACE DE TOTALISATION

Esperanza Bermejo

Le roman de *Partonopeus de Blois* a été composé pour la maison de Blois vers 1185.¹ C'est un roman assez difficile à classer, car il emprunte ici et là des éléments venus de genres divers. Ses descriptions rappellent ou suggèrent un certain rapport avec le roman antique. Les aventures du chevalier, son voyage dans une barque merveilleuse le rapprochent du roman breton, sinon des lais féériques. Les récits des batailles et des combats conservent le ton de ceux des chansons de geste, et l'auteur reprend même mot à mot le vers célèbre de la *Chanson de Roland*: “Qu'il ont tot droit, nos avons tort” (v. 2440),² mais cette fois prononcé par les ennemis des Français. Finalement, l'histoire des amours entre le chevalier et la dame insinue l'origine byzantine. D'ailleurs, cette grande “somme”³ compte 20.000 vers environ dont le mètre varie. La première partie, qui est la plus longue et celle qui contient le noyau de l'intrigue, est versifiée en octosyllabes à rimes plates; elle continue par deux sections, dont la première est écrite en vers octosyllabes, et la deuxième commence par des alexandrins pour finir en octosyllabes.

L'aventure de *Partonopeus* est précédée d'un long prologue où l'auteur, en bon connaisseur des ressources de la rhétorique de l'exorde, remonte à l'histoire de la ville de Troie—enlèvement d'Hélène par Paris, trahison, pillage et destruction de la ville—pour retracer la généalogie qui légitime le lignage du roi de France et par extension la maison de Blois et *Partonopeus* même, fils d'une soeur du roi. Le roman s'ouvre sur une partie de chasse, organisée par le roi, au cours de laquelle le jeune *Partonopeus* s'égare. Le destin le conduit vers la mer, où il trouve une barque sans voile ni rame, qui l'emmène à une ville splendide, mystérieuse et vide. Il choisit un palais pour

¹ On a utilisé l'édition de Joseph Gildea, *Partonopeu de Blois. A French Romance of the Twelfth Century*, 2 tomes (Villanova, Pa., 1967–70).

² A comparer avec le vers 1212 de la *Chanson de Roland*: “Nos avum dreit, mais cist glutun unt tor” (*La Chanson de Roland*, texte original et traduction par Gérard Moignet, 2^e éd. revue et corrigée [Paris, 1971]).

³ C'est l'expression d'Anthime Fourrier, *Le courant réaliste dans le roman courtois en France au Moyen Âge I: Les débuts (XII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1960), 440.

s'installer, et la nuit, une jeune femme, Mélior, lui fait don de son amour et de ses richesses, sous condition de ne pas la voir jusqu'à ce que le conseil du royaume se réunisse, dans le délai de deux ans et demi, pour l'élire un mari. Partonopeus accepte, il jouit pendant un certain temps de la compagnie de sa bien-aimée, mais il voyage en France deux fois, poussé par la nostalgie de son pays et de sa maison. Une fois chez lui, il se laisse convaincre par l'évêque de Paris, qui le persuade du besoin de voir son aimée, à l'aide d'une lanterne magique, qu'il lui donne. Brisés la promesse et le sortilège, Partonopeus, banni, rentre en France, et son désespoir le fait frôler la folie et chercher la mort dans la forêt des Ardennes. Néanmoins, il est sauvé par Urraque, la sœur de Mélior, qui le soigne en secret, tandis que dans la ville de Chef d'Oire, à la demande d'Arnoul, on dispose les préparatifs pour le grand tournoi que devra désigner le mari de Mélior, et où un grand nombre de rois et de seigneurs, chrétiens et païens sont rassemblés. Partonopeus, après avoir été adoubé "incognito" par Mélior avec beaucoup d'autres jeunes, participe au tournoi du côté du roi de France. Finalement, il est proclamé vainqueur devant la colère du roi de Perse, son rival, qui promet de se venger. Le roman se termine par les noces du comte de Blois et de Mélior.

Ce roman a connu une large diffusion au Moyen Âge, dont rendent compte les nombreuses versions conservées en allemand (vers 1277), italien (le manuscrit date de 1392), anglais (deux versions, dont les manuscrits datent de 1450), danois (vers 1484), espagnol et catalan (en prose tardive, entre 1488 et 1623).⁴

Dans ce cadre descriptif héritier du roman antique, il est important de constater l'importance accordée par le narrateur du *Partonopeus* au discours sur la ville. Comme les descriptions de Carthage dans le roman d'*Eneas*, ou celle de Troie dans le roman de Benoît de Sainte-Maure, celle de Chef d'Oire joue un rôle assez remarquable dans le récit. Il s'agit, d'autre part, d'une description très longue et donc, parmi les plus élaborées des romans en vers des XII^e et XIII^e siècles, mais ce qui est plus intéressant, le discours descriptif sur la ville, tisse un réseau de relations syntagmatiques créant des analogies entre l'espace urbain et la femme qui y règne, entre la mythique ville de Troie—origine de la civilisation occidentale, nettement française,⁵ et matière du

⁴ *Ibid.*, 316, notes 4 à 10.

⁵ Une tradition scolaire depuis le pseudo-Frédégaire et le *Liber Historiae Francorum* (VII^e–VIII^e s.), enseignait que les Francs descendaient des Troyens. On peut lire une étude complète dans Edmond Faral, *La légende arthurienne: Études et documents*, 3 tomes (Paris, 1929; réimpr. 1969), t. 1, Appendice I, 262–93. Voir aussi Emmanuèle Baumgartner, "La très belle ville de Troie de Benoît de Sainte-Maure," dans *De l'histoire de Troie au livre du Graal: Le temps, le récit (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)* (Orléans, 1994), 203–8.

prologue de ce roman—et Chef d'Oire, et paradigmatisques, d'autre part, qui actualisent dans le texte quelques-uns des archétypes imaginaires de la ville médiévale: Jérusalem et Constantinople.

LA VILLE ET LA FEMME

La ville se définit comme un espace de civilisation étroitement lié à la femme: elle préside, comme un témoin muet, le rendez-vous privé de deux jeunes et elle sanctionne publiquement leur union. La description de la ville se complète en trois moments différents et éloignés dans l'intrigue romanesque.⁶ Les deux premières s'insèrent dans la partie correspondant à l'initiation surtout amoureuse du jeune homme Partonopeus. La troisième sert de cadre au tournoi qui devra se célébrer à Chef d'Oire pour choisir le meilleur mari à Mélior, et pour consacrer, d'ailleurs, l'excellence chevaleresque du comte de Blois. Cette distribution de la description n'est pas sans signification. On remarque presque d'emblée, l'absence de la ville dans la partie centrale de la structure, coïncidant avec la crise de Partonopeus, qui se déroule dans la forêt sauvage.

La première description de la ville accompagne l'arrivée de Partonopeus. C'est celle qui contient les détails les plus précis, car elle se déploie sur 330 vers. Elle apparaît au début de l'intrigue, lorsqu'un jeune garçon de la maison de Blois arrive à un endroit inconnu au bord d'une barque mystérieuse.⁷ L'aventure l'a séparé des autres jeunes de son même âge et condition, et elle l'entraîne aussi dans un monde bien différent et surtout bien prodigieux. La description réalisée par le narrateur, à l'intérieur du discours diégétique, part

⁶ Le narrateur présente pour la première fois Chef d'Oire aux vers 771–1108; la deuxième description de la ville se déploie sur les vers 1620–86 et 1722–68, intégrés dans le cadre des explications données par Mélior à Partonopeus (sauf les vers 1729–36); la troisième comprend les vers 6577–6648.

⁷ Le motif de la barque merveilleuse qui conduit le héros à un autre monde est bien connue des *immrama* celtiques. Des exemples très connus en sont *l'Immram Maelduin* et *l'Immram Bran, fils de Fébal*, qui ont fourni des modèles à plusieurs récits anglonormands et romans en général. Voir Howard Rollin Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). J'ai utilisé la traduction espagnole de J. Hernández, (México, 1983), 37 ss. Marie de France s'en sert pour introduire l'aventure amoureuse de son héros Guigemar dans le lai du même titre (*Les Lais de Marie de France*, éd. Jean Rychner [Paris, 1966; réimpr. 1978], vv. 151 ss.). Dans le roman de *Tristan* le voyage du héros, blessé à mort par le Morholt, dans une barque à la dérive signifie la victoire sur la mort (*Tristant* par Eilhart von Oberg, texte établi par Danielle Buschinger et Wolfgang Spiewok, col.10/18, "Bibliothèque médiévale" [Paris, 1986], vv. 1051–1112; aussi dans la reconstruction faite par Joseph Bédier [Paris, 1988], chap. 2, "Le Morholt d'Irlande").

de la focalisation du personnage principal,⁸ c'est à dire Partonopeus. Le narrateur suit ses mouvements et transcrit ce que son regard perçoit.⁹ Ainsi, le personnage de fiction et le lecteur découvrent la ville presque simultanément, de sorte que tous les sentiments qu'elle éveille (surprise, émerveillement, crainte) sont partagés par le témoin qui voit et par le lecteur qui lit. La ville de cette première description devient un spectacle, destiné à susciter une multiplicité de réactions dans un "double" public, à l'intérieur et aussi au delà de la fiction.

Cette ville, pour l'instant sans nom, attire le voyageur à cause de l'éclat de sa lumière, qui éclaire le fond noir de la nuit. Elle accomplit la fonction de phare qui guide les navigateurs vers la terre. La première impression de Partonopeus souligne la grandeur et la beauté du lieu, vite nuancées par un trait tout à fait original: on n'y aperçoit point d'être vivant:

Parthonopeus n'i voit rien vive (v. 774)

Voilà la caractéristique essentielle de cette ville: l'absence d'habitants, ce qui annule le sens propre de la cité, qui s'érige comme un espace civilisé, agencé par l'homme face à la forêt ou la lande, univers de la vie sauvage et non défriché.¹⁰ L'auteur du roman décrit dans le prologue la Gaule primitive, antérieure à l'arrivée de Marcomyris, ancêtre du roi français Clovis, comme un pays sans bourgs, hameaux, châteaux ni villes:

France ot nom Gaule a icel jor,
Se voir disent nostre ancissor.

⁸ Gérard Genette, *Figures III* (Paris, 1972), 206 ss. En ce qui concerne la typologie des modalités descriptives ce travail s'appuie sur et adapte les formules de Philippe Hamon. Voir "Qu'est-ce qu'une description?" *Poétique* 12 [troisième année] (1972): 465–85, et aussi son livre *Introduction à l'analyse du descriptif* (Paris, 1981).

⁹ Catherine Croizy-Naquet, dans le premier chapitre de son livre, *Thèbes, Troie et Carthage: Poétique de la ville dans le roman antique au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1994), classe les descriptions de villes d'après trois modes démarcatifs: *voir*, faite par un acteur, *dire*, prise en charge par le narrateur, et *faire*, présentée par des techniciens. Le mode *dire* y est le plus fréquent, par contre le mode *voir* est très rare. La nouveauté de ce texte par rapport aux romans antiques est qu'il utilise le mode *dire* pour la description topographique, mais il le combine avec une focalisation interne au lieu de zéro.

¹⁰ Paul Zumthor, *La mesure du monde* (Paris, 1993), chap. 2–6, à partir des catégories *dans, dehors, ici et ailleurs* distingue l'espace civilisé (*château, ville*), et l'espace sauvage (*lande, forêt*), le terroir et l'autre monde. Sur l'opposition *cité-forêt* on peut lire l'article de Jacques Le Goff, "Ville et théologie au XIII^e siècle: une métaphore urbaine de Guillaume d'Auvergne," dans Razo. *Cahiers du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice: L'image de la ville dans la littérature et l'histoire médiévales*, t. 1 (1979), 33–36. Du même auteur "Le désert-forêt dans l'Occident médiéval," dans *L'imaginaire médiéval: Essais* (Paris, 1985), 59–75. A voir aussi Marie-Luce Chênerie, *Le chevalier errant dans les romans arthuriens en vers des XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Genève, 1986), 147–60.

Dont n'i voit castiaus ne tors,
 Viles, cités, dongons, ne bors,
 Ains manoient tote la gent,
 Ça deus, ça trois, esparsement.
 Li plus de France estoit gastine,
 De bois plaine et de savesine (vv. 345-52).

Le premier paradoxe de cette ville est qu'elle n'est pas habitée, et la situation surprend le jeune de Blois. Le deuxième élément qui frappe Partonopeus est le pont-levis jeté. Il s'agit par conséquent d'une ville ouverte, malgré son fossé, son enceinte, ses tours et ses créneaux, et elle semble prête à recevoir le visiteur. Son pont-levis et sa porte constituent une véritable invitation à y entrer et contredisent franchement l'un des archétypes de la ville médiévale,¹¹ qui instaure la clôture et l'isolement comme les mécanismes de sécurité contre le danger ou l'hostilité extérieurs. L'auteur du Partonopeus ne s'intéresse guère à souligner l'épaisseur et la hauteur de son architecture, les signes évidents de sa solidité et de sa grandeur.

L'itinéraire suivi par Partonopeus, comme il est habituel dans la plupart des descriptions de villes dans le roman du XII^e siècle, va du dehors vers le dedans, de la mer jusqu'à l'enceinte urbaine, et de la rue vers l'intérieur des palais. C'est ainsi qu'il découvre le troisième paradoxe de cette ville: malgré l'absence d'êtres vivants, les feux des cheminées sont allumés, les tables sont dressées avec des services luxuriants et des mets à foison. Mais la ville, vide de bourgeois, manque d'agitation et de tapage:

N'i a empereors ne rois,
 Clerc, ne chevalier, ne borjois;
 N'i a dame ne damoiselle,
 Ne harpe oie ne vièle;
 Nus n'i noise, nus n'i taboure,
 Com en tel liu et en tel oure (vv. 899-904).

L'auteur dénombre les *ordines* qui intègrent tout paysage urbain: l'empereur au sommet de la hiérarchie et de l'autorité, les *oratores*, les clercs, les *bellatores*, les chevaliers, et les bourgeois, spécifiquement urbains. Il ajoute les femmes et, ce qui est encore plus curieux, les musiciens, les jon-

¹¹ Voir Paul Zumthor: "L'espace de la cité dans l'imaginaire médiéval," dans *Un'idea di città. L'imaginaire de la ville médiévale*, Supplemento italo-francese di Nuovi Argomenti n. 43 dell'Istituto italiano di Cultura di Parigi (50 rue de Varenne) (Paris, 1992), 17-26, qui établit trois archétypes pour la description de la ville médiévale: isolement, sécurité et grandeur. A voir aussi du même auteur, *La mesure du monde*, 112-14; et Croizy-Naquet, *Thèbes, Troie et Carthage*, 98 ss.

gueurs et les troubadours, qui propagent dans les villes une ambiance de fête. La ville que Partonopeus a dans son esprit, se définit à partir d'un mélange social où tout le monde a sa place. Mais plus encore, l'étonnement de Partonopeus par l'absence d'artistes affirme sa vocation de fête, un aspect qui aura une riche fortune littéraire, surtout dans le théâtre, mais aussi dans le roman réaliste du XIII^e siècle, et que déjà certains textes du XII^e siècle ébauchent lorsqu'ils associent la fête et les entrées royales ou de personnages importants.¹² Cette ville, silencieuse et vide, deviendra longtemps après, la scène d'une grande fête, où des chevaliers et des rois, venus de tous les pays du monde, disputeront la main de Mélior dans l'épreuve du tournoi. Partonopeus décide d'entrer dans un palais bâti sur la partie la plus haute de la ville, lieu qui souligne sa verticalité et son caractère inexpugnable, et que l'architecture renforce. Ce château, qui se dévoile un peu plus loin comme la résidence de Mélior, devient, à son tour, une micro-ville nouvelle, qui répète et multiplie la même structure en un mécanisme d'emboîtement: la ville dans la ville. C'est ainsi que des herboristeries, des moulins, des étangs, des jardins,¹³ et (hyperbole majeure) mille palais de nobles sont abrités dans cette deuxième enceinte.

La fonction de Chef d'Oire est de susciter l'admiration du héros, à cause de la grandeur de ses proportions et de ses bâtiments. D'ailleurs, la réduplication spatiale n'est pas sans valeur. Le palais de Mélior constitue un microcosme dans le "macrocosme" de Chef d'Oire, dont il renforce les traits significants—ouverture, beauté, richesse, verticalité—car il les attire vers un centre topographique et symbolique.¹⁴ Le cœur de la ville est le palais-ville de Mélior,

¹² Les romans de Chrétien de Troyes associent la ville, la fête et la réjouissance générale lors de l'entrée d'un chevalier notable, ou du roi Arthur, tels sont les cas d'*Erec et Enide* à l'occasion de la fête de l'épervier et à la fin, lors de la Joie de la Cour (éd. Mario Roques [Paris, 1952; réimpr. 1978], vv. 345–60 et vv. 5445–60); de même chez *Cligés* où les rues de Constantinople sont embellies pour recevoir l'arrivée du roi (éd. Alexandre Micha [Paris, 1957; réimpr. 1978], vv. 5061–80); les habitants du château de Laudine parent leurs maisons pour accueillir Arthur après les noces d'*Yvain* (*Le Chevalier au Lion [Yvain]*, éd. Mario Roques [Paris, 1960; réimpr. 1980], vv. 2340–60). Dans le *Tristan* de Béroul les cloches de la ville sonnent, la ville est tapissée avec des fleurs, une foule attend le retour de la reine Iseut après son séjour dans la forêt de Morois, et une longue procession l'accompagne (éd. Ernest Muret; 4^e éd. revue par L. M. Desfourques [Paris, 1947; réimpr. 1982], vv. 2955–3006).

¹³ Lewis Mumford affirme que "la ville médiévale ressemblait à un gros bourg campagnard. On trouve encore dans le centre même d'anciennes villes médiévales des jardins et des vergers" (*La cité à travers l'histoire*, trad. Guy et Gérard-Henry Durand [Paris, 1964], 368).

¹⁴ Sur la valorisation du centre on peut voir Gaston Bachelard, *La poétique de l'espace* (Paris, 1957), 35 et 44. Pour Marie-Françoise Notz, la ville se définit par sa diversité séduisante, tandis que le château "s'organise autour d'un centre où réside la manifestation visible

qui y règne; Partonopeus atteint le but de son aventure: rencontrer et posséder la femme-dame du lieu. Le palais intérieur enchassé recrée l'archétype du refuge en relation avec la féminité protectrice. L'espace est de plus en plus resserré: de la ville au palais, du palais à la chambre de Mélior, et finalement à son lit, *sancta sanctorum* de l'intimité. C'est le cadre choisi par l'auteur pour raconter l'initiation amoureuse du jeune Partonopeus, et pour fixer les conditions du pacte entre les amants, qui règlent le développement postérieur de l'aventure du héros.

Il est aisé d'expliquer maintenant l'ouverture de Chef d'Oire, comme Mélior la nomme un peu plus tard, en contradiction avec la clôture, élément indispensable de la description de la ville médiévale. La ville et la femme attendent le jeune homme, et l'invitation à y entrer ne pouvait être autrement assurée. Il se crée, dès le début du roman, une complicité entre la ville et la femme qui la gouverne, de sorte que c'est Chef d'Oire qui est chargée de séduire l'élu de Mélior. Son éclat, ses richesses et sa beauté deviennent des leurre qui attirent et conquièrent Partonopeus, de manière à suppléer l'absence de charmes de Mélior, puisqu'elle est invisible. La ville se teint de tonalités féminines, dans une transposition métonymique énormément significante dans le contexte de la fiction.¹⁵ C'est pourquoi l'auteur choisit, parmi d'autres, le trait de la beauté, qui égrène la "rhétorique" du genre, la *laudatio civitatis*, ou tout au moins la tradition textuelle établie par les romans antiques.¹⁶

d'un principe souverain," dans "La ville a-t-elle une image au Moyen Âge?" *Eidolon* 32 (1987): 53–73 (62–63). D'autre part la ville de Chef d'Oire élargit les modèles de la ville de Carthage et de Troie dans les romans *d'Eneas* et de *Troie*, où les châteaux respectifs de Dido et de Priam—la tour d'Ilion—inaugurent ce principe d'emboîtement (*Eneas*, éd. J. J. Salverda de Grave, 2 tomes [Paris, 1925–29; réimpr. 1985], vv. 497 ss.; Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, éd. Léopold Constans, 6 tomes [Paris, 1904–12], vv. 3041 ss.).

¹⁵ Catherine Croizy-Naquet, *Thèbes, Troie et Carthage*, 94. Dans les chansons de geste du cycle de Guillaume d'Orange, et à travers la figure du personnage féminin qui y est enfermé, la ville devient un objet à posséder, donc à conquérir, voir Emmanuèle Baumgartner, "Troie et Constantinople dans quelques textes du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles: fiction et histoire," dans *La ville: Histoire et mythes* (Paris, 1984), 6–16 (9).

¹⁶ Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1983 [nouv. tirage]), 320 ss., s'occupe des sources des éléments conformant les villes des romans antiques, notamment celle de Carthage dans *Eneas*, qui est la première. J. K. Hyde, "Medieval Descriptions of Cities," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48 (1965–66): 308–40, recule jusqu'au VIII^e siècle pour déterminer les sources latines qui inspirent la théorie descriptive de villes; à ce propos on peut lire aussi C. Croizy-Naquet, *Thèbes, Troie et Carthage*, 83–85 notes 21, 23 et 24. Mais c'est surtout le travail de G. D. West, "The Description of Towns in Old French Verse Romances," *French Studies* 11 (1957): 50–59, qui établit trois types descriptifs, qui se rapportent respectivement à une ville romanesque: Karlion

Chef d’Oire se distingue par sa beauté qui dérive directement de sa luminosité,¹⁷ produite par les matériaux utilisés dans sa construction, ainsi que par leur disposition bigarrée. L’enceinte est en marbre blanc et rouge, disposé en échiquier; la tour sur la porte est aussi en marbre, cette fois-ci blanc comme l’ivoire; finalement, les palais que l’enceinte accueille sont en marbre bariolé: gris, rouge, vert, blanc et noir. Même les tuiles sont peintes en plusieurs couleurs. Il s’agit d’une ville très ornée. Des boules qui représentent des animaux (des lions, des aigles, des dragons en or) surmontent les palais; les maures (v. 846) les ont si finement sculptées qu’elles semblent être vivantes.¹⁸ Finalement, des étendards tournés sur les rues brillent dans la nuit. Le dernier aspect qui développe le *topos* de la beauté se rapporte aux rues et constitue un anachronisme. Elles sont droites et parallèles, et elles ne sont pas souillées par la boue, de sorte que plus il pleut, plus le pavé étincelle.¹⁹

La beauté, comme le texte antérieur l’a suggéré, est associée à la richesse, à l’opulence des matériaux, notamment au marbre, mais aussi à l’or et à l’argent des étendards, des entailles, des boules sur les palais. L’emplacement de Chef d’Oire sur le bord de mer lui permet d’avoir un port capable d’abriter vingt mille bateaux, ceci étant l’une de ses plus importantes sources de richesse. L’activité mercantile ouvre les portes au monde de l’abondance et de la variété des marchandises, mais ce trait est seulement esquissé dans cette première partie du roman, comme conséquence du dépeuplement de la ville.

(dans le *Brut de Wace*) pour les deux premiers types et Carthage (dans *Eneas*) pour le troisième. La ville de Mélior suivrait, pour cet auteur, le modèle de Carthage. Les autres descriptions de villes romanesques développent ou abrègent les mêmes éléments. Ernesta Caldarini définit la ville idéale médiévale comme un mélange de “Realtà, presenza. Questi due aspetti della città celeste che la distinguono nettamente dalle astratte città progetto del Rinascimento” (“Le città ideali nel Medio Evo: Realtà, retorica, immaginazione,” *Studi di letteratura francese* 11 [1985]: 7–25 [24]). A consulter aussi Philippe Ménard, “La ville dans les romans de chevalerie en France aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles,” dans *Un’idea di città. L’immaginaire de la ville médiévale*, 96–109.

¹⁷ Pour Saint Isidore de Séville il existe une relation directe entre la beauté et la lumière, critère qui détermine l’élaboration du portrait féminin, d’où la relation entre la description de la ville et celle de la femme (cité par Edgar De Bruyne, *Estudios de estética medieval*, trad. Armando Suárez, 3 tomes [Madrid, 1958–59], 1:90).

¹⁸ L’aigle couronnant le mât d’une tente est un motif habituel dans les romans antiques. Elle apparaît dans la description d’une des tentes du *Roman de Thèbes* (éd. Francine Mora-Lebrun [Paris, 1995], vv. 3261 ss.). Marie de France s’en sert aussi dans son *lai de Lanval* (éd. Rychner, *Les Lais de Marie de France*, vv. 87 ss.).

¹⁹ Anthime Fourrier explique ce détail comme un fait d’actualité qui fait référence à la disposition prise en 1184–85 par Philippe-Auguste sur la ville de Paris (*Le courant réaliste*, 401 n. 217). Voir aussi *Histoire de la France urbaine*, sous la direction de Georges Duby, t. 2: *La ville médiévale*, direction de Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1980), 91 et 316.

Toute cette beauté ornée de l'architecture suggère les parures féminines; l'opulence qu'elle étale renvoie à la fécondité de la troisième fonction,²⁰ le triple emboîtement de la chambre dans le palais et dans la ville anime l'archétype de l'intimité reposante. Bref, la ville exhibe une vocation féminine, car elle assume des fonctions propres de Mélior, tout au moins pendant la durée du sortilège et que sa corporéité ne se fait pas visible.

L'analogie entre les deux se profile au-delà des attributs de la féminité. Mélior, à la différence d'autres héroïnes de romans, a été instruite dans les arts libéraux, en médecine et en magie, connaissances qui expliquent le "geis" qui domine cette ville. Bref, elle est une femme savante, dont la formation cléricale se complète par la maîtrise de la nécromancie. Mélior est en même temps savante et fée:

Maistres oi de vos esciens
Par foës plus de deus cens.
Dex me dona grasse d'aprendre,
Et d'escriture bien entendre.
Les set ars tot premierement
Apris et soi parfitement.
Aprés apris tote mecene:
Quanqu'est en herbe et en racine,
Et d'espisses, de lor valor;
Aprés, le froit et la chalor,
Et de vos maus tote la cure
Et l'ocoison et le nature;
Fesique ne puet mal garir
Dont je ne sace a cief venir.
...
Aprés apris espirement,
Nigremance et enchantement (vv. 4591-4612).

Les architectes ou les artistes fondateurs de Chef d'Oire excellent non seulement à cause de leur adresse dans les *artes mechanicae*,²¹ mais parce

²⁰ Joël H. Grisward identifie Paris avec la fonction guerrière, Jérusalem avec le sacré et Constantinople avec la troisième fonction ("Paris, Jérusalem, Constantinople dans le *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne: Trois villes, trois fonctions*," dans *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople: L'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Âge*. Textes réunis par Daniel Poirion. Colloque du Département d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne [Paris, 1986], 75-82).

²¹ Les *artes mechanicae* (la peinture, la sculpture et d'autres arts "manuels" s'opposaient aux *artes liberales* (*trivium, quadrivium*), appelés ainsi parce qu'ils étaient dignes de l'homme libre. Cf. Ernst Robert Curtius, *Literatura europea y Edad Media latina*, trad. Margit Frenk Alatorre et Antonio Alatorre (México-Madrid, 1976 [2^e réimpr.]), 63-64.

qu'ils sont instruits, de même que Mélior, dans les *artes liberales*, de sorte qu'ils ont transféré leurs connaissances à la parure des murs et des palais:

La veriés les elemens,
Et ciel et terre et mer et vens,
Solel et lune et ans et jors
Et les croissans et les decors,
Les estoires des tans antis,
Et les guerres et les estris (vv. 853–58).

Clercs et architectes se confondent, tous deux étaient leur talent qui se mêle à l'intrigue, proclamant en même temps, comme le faisaient l'auteur du *Roman de Thèbes*, ou Chrétien de Troyes à propos de la robe de couronnement d'Erec,²² la prééminence du savoir humaniste dans cette ville. L'évocation de l'astronomie, ou science de l'univers, qui découvre une influence orientale,²³ coexiste avec l'histoire de l'antiquité, dans une symbiose qui fait retentir sur les murs de Chef d'Oire, grâce à un jeu d'échos, l'histoire ancienne de la ville de Troie, évoquée par l'auteur dans le prologue. La vocation cléricale de Chef d'Oire est ainsi assurée doublement par son architecture et par sa reine, étant toutes les deux destinées à transmettre le savoir dont elles ont le dépôt. C'est ainsi que deux thèmes essentiels du roman apparaissent en filigrane autour de Mélior et de sa ville: Troie comme origine de la dynastie française et la femme détentrice du pouvoir et qui transmet la ville.

LA VILLE ET SES MODÈLES (TROIE, BYZANCE, JÉRUSALEM)

L'écriture romanesque ancre progressivement la ville de Mélior dans des coordonnées spatiales, qui permettent à Partonopeus, mais surtout au lecteur, de l'identifier et de la reconnaître—mettant de côté l'idée première d'une ville

²² La tente d'Adraste dans le *Roman de Thèbes* (vv. 4300–4391) dessine une mappemonde; le char d'Amphiaraüs, dans ce même roman, montre le soleil et la lune, le firmament et le monde, et les sept Arts (vv. 5044 ss. et 5144 ss.); la robe de couronnement d'Erec a été brodée par quatre fées, qui y ont représenté les quatre arts du *quadrivium*: géométrie, arithmétique, musique et astronomie (vv. 6672–6747); sur la coupe de Floire et Blanchesfleur on a ciselé l'histoire troyenne (*Le conte de Floire et Blanchesfleur*, éd. Jean-Luc Leclanche [Paris, 1980], vv. 441–503). Le cas de la coupe du comte Richard, dans *L'Escoufle* du XIII^e siècle, est un peu différent, car elle raconte l'histoire de Tristan et Iseut (Jean Renart, *L'Escoufle, roman d'aventure*, éd. Franklin Sweetser [Genève, 1974], vv. 579–616).

²³ L'évocation de l'astronomie et de l'astrologie dans la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle signifie rencontrer la science arabe, qui apparaît “comme un point de passage” (Philippe Walter, *La mémoire du temps: Fêtes et calendriers de Chrétien de Troyes à La Mort Artu* [Paris, 1989], 53).

de l'autre monde²⁴ à cause de sa lumière ou de son apparence manque de vie—and qui l'attachent à une géographie physique et aussi imaginaire. Chef d'Oire appartient à Byzance, comme Mélior l'affirme au vers 1341 (“Tote Basence est mes empires”); elle prend le nom du fleuve qui débouche sur elle; on connaît même certains noms fictifs des régions qu'il traverse—Yrac (v. 1759), Syrac (v. 1760), . . . —mais surtout elle reprend quelques-uns des traits essentiels qui définissent Constantinople et Jérusalem.

Cette nouvelle perspective sur la ville se dégage de la description (ci-jointe en annexe), que le narrateur réalise à partir du regard que Partonopeus dirige sur l'environnement de la tour du palais de Mélior, le lendemain de leur première nuit d'amour.

Depuis Fourrier jusqu'aux plus récents travaux sur ce roman,²⁵ ce passage a été mis en relation avec une source latine: la description de Byzance du haut de la tour du palais de Blachernes faite par Eudes de Deuil autour de 1148. Ainsi Chef d'Oire s'inspire du modèle de Constantinople, l'un des grands mythes et modèles urbains de la littérature médiévale,²⁶ pour ensuite le modifier et l'adapter à la signification de l'intrigue. La somptuosité et la splendeur que la ville déploie font partie de l'image que l'Occident médiéval a eu au cours du XII^e siècle, et dont témoignent certaines chansons de geste contemporaines. Dans les deux cas la description est vue du haut, surplombant l'ensemble, mais l'on note des divergences concernant l'agencement de l'espace en trois parties nettement différentes:

Le palais que l'on appelle Blachernes a été construit, certainement, sur un endroit peu élevé, mais avec de la somptuosité et de l'art. Il s'élève convenablement et regarde d'en haut alternativement la mer, les champs et la ville, offrant de ces trois bords une triple réjouissance à ses habitants. . . . Le troisième côté du triangle de la ville a des champs, mais il se protège par une double muraille et des tours, qui s'étend presque deux milles depuis la mer jusqu'au palais. . . . Au-dessous des remparts, la terre est ouverte qui supporte les charrues et les

²⁴ Selon l'*Elucidarium* (III, 1) “la lumière et les parfums abondent dans le paradis spirituel”; voir Marie de France, *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz*, éd. Yolande de Pontfarcy (Paris-Louvain, 1995), 211 n. 1506-7.

²⁵ Fourrier, *Le courant réaliste*, 403. Carole Bercovici-Huard, “Partonopeus de Blois et la couleur byzantine,” dans *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval (littérature et civilisation)*, Senefiance 11 (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), 179-96, affirme que la ville dans ce roman devient un centre d'écriture, à partir du merveilleux byzantin créé par le texte et qui s'écarte du merveilleux traditionnel de la littérature arthurienne. Voir aussi Catherine Hilton, “Convention and Innovation in *Partonopeu de Blois*” (Ph.D. diss., U. of Massachusetts, 1984).

²⁶ On peut voir Gilbert Dragon, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des “Patria”* (Paris, 1984); Baumgartner, “Troie et Constantinople,” 8-9; Alain Ducellier, “Une mythologie urbaine: Constantinople vue d'Occident au Moyen Âge,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 96 (1984): 405-24; et Jérusalem, *Rome, Constantinople*.

houes, montrant des vergers qui étaient toute sorte des légumes devant les citoyens.²⁷

La topographie de Byzance suggère la forme d'un triangle, comme il convient à son emplacement réel, dont témoigne le *Livre de Cérémonies* de la première moitié du X^e siècle:²⁸ deux côtés, baignés par la mer, convergent presque sur un sommet, sur lequel se dresse l'église de Sainte Sophie. Le troisième côté relie la ville au continent.

Eudes de Deuil reprend la topographie triangulaire du terrain urbain, et il organise le paysage autour de trois éléments: la mer, les champs et la ville, à partir de l'enclave fixe qu'il choisit comme observatoire: la tour de Blachernes, située au Nord de la ville, au sommet où se rejoignent les remparts qui protègent la ville à l'Ouest, et le bras de mer, connu comme Corne d'Or, à l'Est. Dès cette emplacement, le regard sur Constantinople alterne entre la mer, qui baigne l'un des côtés du triangle, la ville proprement dite, qui s'étend au Sud de la tour, jusqu'à l'autre versant maritime et finalement les champs, que les remparts abritent et ferment.

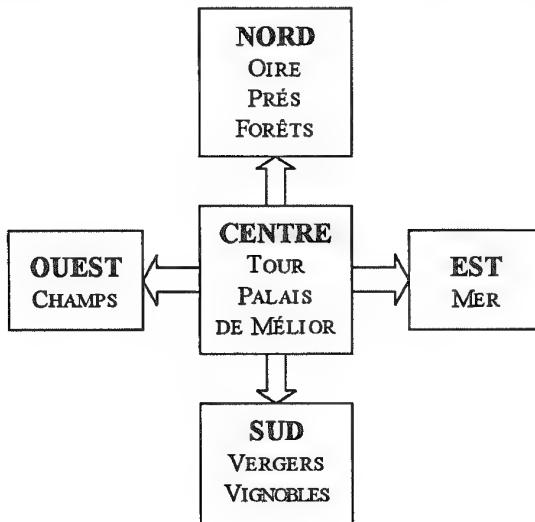
Le panorama que Partonopeus contemple diffère sensiblement de celui qu'Eudes de Deuil proposait, non pas tant en ce qui concerne les éléments qui y interviennent, mais dans la façon de les présenter. Le texte médiéval déplace la perspective de l'extrême d'où la description d'Eudes est faite, jusqu'au centre, modifiant substantiellement la perception de l'espace qui l'entoure, qui devient un carré. Ainsi, Partonopeus porte, tout d'abord, son regard vers l'est (vers le soleil levant) et voit la mer. Ensuite il marche de l'autre côté de la tour, vers le sud, d'où il distingue les vergers et les vignobles. Il gagne, après, le troisième côté du carré, d'où il contemple les champs semés, pour arriver finalement au quatrième côté, d'où il aperçoit l'embouchure du fleuve Oire et, plus loin, les prés et les forêts.

Les secteurs de Chef d'Oire modifient et complètent la description de Byzance faite par Eudes de Deuil. L'espace attenant à la tour de Mélior devient quadrangulaire, ce qui permet à l'auteur d'introduire un élément nouveau: la

²⁷ “Ibi palatum, quod dicitur Blacherna, fundatur quidem in humili, sed sumptu et arte, deceni proceritate consurgit, et triplici confinio triplicem habitantibus jucunditatem offerens, mare, campos, urbemque visibus alternis despicit. . . . Latus tertium de trigono civitatis, campos habet, sed dupli muro munitur, et turribus, qui a mari usque ad palatum fere duobus millibus tendit. . . . Infra muros terra vacua est, quae aratra patitur et ligones, habens hortos omne genus olerum civibus exhibentes” (Odo de Deogilo [Eudes de Deuil], *De profectiōne Ludovici VII in orientem* 4 [PL 185:1221B–C]).

²⁸ La carte de Constantinople fait suite à l'article de Jacques Bompaire, “La ville de Constantinople vue à travers *Le Livre des Cérémonies*,” dans *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, 235–46 (247).

rivière, qui donne son nom à la ville, et aussi les prés et la forêt. Ce carré est disposé par rapport aux quatre points cardinaux, de sorte qu'il dessine un *axis mundi*, dont le centre, est occupé encore une fois par la demeure de Mélior:



La ville de Mélior et sa région sont évoquées partant du modèle représentatif de la Jérusalem céleste dans l'iconographie des XI^e et XII^e siècles: "Les peintures, d'autre part, de ce groupe de manuscrits . . . organisent . . . la surface peinte selon un haut, un bas, une droite, une gauche, restituant visuellement la structuration du monde créé."²⁹ Son centre est occupé par l'Agneau et parfois par Saint Jean.³⁰

La signification sacrée ou sacralisée de Chef d'Oire, par contre, n'est pas aussi évidente. L'aventure de Partonopeus est profane, car elle place son ob-

²⁹ Mireille Mentré, "L'image de la Jérusalem céleste dans l'iconographie des XI^e et XII^e siècles," dans *Jérusalem, Rome, Constantinople*, 17-25 (18). Au XIII^e siècle, la Jérusalem terrestre s'organise en quatre quartiers, chacun symbolisé par un édifice (Marie-Madeleine Castellani, "De la Jérusalem terrestre à la Jérusalem d'en haut," *Uranie* 3 [1993]: 119-34 [122]).

³⁰ Stanislaw Kobielsus, "La Jérusalem céleste dans l'art médiéval," dans *Le mythe de Jérusalem: Du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance*. Études réunies par Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore (Saint Etienne, 1995), 101-21 (102). Pour Elie Konigson, *L'espace théâtral médiéval* (Paris, 1975), 79-92, les villes du bassin méditerranéen obéissent à un tracé orthogonal, à partir de l'organisation de l'espace selon les axes cardinaux; ce tracé valorise le centre géométrique et symbolique où se situent la place, l'église ou le marché. Dans le roman de *Partonopeus*, le centre est occupé, comme on l'a vu, par le palais de Mélior.

jectif dans la conquête de la femme et, par son entremise, de la ville. Il s'agit donc d'un *récit nuptial*,³¹ où l'apprentissage ou les épreuves religieuses ne semblent trop compter. Néanmoins, un peu plus tard, lorsque l'enchantement créé par Mélior à cause de la transgression de son amant est rompu (h.e., lorsque la réalité l'emporte sur la magie), la jeune femme avoue qu'elle a été instruite, entre autres connaissances, dans l'ancienne et la nouvelle Loi:

Puis apris de divinité
Si que j'en sai a grant plenté,
Et la viés loi et la novele
Qui tot le sens del mont chaële (vv. 4605-8).

Chef d'Oire n'est pas la Jérusalem céleste, mais elle n'est non plus une ville commune. Sa topographie est totalisante et sa description développe deux des quatre points cardinaux: l'est et le nord. La mer ouvre une prolixe digression sur les marchandises, répertoriées dans une longue liste élaborée à partir de l'asyndète et la symétrie. On y étale des produits exotiques très appréciés comme les toiles d'Alexandrie, les épices, ou les herbes médicinales. On pourrait interpréter cette *amplificatio* comme un trait réaliste qui dépeint l'activité mercantile de la ville,³² néanmoins, il faut remarquer la prééminence accordée aux animaux liés à la fauconnerie: des éperviers, des faucons et des chevaux de chasse, capables de satisfaire le loisir des chevaliers.

Il en est de même pour la digression qui décrit le nord de la ville. L'embouchure du fleuve est défendue par un imposant château, gardé par maints chevaliers; au pied de celui-ci s'étendent des forêts riches en oiseaux de chasse, telles que les différentes espèces d'éperviers citées dans le texte, les vautours, les autours dressés ou les faucons. Bien que Chef d'Oire se présente comme un espace totalisant, où les paysans et les marchands peuvent aisément vivre, il représente surtout un paradis privilégié pour la noblesse, où le devoir de la défense s'efface devant les énormes possibilités de diversion que la ville offre. Le motif de la chasse réapparaît de nouveau dans un cadre géographique et une fonction différents. Sa pratique a été transférée de la cour du roi français à Chef d'Oire, d'Occident en Orient. La chasse ne prélude pas à la rencontre avec la femme et l'amour, mais elle prétend fixer Partonopeus à ce lieu, culminant la séduction que la ville et ses charmes ont déployée sur lui.

Chef d'Oire, comme l'on vient de voir, est une ville raffinée, capable d'assurer la récréation de tous ses habitants. Encore une fois, elle coïncide

³¹ Philippe Walter distingue deux modèles narratifs qui rendent possible le classement des textes médiévaux d'après leur dénouement: *le récit nuptial* "qui se termine par un mariage" et *le récit dynastique* "qui aboutit à un couronnement (distinct d'un mariage)," dans *La mémoire du temps*, 164.

³² Bercovici-Huard, "Partonopeus de Blois et la couleur byzantine," 183.

avec sa reine, car celle-ci organise des jeux et des divertissements qui amusent l'empereur et ses maîtres. Ses connaissances en nécromancie, présentées plus haut, se font jour maintenant pour montrer quelques-uns de ses trucs de magie. Elle est capable de faire croire au grandissement d'une chambre, jusqu'à ce qu'elle acquière les dimensions d'un pays, de sorte qu'elle puisse accueillir un grand nombre de chevaliers armés en combat, ou des fauves. Sa magie consiste à faire voir des images qui évoluent comme si elles étaient des êtres vivants:

La fasions par mon savoir
 La chambre croistre et grant paroir;
 Tant par ert grans, ce lor ert vis,
 Que tot porprenoit le païs.
 Dedens faisoie tel clarté
 Com el plus bel des jors d'esté,
 Et puis faisoie chevaliers
 Venir armés sor les destriers,
 Mil ou deus mil a mon plaisir,
 Et entr'iaus meller et ferir;
 . . .
 Puis issoient par contençon
 Li elefant el li lion,
 Et quels bestes que je voloie
 Par devant moi meller faisoie (vv. 4635-52).

Un troisième modèle de ville se projette derrière ces traits: Troie. A la fin de sa reconstruction menée à bout par Priam, Benoît de Sainte-Maure n'hésite pas à lui attribuer l'invention de maints jeux et divertissements. En plus, les arts de Mélior rappellent énormément celles de la deuxième jeune fille de la *Chambre de Beautés*, qui montre des merveilles sur une table en or pur, représente des batailles et rend vivante une grande variété de fauves.³³ Bref, Chef d'Oire est le grand joyau d'Orient, comme l'était la Constantinople de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, héritière de la mythique Troie.³⁴

Les renseignements que le narrateur procure sur la ville ont un complément: les dialogues entre Partonopeus et Mélior. Les paroles de sa dame offrent au héros des précisions sur le fonctionnement et les lois de ce monde, qu'il a découverts à travers son regard, mais dont il ignore le sens. Le *novus* est, de cette façon, transformé pas à pas en *doctus*.³⁵ Partonopeus apprend,

³³ Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, vv. 3177 et vv. 14711 ss.

³⁴ Sur l'identification d'Athènes avec Byzance et Troie, voir Baumgartner, "Troie et Constantinople," 12-13.

³⁵ L'*Ars amatoria* d'Ovide introduit le concept de l'amour comme une technique, un apprentissage que le *novus* doit poursuivre, guidé par un maître, pour devenir *doctus*, comme il

ainsi, l'existence d'un "concile," dont les décisions concernent directement la vie de Mélior, et par conséquent, leurs relations:

La vos eüssé fait servir
Et molt honorer et chierir
Dusques par conseil do concile,
Qui fust tenus en ceste vile,
De vos feiſſe mon segnor
Et vos livrassé ceste honor (vv. 1405–10).

Leur union doit être gardée en secret en attendant que le "concile" ou conseil³⁶ veuille bien la sanctionner. Les amours de Partonopeus et de Mélior ont besoin de la légitimation des barons, car ils doivent se conformer à l'ordre social.³⁷ Le rôle de Mélior rappelle celui de Lavinie dans le roman *d'Eneas*. Au-delà des différences qui les séparent, toutes les deux sont vouées à transmettre le pouvoir et la terre au chevalier, dont les vertus devront être reconnues publiquement après le dépassement heureux de certaines épreuves. Chef d'Oire devra loger tous les participants du tournoi qui rivalisent avec Partonopeus pour la mérriter.

LAVILLE ET LA FÊTE

La troisième description de la ville (vv. 6577–6648) s'inscrit dans la partie la plus longue du roman, qui détaille les moindres péripéties du grand tournoi qui se célèbre à Chef d'Oire. Elle vient après la crise de Partonopeus,³⁸ devenu homme sauvage, puis réhabilité grâce à l'aide du "groupe" (représenté par la sœur de Mélior, Urraque). Partonopeus a expié sa faute—il a transgressé la promesse de respecter l'invisibilité de Mélior—and attend dans le

laisse tomber aux deux premiers vers de son traité: "Siquis in hoc artem populo non novit amandi, / Hoc legat et lecto carmine doctus amet" (vv. 1–2); cf. Ovide, *L'Art d'aimer*, texte établi et traduit par Henri Bornecque (Paris, 1983 [7^e tirage]).

³⁶ Le secret dans la relation amoureuse, thème habituel de la poésie des troubadours, fait partie du conte de *Psyché* dans *Les Métamorphoses* d'Apulée, l'une des sources du roman; il est aussi présent dans maints textes médiévaux, comme le *lai de Lanval* de Marie de France ou celui de *Graelent*, ou encore la *nouvelle de La Châtelaine de Vergi*.

³⁷ Dans le roman de Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*, vv. 1847–56, Laudine demande conseil à ses barons sur la convenance d'épouser un chevalier qui puisse, après la mort de son mari Esclados et suivant la coutume, défendre la fontaine.

³⁸ Le motif du chevalier sauvage, dont la fortune romanesque sera énorme, a été inauguré par Tristan banni dans la forêt de Morois et par Yvain, devenu un homme sauvage après avoir manqué le rendez-vous fixé par sa femme Laudine. Sur la signification de la forêt comme espace de crise dans le cas de Tristan on peut lire Neda Chernack Zovic, *Les Espaces de la Transgression dans le Tristan de Béroul* (New York, 1996), chap. 2.

palais d'Urraque l'occasion de se réconcilier avec sa bien aimée. Deux ans et demi se sont écoulés (délai imposé par la jeune dame et soumis à l'approbation du conseil), et les nobles du royaume pressent Mélior pour qu'elle prenne époux. Au cours de ce conseil, le sage Ernout déclare les conditions pour l'élection du mari: ce sera le vainqueur d'un tournoi qui devra réunir les meilleurs chevaliers du monde.

Les qualités de cette nouvelle perspective de la ville sont absolument originales. Il s'agit d'un nouveau bourg, qui doit se dresser "extra muros," en face de la ville déjà bâtie et fortifiée. Il n'existe donc pas, au moment du discours d'Ernout; c'est une ville "au futur," qui élargit énormément les dimensions de la primitive. D'autre part, tous les personnages de la fiction, le lecteur y compris, vont assister à sa fondation, comme il arrivait avec la reconstruction de Troie dans le roman de Benoît de Sainte-Maure. Elle sera située au-delà de l'enceinte de Chef d'Oire, ce qui implique l'abolition de la clôture. Les toiles de toutes sortes y prennent le relais de la pierre ou des briques, car leur résistance et leur richesse n'intéressent plus. L'urgence et l'utilité déterminent sa construction; elle a un caractère provisoire, circonscrit temporellement à la durée du tournoi. C'est pourquoi ses matériaux ne prétendent défier le temps ni garantir la sécurité de ses habitants lors des attaques hostiles, car, comme l'on verra un peu plus loin, la fête préside à sa naissance. Finalement, la ville devra héberger les commerçants, venus de tous les coins du monde pour étaler leurs marchandises pendant le tournoi, et aussi un bon nombre des chevaliers participants. La nouvelle ville des tentes actualise les possibilités commerciales suggérées dans la première partie à propos du port. On y remarque, encore une fois, la spécialisation des produits mis en rapport avec la chevalerie: des chevaux, des selles, des armes. . . . Cette ville de marchands est pourtant vouée à l'activité chevaleresque.

Un troisième élément vient s'ajouter au tournoi et au marché: la fête. La fête signifie bruissement d'hommes et de femmes qui s'y élancent. La présence humaine a donc la priorité sur d'autres aspects, de même que le tournoi a besoin de participants et d'un public pour garantir les victoires ou les échecs des combattants. Chef d'Oire ne peut s'accomplir pleinement qu'à partir de la récupération de son essence: la présence des bourgeois. La nouvelle ville fait réalité sa vocation de fête, ébauchée dès le début. Elle est donc nécessaire pour son accomplissement.

La fête assure la réjouissance et le jeu pour tous. Une dose non négligeable de liberté l'accompagne: on y abolit les tributs et on accorde une permission absolue aux marchands. La fête implique l'absence d'obstacles ou de règles, et elle engendre la liberté et la joie. La ville de Mélior, grâce à son annexe acquiert une projection universelle et cosmopolite, comme, d'ailleurs, la fête

même. Celle qui était auparavant une ville sans habitants, devient maintenant un fourmillement humain, qui accueille des rois et des chevaliers venus de tous les pays du monde.

Le calendrier liturgique organise la construction de cette ville, car il la situe à la Pentecôte, date de la célébration du tournoi. Les repères chronologiques n'abondent pas dans ce roman, mais on pourrait établir la durée de ses événements entre deux ans et demi et trois, en fonction du délai que Mélior fixe pour l'élection de son mari. L'on y trouve quelques allusions chronologiques relatives, qui permettent la localisation de certains moments de l'intrigue: "Quant li demi ans est passés" (v. 4205) marque le deuxième retour de Partonopeus à son pays, ou "un an" (v. 5400) au long duquel le protagoniste s'affaiblit physiquement et psychologiquement. Or, dans ce contexte temporal flou, deux fêtes importantes encadrent le début et la fin du roman. L'exaltation de la Croix (le 14 septembre) date le moment de la partie de chasse et du commencement de l'aventure, et la Pentecôte localise le tournoi, comme on a déjà dit, et détermine le dénouement de l'intrigue. La première peut se justifier à partir de l'adéquation de la saison de l'an pour la pratique cynégétique. La seconde, cependant, est liée à la tradition anthropologique, empruntée et adaptée par le roman courtois, qui consacre le mois de mai à l'amour et au mariage.³⁹ C'est, donc, une date symbolique qui teint de connotations amoureuses la célébration du tournoi et la construction de la ville de tentes. Pentecôte signifie aussi, réunion des disciples du Christ, qui reçoivent les langues de feu, et répandent sa doctrine dans le monde. Son choix—l'on aurait pu la remplacer par l'Ascension, associée aussi au mois de mai—s'explique, peut-être, à partir de l'analogie de signification qui présente avec Chef d'Oire. Ville et fête ont toutes les deux une dimension universelle. L'on y apprécie un travail minutieux d'assemblage du roman, qui tisse des relations significantes entre la matière et sa disposition. On n'est pas très loin de la *conjointure* de Chrétien de Troyes.

Le tournoi groupe les participants en deux équipes, distribués à partir de critères d'équité. La défense est formée par l'empereur d'Allemagne, le roi du Danemark, le duc de Saxe, celui de Louvain, le roi de Pouille et de Sicile, le sultan de Perse, les rois de l'Inde, des Mèdes, des Parthes, de l'Egypte, de la

³⁹ Les noces d'Erec se célèbrent à la Pentecôte (vv. 1876 ss.); dans le roman de Jean Renart, *Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, la cour plénière et le choix de la femme qui aboutit au mariage de l'empereur Conrad et de Liéonor, ont lieu le premier mai (éd. F. Lecoy [Paris, 1969], vv. 4149 ss. et 4255 ss.). Sur la relation du mois de mai avec l'amour on peut lire Julio Caro Baroja, *La estación del amor: Fiestas populares de mayo a San Juan* (Madrid, 1979); voir aussi Joseph Bédier, "Les fêtes de mai et les commencemens de la poésie lyrique au moyen âge," *Revue des Deux-Mondes* 135 (Mai 1896): 146–72.

Lydie, de la Palestine, de l'Arcadie et de la Syrie. Le camp des assaillants est commandé par le roi de France, soutenu par les Bretons, les Gascons, les Poitevins, ceux de Bretagne et de Tours, le roi d'Angleterre, Partonopeus et tous les sarrasins d'Espagne. Sept rois d'Afrique constituent le tribunal. La confrontation oppose deux rois européens et chrétiens, de manière à éviter le dangereux conflit, de conséquences imprévues, entre païens et chrétiens. Ce parti pris de l'auteur rend possible l'écoulement du récit du tournoi sur un ton ludique, qui n'a rien à voir avec l'héroïsme dramatique de certaines chansons de croisade.

La géographie évoquée par cette énumération découvre évidemment la tri-partition du monde (l'Europe, l'Afrique et l'Asie), telle qu'il était habituellement figuré au Moyen Âge,⁴⁰ et dont le prologue du roman rend compte comme cadre préliminaire qui permet de situer la ville et la guerre de Troie:

Li livre griu et (li) latin
 Nos devisent de fin en fin
 Trestot le mont en trois parties,
 Sis ont par non bien escharies:
 Europe ont l'un quartier nomé,
 Aufrique ront l'autre apelé;
 C'est la moitié, et autretant
 Tient tote sole Aise la Grant.
 En Aise sist la riche Troie,
 Si fu chiés d'Aise et flors et joie (vv. 135–44).

Le discours romanesque dessine un cercle qui reprend, à ce moment précis, les prolégomènes de l'aventure de Partonopeus. La mythique ville de Troie est, encore une fois, le paradigme sur lequel se greffe Chef d'Oire. Néanmoins, des différences profondes nuancent la destinée de ces deux villes.

Les pays de l'Europe sont distribués en deux groupes à valeur bien significante: d'une part l'Allemagne avec maints pays alliés,⁴¹ d'autre part la France

⁴⁰ Cette représentation du monde figure déjà, selon J. Baltrušaitis, sur la carte d'Agrippa retouchée par l'empereur Auguste. Elle correspond à la tradition biblique "d'après laquelle Noé aurait partagé la terre entre ses trois fils, en octroyant à Sem une double part"; cité par Elie Konigson, *L'espace théâtral médiéval*, 89. Pour Pascal Arnaud, elle appartient au type T-O ("Plurima orbis *imago*. Lectures conventionnelles des cartes au Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 18 (printemps 1990): 33–51 (34 ss.). Danielle Lecoq analyse des textes latins sur la représentation de la terre dans l'univers, sa distribution ainsi que ses divisions, "L'image de la terre à travers les mappemondes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles," dans *Terres médiévales*, éd. Bernard Ribémont (Paris, 1993), 203–36. Noter aussi Patrick Gautier Dalché, "Un problème d'histoire culturelle: perception et représentation de l'espace au Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 18 (printemps 1990): 5–15 (9).

⁴¹ Anthime Fourier justifie la distribution des participants dans le tournoi à partir de la politique historique du moment (*Le courant réaliste*, 399–400).

qui est assistée par les païens d'Espagne. L'Afrique, qui, d'après le texte, faisait partie de Byzance,⁴² est le juge de l'affaire (c'est-à-dire, elle est au "centre" du conflit). Finalement l'Asie lointaine, alliée à l'Allemagne, est celle qui comprend un plus grand nombre de pays, adhérents tous à la foi païenne. Cette distribution géographique n'est pas gratuite, car après les combats qui éliminent successivement les concurrents, le roi de France et notamment Partonopeus affrontent le sultan de Perse, qui était—Mélior l'avait averti—le seul à dépasser son père en richesses. Le tournoi, version adoucie et moins violente de la guerre, oppose les deux candidats à la main de Mélior: un Français contre un Persan, h.e. l'Occident contre l'Orient, le chrétien contre le païen. Chef d'Oire-Constantinople-Troie sera, finalement, conquise par un noble chrétien.

La ville "extra muros" dédouble les fonctions que le texte confère à Chef d'Oire. D'une part, elle la consacre comme le centre du monde, lieu de la confrontation pacifique entre deux univers qui s'opposent par leur religion, par sa culture et par sa détermination spatiale. D'autre part elle s'érige en récompense festive qui s'offre au vainqueur du tournoi. Elle est à la fois sujet et objet du litige.

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* *

Partant des trois descriptions de Chef d'Oire, on peut se faire une image plus complète de cette ville. Décrite comme une femme, étalant ses parures et trésors, elle déploie tout son pouvoir de séduction sur Partonopeus, ce qui remplit le vide creusé par l'invisible Mélior, avec qui elle partage la connaissance des arts, de l'histoire et de la magie. Creuset de villes mythiques, Chef d'Oire actualise le mythe de l'ancienne Troie à travers son héritière Constantinople, convertie à la fois chrétienne et devenue centre du monde⁴³ comme la Jérusalem terrestre. Bref, elle est à la fois un peu Troie, un peu Jérusalem et un peu Constantinople. Elle représente, donc, la grandeur et richesse de la civilisation orientale, sujet de fascination et objet de conquête pour l'homme médiéval.

⁴² Ibid., 404.

⁴³ Castellani, "De la Jérusalem terrestre à la Jérusalem d'en haut," 127: "Géographiquement, Jérusalem apparaît comme le centre du monde"; "La ville, au centre de la terre habitée, est à mi-chemin entre Enfer et Paradis." Voir aussi Anna Imelde Galletti, "Gerusalemme o la città desiderata," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 96 (1984): 459–87 (461); Christiane Deluz, "Jérusalem, coeur et milieu de toute la terre du monde" (*Le Livre de Jean de Mandeville*), dans *Le mythe de Jérusalem*, 91–99; et Jean Larmat, "Images de Jérusalem dans la littérature française médiévale," ibid. 11–20.

L'aventure de Partonopeus de la maison de Blois, refait en sens inverse le chemin de ses ancêtres Troyens, tracé par l'auteur dès le prologue du roman. Son voyage le conduit de France à Chef d'Oire-Constantinople pour conquérir la femme, la ville et le royaume, c'est l'itinéraire contraire d'Alexandre, ou de Cligés dans le roman de Chrétien de Troyes. La richesse, et surtout le savoir oriental, s'allient à la force et à l'adresse du héros français, dans des noces prometteuses qui récupèrent grâce à ce vassal du roi de France le prestige et la grandeur de Troie. La *translatio imperii*⁴⁴ qui légitimait chez Chrétien de Troyes l'origine grecque de la chevalerie et son transfert en France, assure dans ce roman la reconquête heureuse de la source de la chevalerie française.

Comme Anthime Fourrier l'affirmait, ce roman, composé pour célébrer la maison de Blois, recrée le mythe de la *translatio imperii*, en sens inverse à celui du roman arthurien de Chrétien de Troyes, cette fois non de Grèce en France, mais de France en Chef d'Oire-Byzance.

⁴⁴ On peut trouver une bonne synthèse sur l'origine de l'association *chevalerie-clergie* dans Erich Köhler, *L'aventure chevaleresque: Idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois*, trad. Eliane Kaufholz (Paris, 1974 ; réimpr. 1984), 46–60. A lire aussi D. Kelly, “Translatio studii: Translation, Adaptation and Allegory in Medieval French,” *Philologigal Quarterly* 57 (1978): 287–310.

ANNEXE

Envers la tor en est alés.
 Iluec descent, monte en la tor,
 Ainc hom ne vit nule mellor,
 Et quant est venus as creniaus,
 Que il trove et bons et biaus,
 Esgarde vers solel levant
 Et voit la mer qui dure tant
 Que nus n'en puet veir le fin
 Par ou li paile alixandrin
 Vienent et li bon siglaton,
 Li melequin et li mangon,
 Li espervier et li ostor,
 Et li cheval bon cacheor,
 Et li poivres et li comins,
 Et li encens alixandrins,
 Li girofles, li garingaus,
 Les mecines contre tos max.
 Quanqu'a el siecle precious
 Et bon et bel et mervellos
 A la cité vient par la mer,
 Et tot sieut ilec ariver.
 Cel liu a primes regardé,
 Puis s'en vait a l'autre costé
 De la tor qui est vers midi;
 Cele part esgarde autresi.
 De cele part sont li vergier
 As citeains plus d'un milier;
 Et voit les vignes sor le mer
 Tant en lonc et en le durer
 Que rien n'i voit se vignes non.
 Puis s'en vait al tiers quaregnon;

La voit les cans amples et les,
 Bien gaagniés et bien semés;
 Ce li est vis que tant en voit
 C'a un roiaume asés seroit.
 Al quart costé s'en est venus,
 Iluec s'est longement tenus;
 Molt i a veü grans biautés,
 Jel vos dirai: or m'escotés.
 De cele part chiet Oire en mer
 U les grans nes solent entrer;
 Defors le mur aval en vient,
 Grans trente toises en le tient.
 Li pons est desor l'eaue biax,
 Bien entailliés, tos de quariaus.
 Al cief del pont devers le pre
 A un molt bel castel fermé,
 Qui tant est larges et pleniers,
 Molt i puet avoir chevaliers,
 U tant a edifiemens
 Que molt i puet avoir de gens;
 Car par desus le mer li pre
 Durent deus grans liues de le
 Et diz liues durent de lonc.
 Puis est la frans forés selonc,
 Dont li bos est et haus et biax,
 Et plains de bestes et d'oisiax;
 Et aires d'esperviers plusors,
 De blans girfaus, de bons ostors,
 Dont li ostoir sont tot gruier,
 Et li faucon tot haironier.
 (vv. 1620-80)

IGOR'S DEFEAT AT THE KAYALA (1185): THE CHRONICLE EVIDENCE*

Martin Dimnik

INTRODUCTION

IGOR' Svyatoslavich's disastrous campaign in 1185 has become popularized through its literary rendering in "The Lay of Igor's Campaign" (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*), an epic poem written by an anonymous bard.¹ Because of this interpretation of events, the popular image of Igor' is that of a vanquished prince. For many this stigma implies that he was an incompetent military commander, that he conducted a reckless campaign against the Polovtsy, and that his initiative was an act of insubordination to his senior prince, Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Kiev. But is the poem's description of Igor' and his fateful encounter with the Polovsty reliable?

Although the literary work is based on the historical event and reflects the spirit of the age, researchers have pointed out that it offers no new evidence concerning the history of Igor' and the Ol'govichi. It merely repeats data found in the chronicles, particularly in the Hypatian Chronicle.² The poem's most useful contribution to historical research, it could be argued, is the information it offers concerning the chronology of events, the topography of the terrain over which Igor' travelled, and specific data describing his military encounters. Investigators have used such details as signposts for finding the route of Igor's march and the place of the massacre. To date, however, no

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¹ The text is in *A Historical Russian Reader: A Selection of Texts from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. J. Fennell and D. Obolensky (Oxford, 1969), 63–72.

² See, for example, M. Yu. Braychevsky, "Chernigovskiy knyazheskiy dom i avtor 'Slova o polku Igoreve,'" in *Problemy arkheologii yuzhnay Rusi. Materialy istoriko-arkheologicheskogo seminara "Chernigov i ego okruga v LX-XIII vv."*, Chernigov, 26–28 sentyabrya 1988 g. (Kiev, 1990), 10–15; and A. A. Zimin, "Ipat'evskaya letopis' i 'Slovo o polku Igoreve,'" *Istoriya SSSR* (1968/6): 43–64. Cf. A. G. Kuz'min, who challenges Zimin's views ("Ipat'evskaya letopis' i 'Slovo o polku Igoreve' [Po povodu stat'i A. A. Zimina]," *ibid.*, 64–87).

suggested site has been universally accepted as the definitive location of the river Kayala.³

Unlike the *Slovo*, the chronicles record seemingly all of Igor's raids against the tribesmen, his capable leadership on the field of battle, his changeable relationship with the Polovtsy, and Svyatoslav's willingness to repeatedly appoint him commander of campaigns. This information suggests that the historic Igor' was different from the one that the *Slovo* portrays. The purpose of this investigation is to examine Igor's defeat at the Kayala in the context of all his Polovtsian campaigns as reported by the chronicles.

In examining the chronicles, however, it is not our purpose to present a textual study of the accounts describing the disastrous campaign. Others have taken up the task and have produced rewarding results.⁴ They have established that the Hypatian account is the most detailed and based on eyewitness reports. It will serve as our basic text.⁵ Investigators have also pointed out that a number of authors wrote different parts of the Hypatian text. The first section describing Igor's campaign and capture came from Igor's chronicler. Svyatoslav's Kievan scribe wrote the report of his intervention. Vladimir Glebovich's man reported the news of Konchak's attack on Pereyaslavl' and Vladimir's defence of the town. The last section describing Igor's escape was, once again, the work of his author.⁶

³ Although determining the exact spot of the Kayala is not necessary for our investigation, the observation that Igor' campaigned against the Don Polovtsy in the upper reaches of the left bank of the river Donets is the most convincing (see G. E. Pyadyshev, "Pokhod Igorya v 1185 godu. Mesto bitvy," *Istoriya SSSR* (1980/4): 42–65; S. A. Pletneva, "Polovetskaya zemlya," *Drevnerusskie knyazhestva X–XIII vv.*, ed. L. G. Beskrovnyy [Moscow, 1975], 291). Some suggest that the Kayala was on the right bank of the Donets (for example, K. V. Kudryashov, *Pro Igorya Severskogo, pro Zemlyu russkuyu* [Moscow, 1959], 44–46; M. F. Getmanets, *Tayna reki Kayaly* ["*Slovo o polku Igoreve*"] [Khar'kov, 1982], 37–52, 101–11). Still others argue that the battle was fought near one of the eastern tributaries of the Dnepr in the upper reaches of the river Orel' (for example, V. G. Fedorov, *Kto byl avtorem "Slova o polku Igoreve" i gde raspolozhena reka Kayala* [Moscow, 1956], 69–75, 172–73) or in the upper reaches of the river Samara (for example, B. A. Rybakov, "*Slovo o polku Igoreve*" i ego sovremenniki [Moscow, 1971], 233–38, 245).

⁴ See, for example, A. A. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie russkikh letopisnykh svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), 69–74; M. D. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI–XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1940), 46–52; D. S. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kul'turno-istoricheskoe znachenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), 182–96; and Rybakov, "*Slovo o polku Igoreve*," 170–201.

⁵ "*Ipat'evskaya letopis'* " [Ipat.], in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* [PSRL] vol. 2, 2d ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908).

⁶ See Zimin, "*Ipat'evskaya letopis'* " 49. Cf. B. A. Rybakov, "Kievskaya letopisnaya povest' o pokhode Igorya v 1185 g.," in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* [TODRL] 24 (Leningrad, 1969), 58–63.

The Laurentian Chronicle gives a parallel report but offers no cameos of individual princes.⁷ Instead, it presents a continuous narrative written by one chronicler. His information is less reliable because he was unfamiliar with the events and with the geography of the south. Moreover, he was hostile to Igor'. Consequently, we will cite items of news from the Laurentian version only when they conflict with or add to our understanding of the Hypatian account.⁸ Finally, V. N. Tatishchev has unique information, but much of it is suspect. His work will be referred to, in the main, only when both redactions include identical information.⁹

THE PRE-KAYALA PERIOD

Under the year 1166, the chronicler gives news of events that boded ill for the future of Rus'. He reports that the Polovtsy, on seeing how the Ol'govichi were living in strife,¹⁰ came to the Dnepr rapids and attacked merchants coming from the Greeks. Rostislav Mstislavich of Kiev therefore sent troops to escort the caravans through the danger. Towards the end of the year, a Polovtsian band captured a certain Shvarn beyond Pereyaslavl', massacred his *druzhina*, and later released him for a large ransom.¹¹ Significantly, the Polovtsy had not raided Rus' for over a generation. During that period they had been content to act as auxiliaries for the princes in their internecine wars.

⁷ "Lavrent'evskaya letopis'" [Lav.] in PSRL 1, 2d ed. (Leningrad, 1926).

⁸ Concerning errors in the Laurentian account, see Rybakov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve," 194–97; and Pyadyshev, "Pokhod Igorya," 48–49.

⁹ V. N. Tatishchev produced two redactions of his *Istoriya Rossiyskaya*. The first, the more trustworthy, is contained in volume four. In writing it he used sources that have since been lost and was thus able to incorporate unique information. The second redaction, in volumes two and three, was a revision of the first. Although he added more unique entries from new chronicles and foreign sources, the second redaction is suspect. He wrote the text in contemporary Russian and therewith frequently changed the meaning of the original. He also inserted his own explanations into the text without identifying them as such (*Istoriya Rossiyskaya*, 7 vols. [Moscow and Leningrad, 1962–68]). See also A. A. Shakhmatov, "K voprosu o kriticheskem izdanii *Istoriyi Rossiyskoy* V. N. Tatishcheva," in *Dela i Dni, Kniga pervaya* (Peterburg, 1920), 80–95; and M. Dimnik, "A Bride's Journey from Kiev to Vladimir (1211): Pitfalls in Using V. N. Tatishchev as a Source," in *Roma, magistra mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, ed. J. Hamesse, 3 vols., *Textes et études du moyen age* 10 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), 1:137–53.

¹⁰ After Svyatoslav Vladimirovich died in Vshchizh, in 1166, the two Ol'govichi, Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov and Oleg Svyatoslavich of Novgorod Severskiy went to war over his domain (see under the year [hereafter, s.a.] 1167: Ipat., cols. 525–26; s.a. 1166: *Moskovskiy letopisniy svod kontsa XV veka* [Mosk.], in PSRL 25 [Moscow and Leningrad, 1949], 73–74).

¹¹ See s.a. 1167: Ipat., cols. 526–27; and s.a. 1166: Mosk., 74.

The news of two Polovtsian raids in one year therefore was a signal to the princes that the tribesmen had once again initiated hostilities. Their incursions, as we shall see, would reach a climax in the 1180s.

In 1171, the chronicler reports, the nomads renewed their raids along the river Ros' south of Kiev.¹² At the same time, they also attacked towns belonging to the Ol'govichi on the east bank of the Dnepr. On the Feast of St. Peter,¹³ therefore, Igor' Svyatoslavich led his troops into the steppe beyond the river Vorskla,¹⁴ where he learnt that Khans Kobyak and Konchak were devastating districts around Pereyaslavl'.¹⁵ He crossed back over the Vorskla at Ltava and rode to confront the raiders.¹⁶ When the enemy forces met, the small band of nomads fled abandoning its booty. Igor's *druzhina* killed many of the tribesmen and took others captive. This happened on 20 July, the Feast of the Holy Prophet Elias.¹⁷

Thus we see that Igor's first reported campaign against the Polovtsy was a success. To judge from the account, he was the only prince on the expedition. The absence of other Ol'govichi meant that the attacking force, made up primarily of his personal *druzhina*, was small. He also set out in quest of the raiders seemingly without informing either his elder brother Oleg in Novgorod Severskiy, the head of the cadet branch, or Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich in Chernigov, the head of the senior branch and the senior prince of the dynasty.¹⁸ His initiative is not surprising. Igor' was prince in Putivl' in the

¹² See s.a. 1174: Ipat., col. 568.

¹³ This was probably the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, which fell on 29 June.

¹⁴ He evidently searched for the nomads in the steppe located in the upper reaches of the river Donets.

¹⁵ Khan Konchak, mentioned here for the first time, lived until the beginning of the thirteenth century. He unified many of the Polovtsian tribes and, around 1184, seemingly achieved the peak of his power. His tribesmen lived in the basin of the river Donets. Concerning his career, see S. A. Pletneva, *Polovtsy* (Moscow, 1990), 156–68, and her “Donskie polovtsy,” in “*Slovo o polku Igoreve*” *i ego vremya*, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1985), 265–79; and see Rybakov, “*Slovo o polku Igoreve*,” 100–102. According to Pletneva, Kobyak was a khan of the Lukomorskie Polovtsy from the region of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov (*Polovtsy*, 147).

¹⁶ The so-called Zaloznyy put', or trade route from the Caspian, crossed the river Vorskla at the town of Ltava (see L. Ie. Makhnovets', trans., *Litopys rus'kyi [za Ipat's'kym spyskom]*, ed. O. V. Myshanych [Kiev, 1989], 557).

¹⁷ See s.a. 1174: Ipat., cols. 568–69; Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 307; “Gustinskaya letopis'” [Gust.] in PSRL 2 (St. Petersburg, 1843), 314. Concerning the date, see N. G. Berezhkov, *Khronologiya russkogo letopisaniya* (Moscow, 1963), 189.

¹⁸ The Ol'govichi, the descendants of Oleg Svyatoslavich (†1115), became divided into the senior branch and the cadet (junior) branch. The senior branch was descended from Oleg's eldest son Vsevolod (†1146), and the cadet branch was descended from Oleg's youngest son Svyatoslav (†1164). In 1171 the senior branch constituted Vsevolod's sons Svyatoslav and Yaroslav, and the cadet branch constituted Svyatoslav's sons Oleg, Igor', and Vsevolod (see the genealogical table at the end of the article and N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages*

Posem'e region that the nomads had evidently attacked. If he hoped to catch the marauders, he had to retaliate swiftly without waiting for approval from his superiors. In doing so, he was also following the example of Oleg, who in 1166 had campaigned against Kobyak on his own.¹⁹ By successfully intercepting Konchak and Kobyak in the Pereyaslavl' lands, Igor' ingratiated himself with Vladimir Glebovich of Pereyaslavl', whose lands bore the brunt of that Polovtsian raid, and with Roman of Kiev, who had the responsibility of overseeing the defence of Rus'.²⁰

On 16 January 1180, Igor's brother Oleg died and Igor' succeeded him in Novgorod Severskiy as the senior prince of the cadet branch.²¹ By that time Igor's cousin Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich had occupied Kiev and had given Chernigov to his younger brother Yaroslav. At the beginning of 1181, we are told, Svyatoslav assembled all the Ol'govichi along with the Polovtsy and addressed his brothers as follows.

I am older than (my brother) Yaroslav, and you Igor' are older than (your brother) Vsevolod. And now I have become a father to you all. I command you Igor' to stay here with Yaroslav and defend Chernigov and all our domains. I, however, will go with (your brother) Vsevolod to Suzdal' to free my son Gleb.

He left half of the forces with Yaroslav and Igor' and took the other half to Suzdalia.²²

Svyatoslav's instructions to the Ol'govichi are noteworthy. In assuming the role of father of the dynasty, he alludes to the directive of Yaroslav the Wise, who appointed his eldest surviving son Izyaslav as the father of the family in his place.²³ In using Yaroslav as the fountainhead of his authority, Svyatoslav confirms that the Ol'govichi looked upon Yaroslav's so-called testament as the cornerstone of their political structure. Accordingly, having recourse to his authority as the father of the dynasty, Svyatoslav commanded Igor' and Yaroslav to remain behind and defend the Ol'govichi capital against attack

occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du X^e au XIII^e siècle, *Orientalia Christiana* 9-1, no. 35 [Rome, 1927], Table IV).

¹⁹ See s.a. 1167: Ipat., col. 527; and s.a. 1166: Mosk., 74.

²⁰ Pletneva points out that this was the first occasion on which Konchak and his Donets Polovtsy waged an independent attack on the lands of Rus'. For this purpose, he formed an alliance with Kobyak of the Lukomorskie Polovtsy (*Polovtsy*, 157).

²¹ See s.a. 1178: Ipat., col. 613; Gust., 317.

²² Ipat., col. 618. Concerning the date, see Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 200. In 1180 Vsevolod Yur'evich "Bol'shoe Gnezdo" had taken Gleb captive and was holding him in Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma (Ipat., col. 614).

²³ M. Dimnik, "The 'Testament' of Jaroslav 'The Wise': A Re-examination," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 29 (1987): 374-75.

from the Rostislavichi and their Polovtsian allies. Ordinarily, the commander-in-chief placed the next in seniority in charge of defending the patrimony. In this instance, however, Svyatoslav divided the task between the two most senior princes after him, Yaroslav from the senior branch and Igor' from the cadet branch.

In the same year, while Svyatoslav was in Novgorod, Yaroslav and Igor' waged war on Drutsk. The princes of Polotsk brought auxiliaries. As the coalition went north to meet Svyatoslav, David of Smolensk joined Gleb Rogvolodovich at Drutsk and pursued the attackers. Yaroslav and Igor', refusing to fight without Svyatoslav, sequestered their troops in a safe location. When Svyatoslav arrived, however, David fled to Smolensk under the cover of darkness. After attacking Drutsk, Svyatoslav travelled down the Dnepr to Kiev. Igor', accompanied by Khans Konchak and Kobyak, waited for Svyatoslav across the river from Vyshgorod. On receiving this news, Ryurik Rostislavich withdrew from Kiev to Belgorod.²⁴

To judge from the account, Yaroslav and Igor' initiated the attack on Drutsk. On closer examination, however, we see that they had prearranged to meet Svyatoslav, suggesting that he had organized the campaign either before he marched to Suzdalia or had sent directives to Yaroslav and Igor' from Novgorod. Significantly, Svyatoslav not only trusted Igor' to co-command the campaign but also depended on him to recruit Konchak and Kobyak as auxiliaries. Thus, even though Igor' had waged war against those very khans in 1171, ten years later he treated them as allies revealing that his relations with the khans were ambivalent.

In 1181 after Svyatoslav and his brothers entered Kiev, the chronicler tells us, the Polovtsy asked him to allow Igor' to accompany them to Dolobsk.²⁵ When Ryurik, in Belgorod, learnt that Igor' and the nomads were bivouacked on the other side of the Dnepr, he sent Mstislav Vladimirovich²⁶ with the Black Caps and his own troops commanded by a certain Lazor against them. The Polovtsy expected no trouble because of their large number in addition to Igor's *druzhina*. When Mstislav came upon them at night, a small group of the Black Caps broke away from his force and attacked the camp. Most of the raiders were killed, but a few escaped to Mstislav's troops. The latter, on seeing the fugitives, panicked and fled. Lazor and the main force, however, attacked and defeated the Polovtsy. They killed Khan Konchak's brother Eltut and took captive two of Konchak's sons along with other notables. Igor' and

²⁴ See s.a. 1180: Ipat., cols. 620–21; cf. s.a. 1181: Mosk., 90.

²⁵ Dolobsk or Lake Dolobsk (*Dolobskoe ozero*) was located across the Dnepr from Kiev. Concerning its location, see Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 536.

²⁶ Mstislav was the prince of Dorogobuzh (Baumgarten, *Généalogies*, Table V, 41).

Konchak, however, seized a boat and escaped to Chernigov via Gorodets. Despite the victory, Ryurik did not act vindictively towards Svyatoslav. Since the latter was older, Ryurik ceded to him seniority in Rus' and control of Kiev, but he took the entire land of Rus' for himself. The princes sealed the agreement by kissing the Holy Cross.²⁷

The chronicler does not explain why the Polovtsy sought Igor's company. Since, however, the nomads were returning to their camps, they undoubtedly wished to fraternize with the prince before going home. Igor' evidently enjoyed a close friendship with them, in particular, with Konchak. The latter observation is testified to by the news that the two fled together to Chernigov. Indeed, their joint escape also implies that they fought side by side. On the one hand, the episode is important testimony to the camaraderie that existed between Igor' and the khan. On the other hand, the massacre of Konchak's troops must have inflamed the khan's animosity towards Ryurik. After that, the incursions of the nomads on Rus' escalated so that by 1184 confronting the peril from the steppe became the greatest challenge for the princes.

The chronicler reports that, on 23 February 1184, Khan Konchak with his Donets Polovtsy pillaged the Pereyaslavl' lands. Svyatoslav summoned his co-ruler Ryurik and together they rode against the raiders. At Ol'zhichi they waited for Svyatoslav's brother Yaroslav who, on arriving from Chernigov, advised them not to pursue the nomads in the winter but to organize a summer campaign. Svyatoslav and Ryurik heeded his counsel and returned home. Later, however, Svyatoslav sent his sons and his troops to Igor' ordering him to pursue the tribesmen. Ryurik, for his part, sent his troops under the command of Vladimir Glebovich of Pereyaslavl'. After setting out, Vladimir asked Igor' to let him occupy the vanguard position, but Igor' refused. Vladimir was furious, turned back, and raided Seversk towns.²⁸

Igor', however, went in pursuit of the Polovtsy taking with him his brother Vsevolod, Svyatoslav's son Vsevolod, a number of unidentified princelings, and a small force of Black Caps. When they arrived at the river Khiriya, a tributary of the Vorskla, the weather turned warm and it rained that night. As a result, the water in the river rose so high it prevented Igor's troops from

²⁷ See s.a. 1180: Ipat., cols. 621–24; Gust., 318. According to their pact, Svyatoslav would be the sole ruler of Kiev and commander-in-chief of their joint campaigns. Ryurik would remain in Belgorod and assume jurisdiction over all the other towns in the Kievan land. Concerning their co-rule and their spheres of jurisdiction, see M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov, 1146–1246* (forthcoming), chap. 2.

²⁸ Before the arrival of the Varangians in Rus', the tribe of Severyane occupied the territories along the middle and lower parts of the Desna. The Ol'govichi domains were therefore also known as "the land of the Severyane" (*Severskaya zemlya*); see M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov, 1054–1146*, Studies and Texts 116 (Toronto, 1994), 5.

crossing. The Polovtsy who made it to the other side escaped safely to their camps, but those who failed to cross the river were taken captive by Igor's men. On that occasion, we are told, many goods, horses, and herds were lost in the Khiriya.²⁹

Svyatoslav had several reasons for placing Igor' in charge of the campaign. Since his brother Yaroslav had agreed to march with him in the summer, Igor', the next in seniority, was the obvious Ol'govich to lead the winter expedition. He had additional qualifications. Of the Chernigov domains, those of the cadet branch in the Posem'e region were the most vulnerable to Polovtsian raids. Not only did skirmishes with the nomads give Igor' and his forces greater expertise against the nomads but, as we have seen, it prompted Igor' to cultivate personal ties with several khans including Konchak. It may well have been his friendship with Igor' that stopped the khan from raiding Ol'govichi territories on this occasion. Indeed, given Igor's close ties with the khan, it is surprising to learn that Svyatoslav placed him in command of the punitive force assembled to drive out Konchak from Rus'. Significantly, Igor' did not baulk at the order and thereby demonstrated that his commitment to defending the lands of Rus' overrode his personal friendship with the khan.

Igor' asserted his command before the campaign got under way. He refused to let Vladimir of Pereyaslavl' spearhead the attack. At first sight it is surprising to learn that Igor' turned down Vladimir's seemingly selfless offer to place himself and his troops at the forefront of the fighting. In addition to the glory that accrued to the prince leading the attack, however, there were material benefits. It has been pointed out that Igor' and Vladimir quarreled because the contingent that rode at the head of the main force would get the first opportunity to grab the booty.³⁰ Since the spoils of war were probably at the crux of the argument, the chronicler evidently did not wish to admit that the princes' dispute was motivated by their greed. Nevertheless, it must be said that Vladimir made a fair request because Konchak had raided his towns and he considered it his right to reclaim the pillaged property.

Vladimir would not be denied. Since Igor' prevented him from retrieving the goods of his people from the nomads, he decided to compensate for his losses by pillaging Ol'govichi towns. It is surprising that the chronicler, especially if he was Igor's scribe, failed to condemn Vladimir for the misdeed. His

²⁹ See s.a. 1183: Ipat., cols. 628–29; cf. Gust., 318–19. Concerning the dates, see Berezkhov, *Khronologiya*, 201.

³⁰ V. G. Lyaskoronsky, "Severskie knyaz'ya i polovtsy pered nashestviem na Rus' mongolov," in *Sbornik statey v chest' Dmitriya Aleksandrovicha Korsakova: Istoryya – Istoryya literatury – Arkheologiya – Yazykovedenie – Filosofiya – Pedagogika* (Kazan', 1913), 285. As we shall see, after Igor's initial victory at the river Syurliy, he allowed the younger princes who formed the vanguard of his force to pursue the defeated nomads and to pillage their camps.

silence leads one to suspect that he considered Igor's rebuff unfair and Vladimir's vindictiveness justified. The chronicler had a second compelling reason for not censuring Vladimir. As we shall see, after his defeat at the river Kayala in the following year, Igor' confessed that he had wronged the Christians of Rus' by attacking Vladimir's town of Glebov.³¹ Although the chronicler fails to tell us when Igor' sacked the town, he probably did so as he passed through the Pereyaslavl' lands on his return from the river Khiriya. Given Igor's revenge, the chronicler had no cause to berate Vladimir because Igor' had balanced the scales.

Next, the Hypatian chronicler reports that, later in 1184, Svyatoslav and Ryurik organized a campaign against the Polovtsy and summoned many neighbouring princes to help them. Svyatoslav's brothers, the Ol'govichi, did not come, however, declaring that they would not travel so far down the Dnepr and leave their lands undefended. They proposed that Svyatoslav take a different route via Pereyaslavl' and they would join him at the river Sula. Svyatoslav was annoyed at his brothers and quickly set out down the Dnepr. His three eldest sons from the Chernigov side also failed to join him.

Svyatoslav travelled along the west shore of the Dnepr and at "Inzhir' brod" ordered his forces to cross over to the "warring side."³² He sent the younger princes commanded by Vladimir of Pereyaslavl' ahead of the main force. On the fifth day, the vanguard spotted the tribesmen, but when the latter saw Vladimir's troops riding boldly towards them they fled. According to the Laurentian chronicler, the Polovtsy were puffed up with confidence and charged Vladimir shouting as if they wished to devour him. He, however, had requested Svyatoslav to allow him to ride at the head of the main force because the Polovtsy had ravaged his domain. When the nomads saw how resolutely he advanced, they fled.

Vladimir, the Hypatian chronicler continues, set out in pursuit, but failing to catch the tribesmen turned back and reassembled his forces at Erel', which the Rus' called Ugol.³³ Thinking that Vladimir's contingent constituted the entire Rus' force, Khan Kobyak Karlyevich regrouped the Polovtsy and attacked the prince. When Svyatoslav and Ryurik learnt that Vladimir's men

³¹ According to Makhnovets', Glebov was located on the right bank of the river Trubezh (*Litopys rus'kyi*, 547).

³² Investigators are not agreed on the location of the Inzhir' brod ford. According to some it was on the Dnepr near the mouth of the river Sula (*Imennoy i geograficheskiy ukazateli k Ipat'evskoy letopisi*, compiled by L. L. Murav'eva and L. F. Kuz'mina [Moscow, 1975], 85). Others claim it was on the Dnepr in the vicinity of the mouth of the river Vorskla (Rybakov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve," 207). Others still place it on the river Erel' near its mouth (Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 552).

³³ The river Ugla, today called Orel', is a left tributary of the Dnepr.

had engaged the enemy in battle, they quickly sent the main force to help. On catching sight of the reinforcements, the Polovtsy panicked and a great slaughter ensued. The Rus' forces took 7,000 captives. Of the 417 khans who fought in the battle, the princes captured sixteen including Kobyak with two of his sons. They killed many others but some escaped. Svyatoslav and Ryurik defeated the Polovtsy on 30 July 1184, "and returned home with great glory and honour."³⁴

According to this information, Svyatoslav's three eldest sons, Vladimir, Oleg, and Vsevolod, who were evidently living in domains located in the Vyatichi lands, failed to arrive in time for the expedition. Igor' and the princes of the cadet branch, however, boycotted the campaign. But the most surprising absentee was Svyatoslav's brother Yaroslav who, at the beginning of the year, had promised Svyatoslav to join him on the summer campaign. Before condemning the Ol'govichi for truancy, it is important to note that Yaroslav and Igor' had sound reasons for not joining Svyatoslav. His campaign would take them on a long circuitous route from the Chernigov lands. In their view, following the Dnepr deep into the steppe would absent them from their lands for too long a period of time leaving their homes vulnerable to Polovtsian attack. They therefore proposed that Svyatoslav take the land route across the Pereyaslavl' lands. Should a band of nomads attack the Posem'e region while the princes were campaigning, they would be in a better position to retaliate against the marauders. Significantly, Yaroslav and Igor' adopted a common policy against their senior prince.

Svyatoslav rejected his brothers' proposal but we are not told why. A closer look at his campaign, however, suggests that he planned to attack Khan Kobyak's alliance of tribes encamped in the Erel' region. These tribesmen were different from the ones that Yaroslav and Igor' wished to subdue. The route the latter two proposed was the one Igor' had taken to the river Khiriya. That region was closer to the pastures of Konchak and the Donets tribes. Yaroslav and Igor' believed Konchak's alliance of tribes to be of greater danger to them to judge from the news that Igor' had routed them earlier in the year. Svyatoslav and Ryurik, whose lands on the west bank of the Dnepr were not in danger of attack from these nomads, were determined to campaign against the Dnepr tribes which were a direct threat to them.³⁵

³⁴ See s.a. 1183: Ipat., cols. 630–33; and s.a. 1185: Lav., cols. 394–96; Mosk, 91. Concerning the date, see Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 82, 202. In the second redaction of his work, Tatishchev gives a unique item of news. After the victory, Svyatoslav and Ryurik rewarded Vladimir for his valour by letting him take the Polovtsian princes whom he had captured. He later released them for a high ransom (Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* 3:132).

³⁵ Pletneva points out that the Polovtsy from the Don basin usually attacked the lands of

Whereas Igor' had agreed to lead a retaliatory campaign against Konchak in the winter, he refused to march on an offensive expedition in the summer. Since Kobyak's bands had pillaged neither his nor Yaroslav's lands, he evidently harboured no special animosity towards that khan. Igor' probably had another reason for objecting to Svyatoslav's campaign. Kobyak's main victim had been Vladimir of Pereyaslavl'. Given Igor's recent altercation with Vladimir, he probably was not eager to fight the nomads on behalf of the Pereyaslavl' lands. As the senior prince of Rus', however, Svyatoslav had the duty of organizing campaigns against all the khans who devastated Rus' lands regardless of whether these belonged to the Ol'govichi or to the Monomashichi, or whether they were located on the left bank or on the right bank.

The campaign was a brilliant success. On the ideological level, the Christians of Rus' inflicted a crushing defeat on the pagans. On the political level, the princes returned home basking in glory. The booty that they brought back was a bonus. This included thousands of Polovtsian captives, their khans, large herds of animals, goods that the nomads had plundered and, most gratifying, Christians of Rus' whom the Polovtsy had taken captive.

When Igor' learnt that Svyatoslav had taken his troops down the Dnepr he summoned his brother Vsevolod, his nephew Svyatoslav Ol'govich, and his son Vladimir. He informed the princes that the Polovtsy were preoccupied fighting Svyatoslav and the princes of Rus' and had left their tents unguarded. He therefore proposed that the Ol'govichi raid the undefended camps. After Igor's forces crossed the river Merla south of the Khiriya, however, they encountered a troop of Polovtsy. A certain Obovia Kostukovich was leading four hundred horsemen to raid the Rus' lands. Igor's forces charged the nomads and they scattered. The princes rode in pursuit, defeated the tribesmen, and returned home.³⁶

Igor's campaign reveals that the princes of the cadet branch had no intention of shirking their military obligations. His refusal to campaign with Svyatoslav was counterbalanced by his resolve to fight tribesmen living closer to the Posem'e region. All three families were represented on Igor's campaign: Igor' and his eldest son Vladimir from Putivl', Igor's brother Vsevolod from Trubetsk, and Svyatoslav of Ryl'sk (the son of Igor's deceased brother Oleg). To judge from the account, Igor' invited only his immediate relatives to join him. In the light of Yaroslav's past and, as we shall see, future lack of participation on campaigns, Igor' probably considered it pointless to call him.

Chernigov and that the Polovtsy from the Dnepr region normally attacked the lands of Pereyaslavl' and Kiev ("Polovetskaya zemlya," 283, and *Polovtsy*, 146).

³⁶ See s.a. 1183: Ipat., col. 633; Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 334; Gust., 319.

As for Svyatoslav's three eldest sons who had failed to arrive in time for their father's campaign, it appears that Igor' was also not prepared to wait for them.

Igor' did not inform Svyatoslav of his planned raid because Svyatoslav himself was campaigning. But even if he could have informed Svyatoslav of his intention before he set out against the Polovtsian camps, Igor' would not have considered it necessary to do so. This was in keeping with the conduct of the princes living on the 'warring side' of the Dnepr. As has been noted, the Ol'govichi towns south of the Seym were extremely vulnerable to raids. Consequently, it was frequently crucial for princes living on the Polovtsian frontier to sally forth swiftly in pursuit of marauders.³⁷ Moreover, Igor's position of seniority in the cadet branch gave him an added degree of independence from Svyatoslav. In taking his forces to the Merla, therefore, Igor' was exercising his prerogatives.

On this occasion, his main motive for conducting the separate campaign, as he himself declared, was to seize booty. The vacated Polovtsian camps provided the princes with an ideal opportunity to raid them. Igor' anticipated no opposition and was surprised to chance upon a raiding party. Nevertheless, this was a fortuitous encounter. It gave the princes an unexpected opportunity to win glory in battle. Although the confrontation diverted them from their original purpose, their victory over the would-be raiders was of greater benefit because it saved Christians from attack. Igor' returned home content that the cadet branch had fulfilled its responsibility of protecting Rus'. He also exonerated his family from any accusations of insubordination that might have been levied against it for not joining Svyatoslav. Indeed, by pre-empting a Polovtsian raid, perhaps on the Posem'e, Igor' proved to Svyatoslav that his excuse for not going on the circuitous Dnepr route was justified.

Thus we see that Igor' conducted yet another successful campaign. Moreover, he once again travelled across the Pereyaslavl' lands. He probably took the southeasterly route along the western edge of the so-called central-Russian plateau to the river Merla west of the Donets. This was undoubtedly the alternate course Igor' and Yaroslav had proposed to Svyatoslav. The evidence that Igor' followed his preferred way on both campaigns gives credence to his proposal that he was willing to accompany Svyatoslav provided the latter took the overland route.

In 1185, we are told, "the cursed, godless, and thrice-damned Konchak" attacked Rus' with a large force of Polovtsy. He wanted to capture and set fire to towns because he had an infidel with him who had a device for shooting

³⁷ In 1171, as we have seen, Igor' led a punitive campaign beyond the Vorskla in pursuit of nomads who had raided the Posem'e region. When he heard that Khans Kobyak and Konchak were raiding the Pereyaslavl' lands, he turned back to confront them (see above, at n. 17).

living fire. He also had catapults so powerful it took fifty men to draw the firing mechanism. On arriving at the river Khorol, he sent envoys to Yaroslav in Chernigov deceitfully proposing peace. The prince, unaware of his treachery, sent Ol'stin Oleksich to negotiate. Meanwhile, Svyatoslav sent a message to his brother warning him neither to trust the Polovtsy nor to negotiate with them.

Svyatoslav and Ryurik quickly organized an expedition and dispatched Vladimir of Pereyaslavl' and others as the vanguard. On the way, foreign merchants coming from the steppe informed the princes that Konchak was at the Khorol. They rode to the river and, after crossing it, sighted the khan's forces resting in a water meadow. The princes defeated the nomads and took many captive, including the infidel with the living fire. Konchak, however, escaped. "God gave the victory to Svyatoslav and Ryurik, on 1 March, through the intercession of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb."³⁸

Yaroslav of Chernigov, on the one hand, refused to join the campaign because he had sent Ol'stin Oleksich to negotiate with the Polovtsy. He did not wish to place the boyar in danger by attacking Konchak. As a result, the Gustinskiy chronicler observes, the princes were ashamed of Yaroslav because he refused to fight the nomads.³⁹ Igor', on the other hand, expressed fear that Svyatoslav might refuse to confront the Polovtsy. He called them the common enemy of Rus' and asked his men to advise him where to join forces with Svyatoslav. His *druzhinniki* replied that he would have to fly like a bird to catch up to the main force. Svyatoslav's messenger, they pointed out, had arrived with the summons on Thursday, and Svyatoslav intended to set out from Kiev on Sunday. It was impossible for Igor' to reach Svyatoslav in time. Just the same, Igor' prepared to go cross-country to the river Sula, but the weather stopped him. All day his troops found it impossible to set out because the snow remained soft with a thin crust of ice on top (*seren velik*). The chronicler adds that later, in the spring, Svyatoslav sent the boyar Roman Nezdilovich and the Berendei against the Polovtsy. They pillaged many camps, captured much booty, and seized numerous horses. This happened on Easter Sunday, 21 April.⁴⁰

Thus we see that Konchak continued to harass Rus'. On this occasion, he and his allies crossed the Khorol but stopped before reaching the Sula, which had a chain of outposts on its right bank.⁴¹ Even though the khan came to set

³⁸ See s.a. 1184: Ipat., cols. 634-36; Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 335-36. Concerning the date, see Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 202.

³⁹ See s.a. 1185: Gust., 319.

⁴⁰ Ipat., cols. 636-37.

⁴¹ The right bank of the river Sula is an escarpment, which served as a line of defence

fire to Rus' towns, he wished to conclude peace with Yaroslav. The chronicler gives no explanation for Konchak's surprising decision. Perhaps he knew that Yaroslav stubbornly boycotted campaigns against the Polovtsy. He undoubtedly contrived to secure the prince's neutrality, to alienate him from his brother Svyatoslav and from Igor', and to undermine the defences of Rus'. Konchak judged his victim well. Yaroslav expressed an interest in concluding a pact by sending his boyar to the khan. Ol'stin, as we shall see, returned safely from the negotiations but without concluding peace. This observation is confirmed by the news that, later in the year, Yaroslav sent Ol'stin at the head of his retinue to join Igor's campaign against the Polovsty, whose numbers included Konchak's tribesmen.

Contrary to Yaroslav's unwillingness to fight the nomads, Igor' expressed an unbridled enthusiasm to confront Konchak. If we can believe the chronicler's report, he was eager to campaign even against to the advice of his *druzhinniki*. Granted, his zeal for fighting the enemy was in keeping with his earlier conduct. Nevertheless, it is most enigmatic if we take into consideration the news that, as we shall see, he had already negotiated a match for his son Vladimir with Konchak's daughter. It has therefore been suggested that, in reality, Igor' was unwilling to wage war against his future in-law. The report of his determination to do so was the chronicler's attempt at whitewashing the prince's true sentiments. Svyatoslav, it is argued, gave Igor' sufficient time to join the main force and the report that adverse weather conditions prevented his departure was the chronicler's invention.⁴² The argument is unconvincing in the light of Igor's conduct before and after this event. He was committed to defending Rus' even at the cost of fighting his future in-law.

Some seven weeks after Svyatoslav successfully drove off Konchak, he sent a certain Roman Nezdilovich and the Berendei to attack Polovtsian camps, presumably ones belonging to Konchak's tribesmen. It is noteworthy that the prince of Kiev sent a troop consisting mostly of friendly tribesmen commanded by a boyar. In imitation of the nomads who sent small raiding parties into the princes' domains, a Rus' contingent could penetrate the Polovtsian pastures undetected, conduct a lightning strike on their camps, and return safely home with the spoils. The raids of Roman's small force demonstrate that the princes favoured such daring ventures.

against nomadic attacks. It was fortified by outposts like Romen, Kosnyatin, Luben, Lukoml', Goroshin, Rimov, and Zhelni (V. G. Lyaskoronsky, "K voprosu o Pereyaslavl'skikh Torkakh," *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniya*, Chast' CCCLVIII [St. Petersburg, 1905], 298).

⁴² Rybakov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve," 214–15, 227.

THE KAYALA CAMPAIGN

The Chronicle Accounts.

The Hypatian Chronicle reports that, two days after Easter, on Tuesday 23 April, Igor' departed from Novgorod Severskiy.⁴³ The grandsons of Oleg marched against the Polovtsy, the unfriendly Laurentian author claims, because they had failed to go with the other princes earlier in the year. They went by themselves declaring "are we not princes, let us also go and win praise for ourselves." Igor', the Hypatian chronicler continues, summoned his brother Vsevolod from Trubetsk, his nephew Svyatoslav Ol'govich from Ryl'sk, and his own son Vladimir from Putivl'.⁴⁴ He also requested troops from Yaroslav of Chernigov, who sent Ol'stin Oleksich along with the Kovui of the Chernigov lands.⁴⁵ After quietly gathering their *druzhina* on hardy horses, Igor' and his companions rode to the river Donets.

On the evening of 1 May, Igor' and his troops witnessed an eclipse of the sun.⁴⁶ His *druzhinniki* declared that it boded ill. He, however, told them that no one knew what God had in store for them, but if they rode forth they would find out. So they crossed the Donets. When they arrived at the river Oskol, Igor' waited for two days for his brother Vsevolod, who had taken a different route via Kursk. In the meantime, the Laurentian chronicler explains, a band of Polovtsy discovered that the princes were riding against them and sent word to other camps calling for help. While the tribes were gathering their forces, the band, acting as an advance guard, rode out to confront the princes.

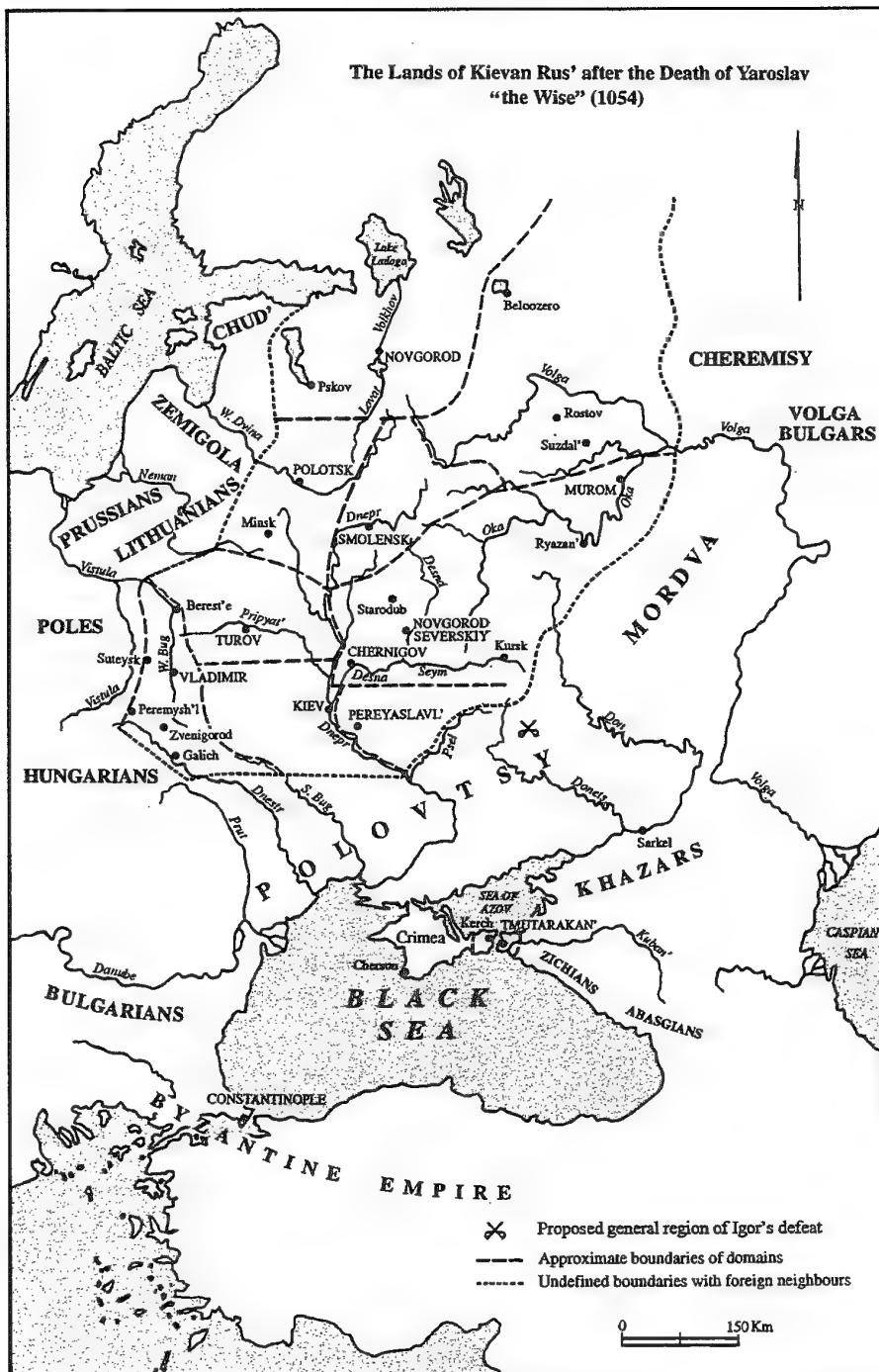
When Igor' arrived at the river Salnitsa, the Hypatian chronicler continues, his scouts informed him that they had spotted the enemy in battle array. They advised the princes either to attack quickly before the Polovtsian band received reinforcements or to withdraw. Igor' and his brothers refused to return home without engaging the enemy in battle because, they argued, their peers would accuse them of fearing to face death and heap shame upon them. Plac-

⁴³ Berezhkov confirms that in 1185 the Tuesday after Easter fell on 23 April (*Khronologiya*, 202).

⁴⁴ The more distant Laurentian chronicler claims that two of his sons accompanied Igor' (Lav., col. 397). No other source supports this claim.

⁴⁵ The Kovui were pagan auxiliaries fighting in the service of the Ol'govichi. They probably lived in the Zadesen'e (see B. A. Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus' i russkie knyazhestva XII–XIII vv.* [Moscow, 1982], 507; and A. K. Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," *Drevnerusskie knyazhestva X–XIII vv.*, ed. L. G. Beskrovny [Moscow, 1975], 79).

⁴⁶ The Hypatian Chronicle does not record the date. See, however, s.a. 1185: *Novgorod-skaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), 37, 228; and s.a. 1186: Lav., col. 396; see also Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 82, 203, 246.



ing their hope in God, the princes resolved to strike. They rode all night. Early the following morning, on Friday, they spotted the enemy on the other side of the river Syuurliy. The Polovtsy, leaving their camps behind, had assembled from the smallest to the largest.

Igor' divided his six contingents into three groups. He placed his own troops in the center of the main group with his brother Vsevolod to his right and his nephew Svyatoslav to his left. In the group in front of him, he positioned his son Vladimir with Yaroslav's troops commanded by Ol'stin and with the Kouvi. The third group, made up of archers drawn from all the contingents, acted as the vanguard. After arranging his troops, Igor' exhorted them to battle by reminding them that this was the moment they had sought. Placing their hope in God they charged the enemy.

As Igor's forces approached the river Syuurliy, the enemy archers rode to the front of their main force, shot a volley of arrows at the Rus' troops, and withdrew. The princes had not yet crossed the river when the tribesmen, who were at a greater distance from the river than their archers, also retreated. Svyatoslav Ol'govich, Vladimir Igorevich, Ol'stin, the Kovui, and the Rus' archers set off in pursuit. Igor' and Vsevolod, however, advanced at a steady pace not breaking formation. The Rus' forces chased the Polovtsy beyond their own camps, defeated them, came back to loot their tents, and rejoined Igor' that night.

After all the forces had reassembled Igor' addressed his men. He told them that God had inflicted defeat on the nomads and bestowed glory and honour on the men of Rus'. Nevertheless, they had seen how great a force the Polovtsy had already mustered and how all the tribes were now gathering against them. Igor' therefore advised that they withdraw under the cover of darkness. In this way, when the Polovtsy set out in pursuit in the morning, only those with the swiftest steeds would catch them and God would determine the outcome of that confrontation. But Svyatoslav pointed out that he had pursued the Polovtsy over a great distance and that his horses were too exhausted to set off immediately. They would collapse on the way. Vsevolod agreed. Igor' reluctantly gave in and commanded the princes to rest for the night, but he warned that they were courting certain death.

The princes, the hostile Laurentian chronicler reports, celebrated after their victory. They boasted that their brothers had campaigned with grand prince Svyatoslav against the nomads and got only as far as Pereyaslavl'. Moreover, it was the Polovtsy who had attacked the princes and the latter had been afraid to pursue them into the steppe. Igor' and his brothers, however, had daringly penetrated the steppe, defeated the nomads, and taken their wives and children captive. Now they would pursue the tribesmen beyond the Don and annihilate

them. If they succeeded, they would go to the very shore of the sea, where even their grandfathers had never ventured. After that their glory and honour would be complete. The princes, however, did not know God's will. The Polovtsy who had escaped the rout joined the tribesmen whom they had summoned to their aid. They set out against the princes and sent for even more auxiliaries. For three days their archers attacked the princes but refused to fight them at close quarters because they were waiting for reinforcements. Their objective was to prevent the Rus' from reaching the water (that is, the lake).

As Saturday dawned, the Hypatian chronicler continues, Polovtsian horsemen emerged from every direction so that it seemed to Igor's men that thick pine forests surrounded them. Their huge number overwhelmed the Rus' forces; they did not know where to turn. Igor' proclaimed that they had drawn the entire Polovtsian land against them: Khans Konchak, Koza (Kza), Burnovich, Toksobich, Kolobich, Etebich, and Ter'trobich. On discovering their predicament, Igor' and his commanders dismounted to plot their strategy. Their only hope, they agreed, lay in reaching the river Donets. They reasoned, however, that if they fled it would mean deserting the common men (*chernye lyudi*) and, in so doing, sinning against God.⁴⁷ The princes therefore resolved to live or die with their men and, mounting their steeds, they rode off to confront the enemy.

The men of Rus' and their horses, the Laurentian chronicler explains, had grown weak from thirst and from fatigue in the intense heat. Finally, the Polovtsy allowed them to approach the water. The Rus' horsemen dismounted because their steeds were exhausted. But while they were quenching their thirst the enemy attacked. The nomads forced Igor's men to fight on foot and pinned them against the lake.

The Rus' contingents, the Hypatian chronicler reports, fought bravely all day Saturday until the evening. Many were killed. Igor' himself was wounded in his left arm and this news greatly demoralized his men. With the first rays of sunlight on Sunday, a great panic spread through the Kovui ranks and they fled. Igor', who was mounted because of his wound, galloped after the Kovui in an attempt to bring them back. Realizing that in his pursuit he had travelled a great distance from his troops, he took off his helmet so that the Kovui would recognize him. His efforts were in vain. Nobody, except a certain Mikhalko Yur'evich, recognized him and returned.

⁴⁷ Although some investigators suggest that the *chernye lyudi* were foot soldiers, circumstantial evidence and the news that the campaign was a raid suggest that all of Igor's troops were mounted. See Getmanets, *Tayna reki Kayaly*, 20–21; and Rybakov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve," 225.

Only a few of the Rus' men deserted with the Kovui. The loyal men fought valiantly in hand-to-hand combat and Vsevolod was in their midst leading them with great valour. Meanwhile, as Igor' was returning to his contingent, the Polovtsy intercepted him only a bowshot from his men and took him captive. As he was being led away he saw Vsevolod fighting courageously and he wished that he could die rather than see his brother killed. But Vsevolod continued fighting bravely and made his way around the lake until his weapon was knocked out of his hand. In this way, "Our Lord unleashed his wrath against the Rus' forces on Sunday.⁴⁸ Instead of joy he brought weeping, and instead of happiness he brought grief at the river Kayala."

Igor' confessed that he had sinned by causing much bloodshed, suffering, and woe in the Christian land. Above all, he regretted having captured the town of Glebov in the land of Pereyaslavl' and having inflicted untold misery on Christian families.⁴⁹ He proclaimed that he had no right to live because of his transgression. The massacre was God's vengeance for his wrongdoing. He assumed the blame for the fates of his brother, son, nephew, and troops. He prayed to God not to abandon him, and resigned himself to the will of Divine Providence.

The Polovtsy surrounded Igor's forces like an unyielding wall so that only fifteen of the Rus' men escaped and even fewer of the Kovui. Many drowned in the lake in their panic to save themselves from the massacre. As for the princes, Igor's brother Vsevolod was seized by Roman the son of Koza, his nephew Svyatoslav was captured by one Eldechyuk, and his son Vladimir was led away by Khan Kopti. Igor' himself was taken captive by a certain Chilbuk, but, while they were still in the field, Konchak assumed responsibility for his *svat* (son-in-law's father) Igor' because the latter was wounded.⁵⁰ Since there was nobody left to return to Rus' and report the defeat, the Laurentian chronicler explains, the Polovtsy conscripted a foreign merchant who happened to be passing by. They instructed him to tell the princes in Rus' to come to the steppe (that is, to free with force?) for their captured brothers or, if they preferred, the Polovtsy would come to Rus' (that is, to free with force?) for their captured tribesmen.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The defeat occurred on Sunday, 12 May 1185 (Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 203; Getmans, *Tayna reki Kayaly*, 35).

⁴⁹ The chronicler does not report Igor's sack of Glebov. Presumably, he retaliated against Vladimir of Pereyaslavl' after the latter had pillaged his Seversk towns in the winter of 1184 (see above, at n. 28).

⁵⁰ See Ipat., cols. 637–44; and Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 336–40.

⁵¹ See s.a. 1186: Lav., cols. 397–99; Mosk., 91–92.

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* *

While Igor' was campaigning against the tribesmen, the Hypatian chronicler notes, Svyatoslav was in Karachev collecting troops because he wanted to lead an expedition against the Don Polovtsy for the entire summer. On his return journey to Kiev he stopped at Novgorod Severskiy, where he was distressed to learn that his brothers had gone against the Polovtsy and concealed it from him. He continued his journey by boat to Chernigov, where a survivor, a certain Belovołod Prosovich, told him of the Polovtsian victory.⁵² Svyatoslav bewailed the loss of his brothers and the men of Rus'. God, he proclaimed, had helped him to vanquish many tribesmen in the previous summer, but his brothers, unable to restrain the impetuosity of youth, "opened the gates into the land of Rus'."

Svyatoslav sent his sons Oleg and Vladimir to the Posem'e region. On learning the fate of their captured princes and their slaughtered men, all the towns in the Posem'e, Novgorod Severskiy, and the entire Chernigov land, mourned as they had never mourned before. Meanwhile, Svyatoslav summoned David Rostislavich from Smolensk explaining that, even though they had agreed to campaign against the Don tribesmen that summer, Igor' and his brothers had been taken captive and Svyatoslav needed David's assistance immediately to defend Rus'. The latter therefore travelled down the Dnepr to Tropol' to await Svyatoslav's arrival. At the same time, Yaroslav marshalled his forces and waited at Chernigov.

The Polovtsy, puffed up with confidence after their brilliant victory, assembled their entire nation to march against Rus'. But they argued. Khan Konchak advocated attacking the princes on the Kievan side since it was they who had defeated Khan Kobyak and his tribesmen. Khan Koza, however, argued that they should follow up their victory over the Seversk princes by raiding their possessions along the river Seym, where only helpless widows and orphans remained. They could plunder and capture the towns without opposition. Because both khans remained obstinate in their views, they split their force into two.

Konchak attacked Pereyaslavl', where the daring Vladimir Glebovich was prince. He and a handful of men came out of the town to confront the attackers, but despite his valour the Polovtsy surrounded the small troop. When the townsmen witnessed Vladimir's valiant stand they rode out to his rescue, but they reached him only after he had received three lance wounds. Vladimir sent messengers to Svyatoslav and Ryurik asking for help. Svyatoslav, in turn,

⁵² According to Rybakov, the boyar's unusual patronymic suggests that he was one of the Chernigov Kovui ("Slovo o polku Igoreve," 259).

summoned David to come from Tropol', but his Smolensk militia convened a *veche*. The townsmen argued that they had come to defend Kiev, not to fight other battles. Besides, they were too exhausted to go further. David therefore returned home.

On learning that Svyatoslav and Ryurik were bringing reinforcements, the nomads withdrew from Pereyaslavl'. As they retreated along the Dnepr, they captured Rimov located on the right bank of the Sula.⁵³ Meanwhile, the co-rulers, having waited in vain for David to join them, arrived too late to assist Vladimir. They therefore returned home lamenting the fates of the wounded Vladimir and the Christians who had been taken captive. In the meantime, Koza and his force went along the other side, that is, along the northern bank of the river Seym, to Putivl'. He pillaged the entire district, razed villages, and set fire to the outer town of Putivl' itself. After that, he and his raiders returned to the steppe.⁵⁴

* * *

Meanwhile, the Hypatian chronicler explains, Igor's captors did not mistreat him but showed him the deference that befit his rank as a military commander. They appointed fifteen of their sons and five sons of nobles to guard him. The young men were at his disposal to do his bidding. Igor' was also free to ride wherever he chose and to hunt with hawks. Moreover, five or six servants who were constantly at his call accompanied him. He even brought a priest from Rus' to say the Divine Liturgy because he expected to be a captive for a long time. "But God saved him owing to the supplications of many Christians."

Lavr (Lavor), a Polovtsian by birth, offered to help Igor' escape. At first, the prince mistrusted the man and held onto his youthful idealism. He had refused to flee from the field of battle in his quest for glory and now he refused to follow the road to dishonour by escaping from captivity. Igor's groom, the son of his *tysyatskiy*, also encouraged him to run away. After the Polovtsy returned from Pereyaslavl', Igor's well-wishers once again entreated him to abandon his ideal of glory and to flee with Lavr. They warned him that they had overheard the Polovtsy declaring their intent to kill all the princes and the captives. If they did, Igor' would not only be denied his glory but also lose his life.

⁵³ Rimov, one of the Rus' outposts on the right bank of the river Sula, was located near the trade route that merchants and nomads used to approach Kiev along the east bank of the Dnepr (Lyaskoronsky, "K voprosu o Pereyaslavl'skikh Torkakh," 295-300).

⁵⁴ Ipat., cols. 644-49; Gust., 320; cf. s.a. 1186: Lav., col. 399.

In the end, Igor' took their counsel to heart and resolved to escape. Nevertheless, it was not easy to find an opportune moment because he was guarded day and night. Finally, one day at dusk, when his guards had become inebriated on koumiss, Igor' sent his groom to tell Lavr to lead a horse across the river Tor and wait for him on the other side.⁵⁵ Towards nightfall, the groom returned to inform Igor' that Lavr was waiting. Full of fear and trepidation, we are told, the prince bowed to the icon of Christ, to the Holy Cross, and asked God's assistance. Hanging the icon and the Holy Cross around his neck, he raised the tent flap and crawled out. Meanwhile, the guards were entertaining themselves because they thought their captive was asleep. Igor' approached the river, crossed to the other side, mounted the horse, and rode away with Lavr. "God freed Igor' on a Friday evening and he travelled eleven days to the town Donets."⁵⁶ From there he went to Novgorod Severskiy, where the citizens were overjoyed to see him. Even the unfriendly Laurentian chronicler exclaimed in joy:

God did not abandon the righteous one to sinful hands. God watches over those who fear Him and heeds their prayer. They (the Polovtsy) sought him and could not find him. Just as Saul pursued David but God rescued him, in like manner God saved this one (Igor') from pagan hands.⁵⁷

When Igor' was a half-day's journey from Novgorod Severskiy, Tatishchev writes, his horse stumbled and he fell off injuring his leg. Unable to remount the steed, he had to spend the night in the village of St. Michael. Meanwhile, a local peasant hastened to Novgorod Severskiy and reported Igor's escape. At first the princess could not believe the news, but her anxiety overwhelmed her and she travelled at night to find her husband. When she saw Igor' she fell into his arms and "they gazed at each other through tears of joy." Early the next morning, they departed for Novgorod Severskiy and a multitude of men, women, and children came out to greet the prince so that the town was left almost deserted. Later, Igor' richly rewarded Lavr and gave him the daughter of *Tysyatskiy* Raduil as wife.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ The Tor is a western tributary of the Don south of the confluence of the latter and the Oskol.

⁵⁶ Donets was a Rus' town located on the river Udy, a tributary of the river Donets. Today the site is located on the southern periphery of the city of Khar'kov (see Getmanets, *Tayna reki Kayaly*, 64).

⁵⁷ Lav., cols. 399–400.

⁵⁸ Tatishchev may have borrowed this unique information from folklore tradition about Igor's escape or from a chronicle that has been lost (Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiyskay* 4:305–6 and 3:139). See also L. I. Sazonova, "Letopisnyy rasskaz o pokhode Igorya Svyatoslavicha na polovtse v 1185 g. v obrabotke V. N. Tatishcheva," *TODRL* 25 (1970): 42, 45.

Soon after he arrived home, the Hypatian chronicler concludes, Igor' visited Yaroslav in Chernigov and asked his assistance for the Posem'e region. Yaroslav was delighted to see Igor' and promised to send aid. From Chernigov, Igor' went to Kiev, where Svyatoslav rejoiced at his escape, as did Ryurik, Igor's *svat* (daughter-in-law's father).⁵⁹

The Commentary.

Igor' assembled troops mainly from the cadet branch for a number of reasons. First, there was the moral consideration. Having missed Svyatoslav's winter campaign owing to inclement weather, Igor' undoubtedly wished to exonerate his family from the accusation that it was shirking its duty to defend the Christians of Rus'. There was also a practical consideration. Igor's attack was directed at Polovtsian camps located to the south of Kursk, past the upper reaches of river Donets. These tribes posed the greatest threat to the Seversk towns in the Posem'e so that the onus of keeping these nomads at bay fell on the princes of the cadet branch. Svyatoslav, Ryurik, and Vladimir of Pereyaslavl', as we have seen, set their sights on taming the tribes that had attacked Rus' across the Khorol and Vorskla rivers. Furthermore, a year earlier, Svyatoslav had unequivocally rejected Igor' and Yaroslav's invitation to march against the Polovtsy along their preferred overland route. It is therefore most unlikely that, in 1185, Svyatoslav and Ryurik would have joined Igor' on a similar campaign.

Significantly, Igor' invited Yaroslav, a member of the senior branch. Surprisingly, on this occasion, Yaroslav cooperated. He did not send his sons, Rostislav and Yaropolk, because they were still too young for military duty.⁶⁰ Instead, he dispatched Ol'stin, his former envoy to Konchak. Yaroslav's action reveals that his negotiations with the khan for a peace settlement had failed. His unexpected willingness to deploy troops also demonstrates that he concurred with Igor's Polovtsian policy. The two princes agreed that the threat to their lands came from the same tribes. They therefore acted in partnership against the nomads of the Donets basin in the same way that Svyatoslav and Ryurik campaigned against the tribes in the Erel' region.

But were these the only reasons why Igor' attacked the troublesome tribes? According to the unfriendly Laurentian chronicler, he had another motive—pride. He wished to win glory in the battlefield and praise from the people of Rus'. Despite the Laurentian chronicler's evident desire to defame Igor', the Hypatian chronicler indirectly confirms the allegation. He reports that, at the

⁵⁹ Ipat., cols. 649–51; cf. Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 341–42.

⁶⁰ Rostislav, the elder of the two, was born in 1174 (Ipat., col. 568).

river Salnitsa, Igor' refused to return home for fear that the Ol'govichi would have to live in shame for avoiding battle with the Polovtsy. Later, before confronting the enemy at the river Syuurliy, Igor' exhorted his troops by reminding them that the moment they had sought, to do battle with the nomads, had arrived. In addition to peer pressure, the Ol'govichi quest for glory was stoked by youth. In 1185, Igor' was thirty-four years of age.⁶¹ Even at that relatively young age he was older than the three princes who accompanied him. As we have seen, after Svyatoslav learnt of their defeat he observed that the impetuosity of youth had driven Igor' and his comrades against the enemy.

The Laurentian chronicler then gloats on the futility of the high-mindedness that Igor' and his compatriots allegedly expressed at the Syuurliy. He says that in their euphoria, after routing the Polovtsian advance force and pillaging its camps, the princes imagined their future exploits. They boasted how they had already penetrated deeper into the enemy steppe than Svyatoslav and Ryurik had done, and how they would outdo even their forefathers by following the nomads to the very shores of the Sea of Azov. The chronicler does not declare that the princes planned to occupy those territories and rule them from a distance as, for example, their forefathers had ruled Tmutarakan'. He claims, instead, that they proposed to exterminate the Polovtsy. We cannot know for certain that the princes indulged in these fantasies. Nevertheless, because of their elation and the exuberance of youth, they may well have expressed bravado in this spirit.

Was Igor's campaign a reckless venture as some have argued?⁶² On the evidence of previous examples his initiative was realistic. As Igor' was leading his men into the steppe, Svyatoslav's boyar Roman was returning home with the booty he had pillaged from Polovtsian camps. If the boyar's relatively small contingent could successfully raid enemy encampments, the united troops of the cadet branch supplemented by Chernigov auxiliaries were certainly adequate for the task.⁶³ Indeed, in the previous summer, Igor' himself had successfully penetrated the Polovtsian steppe. At that time, as we have seen, he and his relatives had crossed the river Merla and defeated a band of Polovtsy. Therefore, in 1185 his objective—to slip into Polovtsian territory undetected, destroy a number of camps, perhaps engage an enemy band in a skirmish, and return home with the booty—had a good chance of success.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Igor' was born in 1151 (Ipat., col. 422).

⁶² See, for example, Lyaskoronsky, "Severskie knyaz'ya i polovtsy," 287.

⁶³ It has been suggested that Igor's force consisted of some six to eight thousand strong (Getmanets, *Tayna reki Kayaly*, 59–60).

⁶⁴ Many investigators are of the opinion that Igor' planned his campaign to be executed quickly without a major military encounter on the frontiers of the Polovtsian steppe (for example, Pyadyshev, "Pokhod Igorya," 45–47; and Getmanets, *Tayna reki Kayaly*, 5, 36, 51).

Igor's successful military career to date also testifies to his responsible conduct. Just over a year earlier, Svyatoslav had expressed unreserved confidence in his leadership by ordering him to lead the retaliatory attack against Konchak. In 1185, Igor' demonstrated his organizational skills in the way he orchestrated his lieutenants to rendezvous with him. It has also been suggested that he intentionally timed his attack to coincide with Roman's campaign. Since the latter probably raided tents to the east of the Vorskla, thereby attracting tribesmen to defend that region, Igor' believed he would have a freer hand against the Donets camps.⁶⁵ He also enjoyed the complete confidence of his lieutenants and readily sought their counsel. The efficiency with which he set up his battle formation for the encounter at the Syuurliy bespeaks his military competence. Finally, during the battle, the manner in which he held back two contingents to safeguard against a counterattack, while permitting the others to pursue the Polovtsy and to pillage their camps, illustrated the control that he wielded over his troops.

With the victory at Syuurliy, Igor' and his brothers had achieved their objective and prepared to return home. Unfortunately for them, they had unwittingly stumbled upon a large nest of enemy encampments. The princes had evidently entered a region on the left bank of the Donets that no Rus' force had penetrated before.⁶⁶ Alarmed by the audacity of the princes to come to their very lairs, the Donets Polovtsy sounded a general alarm to all the surrounding camps. A multitude of tribesmen living within a day's ride from the Syuurliy rallied in defence of their tents. Konchak had no choice but to lead his allies against the unexpected threat. Thus, even khans who were Igor's friends rode to defend their families undoubtedly unaware of the intruders' identities.

The true metal of Igor's troops was only now to be tested. According to the pro-Igor' account, the Rus' forces fought valiantly. Even before the battle, Igor' and his commanders demonstrated their moral fiber by rejecting the chance to flee because it would mean deserting their *chernye lyudi*. The conduct of Igor's son Vladimir is not reported, perhaps because he was still a youth.⁶⁷ Igor's brother Vsevolod, however, is singled out for his valour as he

Others suggest that his aim was also to establish safe passage for merchants along the trade routes (Lyaskoronsky, "Severskie knyaz'ya i polovtsy," 287, 296; and V. V. Mavrodi, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," in *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, vol. 1 [Moscow, 1953], 399).

⁶⁵ Pyadyshov, "Pokhod Igorya," 60–61.

⁶⁶ It has been suggested that Igor' attacked Polovtsian pastures never before invaded by Rus' forces, and that he approached them from the rear, that is, from the direction of river Oskol in the northeast. This gave him the advantage of surprise (*ibid.*, 52, 62).

⁶⁷ Since Vladimir was born 8 October 1170, he would have been fifteen years of age in 1185 (see s.a. 1173: Ipat., col. 562). Concerning the year, see Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 187.

fought on foot until his hand became too numb to hold his weapon. Igor's own conduct was the most praiseworthy. He was wounded in battle. Nevertheless, he continued to fight and to command heroically. At the risk of being captured or killed, he left the protection of his troops in pursuit of the deserting Kovui. Despite the unflagging courage that the princes and their men demonstrated, they were denied the glory in victory that they sought.

Significantly, Igor' expressed no remorse for initiating the campaign. In his view, or in the view of the chronicler, he had not acted recklessly in attacking the Polovtsian camps nor had he been insubordinate to Svyatoslav. Moreover, their refusal to criticize him shows that his contemporaries also did not condemn him for conducting the raid. Igor' does, however, assume blame for the defeat: the Ol'govichi were vanquished because he had sinned. He had offended God by slaughtering many Christians at Glebov. Igor's self-deprecation echoes the condemnations that the chronicler levied against his grandfather Oleg, whom he accused of sinning against Rus' by bringing the pagans to kill Christians.⁶⁸ Igor's moralizing monologue is also in keeping with the tradition according to which the chronicler places princely victories and defeats in the context of divine justice. God either gave victory to princes for their righteous living or inflicted defeat on them for their sins. In this case, Igor' claimed that the sin was his alone.

In the practical order, Igor's defeat meant that the Polovtsy decimated the military power of the cadet branch. The most important towns in the Seversk lands were the hardest hit: Novgorod Severskiy, Trubetsk, Ryl'sk, Putivl', and probably Kursk. The fear that Yaroslav and Igor' expressed to Svyatoslav in the previous year about leaving their lands undefended in the face of nomadic incursions now became a long-term reality. As Svyatoslav exclaimed, Igor's defeat "opened the gates into the land of Rus'." It created an unprecedented vacuum in the defensive network of the Seversk towns.

The Polovtsian victory over Igor' and the cadet branch was the most serious blow the nomads had ever inflicted on a princely family. In addition to massacring most of its fighting force, they took the princes themselves captive. Indeed, Igor' was the most important prince that the Polovtsy had ever captured. He was the ablest Ol'govichi commander on the Chernigov side of the Dnepr and his capture left the region virtually leaderless. Any sons that he, Vsevolod, or Svyatoslav had left at home were too young to become involved in military encounters. The burden of protecting the Ol'govichi towns therefore fell on the shoulders of Yaroslav of Chernigov and his elder brother Svyatoslav in Kiev. As we have seen, Yaroslav's track record against the Polovtsy was poor. As for Svyatoslav, he was dedicated to defending the

⁶⁸ Dimnik, *Dynasty of Chernigov, 1054–1146*, 147–48, 189.

southern frontiers of Rus' rather than the Chernigov lands. Consequently, in capturing Igor' and the Seversk princes, the tribesmen indeed opened the gates into the Ol'govichi domains.

Despite the fierce battles that the princes and khans had fought over the past two years, they were not all mortal enemies. Some princes maintained friendly relations with the khans even during the warring period. Igor' was a notable example. As we have seen, he fostered friendly ties with a number of khans, above all with Konchak. To be sure, after Igor' was taken captive at the Kayala, Konchak referred to him as his *svat*. Only then do we discover that the two men had formed a marriage alliance. As we shall see, the marriage between their children had not yet taken place. Konchak's insistence on referring to Igor' as his *svat*, therefore, indicates that the match had been arranged before the battle at the Kayala.⁶⁹ We are not told when the fathers negotiated their children's betrothal, but this might have occurred four years earlier when the khans invited Igor' to visit with them at Dolobsk. According to the chronicler, that was the last occasion on which the two men had fraternized.

If we can believe the Laurentian account, after taking the Seversk princes and all the survivors captive, the Polovtsy sent a message to Svyatoslav and Ryurik declaring war. They challenged the co-rulers to come and rescue their compatriots from the Polovtsian camps, but if they preferred, the Polovtsy would invade Rus' to set free their own tribesmen. Thus we learn that the two princes were still holding Kobyak and his men captive.⁷⁰ The insolent attitude of the Polovtsy is not surprising. Because of their recent victory they were, as the chronicler puts it, puffed up with confidence. Granted, they had greatly undermined the military resources of Rus' in destroying Igor's troops. Just the same, the main advantage they had gained through that victory was virtually unchallenged access to the Posem'e towns. Significantly, the alliance of princes controlled by Svyatoslav and Ryurik remained intact. What is more, it constituted the single largest force in Rus'. The Polovtsy would have been foolish to underestimate its effectiveness.

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⁶⁹ This is the second instance in which the chronicler makes reference to a marriage tie even though the marriage had not yet taken place, but had only been arranged. In 1184 he referred to Igor's son Svyatoslav as Ryurik's son-in-law (see s.a. 1183: Ipat., col. 634); the wedding, however, took place in 1188 (see s.a. 1187: Ipat., col. 659). See also Dimnik, *Dynasty of Chernigov, 1146-1246*, chap. 2.

⁷⁰ Relying on the report given by the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, Pletneva believes that Kobyak was executed in Kiev (Polovtsy, 147).

While Igor' was campaigning in the upper Donets region, Svyatoslav was visiting his patrimonial domain of Karachev in the Vyatichi lands. In the chronicler's reference to the visit we learn that, in addition to conducting personal business, Svyatoslav was marshalling troops for an expedition against the Don or Donets Polovtsy. Apparently, he was finally going to attack the tribes that Yaroslav and Igor' found the most troublesome. His conscription of the Vyatichi supports this. Up until then, he had not used them as auxiliaries to fight the nomads. Since his campaign would benefit the Ol'govichi, however, his subjects in the Karachev district as well as his sons who had domains amongst the Vyatichi were expected to contribute to the defence of the Chernigov lands.

Moreover, the news that Svyatoslav intended to campaign all summer suggests that he was organizing a major expedition. The ambitious scope of his attack is supported by the news that he had conscripted David of Smolensk. His lands were not in danger of attack and, to judge from the sources, he also had not sent troops against the enemy in the past. Svyatoslav's search for auxiliaries so far afield reveals that he believed the Polovtsian peril was escalating.

Svyatoslav's trips to and from Karachev are informative. We see that on his return journey he went down the Desna. On the way he stopped at Novgorod Severskiy to visit the absent Igor' and at Chernigov to visit his brother Yaroslav. We are not told what route he had taken to Karachev, but we know that all roads from Kiev to the forest land passed through the Seversk lands.⁷¹ We may assume that, whether he travelled via the Desna or overland, he visited relatives along the way. Significantly, the only reason we learn of his stops at Novgorod Severskiy and Chernigov is because he received bad news in these towns. We may assume, therefore, that he had encountered nothing out of the ordinary on his outward journey. Namely, he had seen no evidence of Igor's mobilization for his Polovtsian campaign. The chronicler's accusation that Igor' concealed the expedition from Svyatoslav therefore implies that Igor' had planned the raid before Svyatoslav passed through the Novgorod Severskiy lands, and that Igor' assembled his brothers only after Svyatoslav had gone to Karachev.

As the commander-in-chief of major offensives against the Polovtsy, Svyatoslav was angered by Igor's action. But was this because Igor' took the initiative to march against the Polovtsy? It would seem not. As noted above, the chronicler never condemns Igor' for organizing the campaign: any raid on the camps of the nomads was praiseworthy! More than likely, Igor' realized

⁷¹ For example, under the year 1146 we were told that Izyaslav Davidovich pursued Svyatoslav Ol'govich to Karachev via Putivl', Sevsk, and Boldyzh (Ipat., col. 335).

that if he informed Svyatoslav of his expedition, the latter would have insisted that Igor' cancel it and join him in the summer against the Don Polovtsy. In leading his own campaign, therefore, Igor' pre-empted Svyatoslav's initiative and denied him the advantage of a surprise attack.

After being informed of Igor's defeat, Svyatoslav sent Vladimir and Oleg to the Posem'e region. He dispatched his eldest sons, whose personal domains in the Vyatichi lands were in no immediate danger of attack, as interim defenders of the Seversk towns. The information that Svyatoslav sent two sons suggests that he ordered them to occupy Ryl'sk and Putivl', the two towns which had recently lost their princes. Their main task would have been to close the "gates into the land of Rus'" which Igor's defeat had opened. Indeed, it has been pointed out that one of the most frequently used gates, as it were, which the nomads used to cross the Seym, was at Vyr' between Putivl' and Ryl'sk.⁷²

Svyatoslav either received the Polovtsian declaration of war via the merchant that they had sent to him or assumed that the nomads would follow up their victory with an attack on Rus'. Thus, after attempting to plug the gap in the Posem'e frontier, he summoned David of Smolensk to help defend Kiev. He also asked his brother Yaroslav to send troops. On this occasion, we are led to believe that he complied. We are told that he assembled a force and waited at Chernigov. Since his *druzhina*, or part of it, had been massacred fighting with Igor', Yaroslav would have been reticent to send his rump force into the field. To be sure, the Hypatian chronicler does not tell us that he actually joined Svyatoslav. The chronicler's silence on the matter can be interpreted to mean that he did not.⁷³ Despite Yaroslav's probable absence and David's withdrawal from Tropol', Svyatoslav's show of force frightened Konchak into abandoning his attack on Pereyaslavl'.

According to the chronicler, the entire nation of Polovtsy assembled with all its might, but achieved little. Konchak was determined to attack the Kievan side, just as the khans had instructed their merchant emissary to tell Svyatoslav and Ryurik. Fortunately for the co-rulers, Koza advocated a safer but more ruthless course: to pillage the helpless inhabitants of the Posem'e region. Besides, he had a longstanding rivalry with the Seversk princes. In 1167, Igor's elder brother Oleg had attacked Koza's camp and taken his wife and children captive.⁷⁴ The chronicler fails to explain why Konchak refused to

⁷² See Rybakov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve," 164, 261. Concerning routes used by the Polovtsy, see also Lyaskoronsky, "K voprosu o Pereyaslavl'skikh Torkakh," 291-93.

⁷³ Rybakov is also of the opinion that Yaroslav did not send his troops to Svyatoslav's assistance (*Kievskaya Rus'*, 506).

⁷⁴ See s.a. 1168: Ipat., col. 532; cf. Makhnovets', *Litopys rus'kyi*, 289; and s.a. 1167: Mosk., 75.

join Koza. Two strong reasons must have been, however, Konchak's personal friendship with Igor' and the consideration that his daughter was betrothed to Igor's son Vladimir. Moreover, Konchak may have wished to avenge himself against Ryurik for the massacre of his troops at Dolobsk.

Given his reduced force, Konchak aborted the plan to wage a major offensive against the princes on the Kievan side.⁷⁵ In attempting to salvage the major campaign that had gone awry, he followed Koza's example and pillaged. His main target was Pereyaslavl'. Failing to capture it, he razed the outpost of Rimov as a consolation prize. The khans' disagreement therefore spared the Kievan side from devastation. The inhabitants of the Posem'e were less fortunate. According to the terse chronicle report, Koza attacked Igor's patrimony of Putivl', but he also failed to capture his objective.⁷⁶ Although he allegedly devastated the entire Posem'e district, we do not know whether he laid siege to Kursk and Ryl'sk. Despite the untold havoc Koza and Konchak's tribesmen wreaked on the inhabitants of the left bank, their raids seemingly caused no lasting damage to Rus'.

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Igor' spent his captivity in Konchak's encampment where he enjoyed virtually complete freedom of movement. We are not told if the other captured princes enjoyed similar privileges or if Igor', and undoubtedly his son Vladimir, received preferential treatment owing to their status as Konchak's future in-laws. Although Igor' expected his relatives to pay for his release, the chronicles mention neither the price for his ransom nor how long he remained with the nomads.⁷⁷ We are told only that he anticipated being a captive for a long time and that this was why he asked for a priest from Rus'. Surprisingly, Konchak granted his request. Thus, even though the chronicler condemns the

⁷⁵ Cf. Rybakov, who claims that Konchak did intend to attack Kiev ("Slovo o polku Igor-eve," 164; see also Lyaskorosny, "K voprosu o Pereyaslavl'skikh Torkakh," 278–302).

⁷⁶ Tatishchev alone, and only in his second redaction, claims that Svyatoslav's son Oleg and his commander Tudor confronted Koza at the river Seym, where the Polovtsy suffered many casualties (*Istoriya Rossiyskaya* 3:138). If this encounter took place, one possible site for the battle was at the ford near the village of Chumakovo located southeast of Putivl' (V. V. Pryimak, "K izucheniyu okrugi drevnerusskikh gorodov srednego Poseym'ya," *Gomel'shchina: Arkheologiya, istoriya, pamyatniki. Tezisy Vtoroy Gomel'skoy oblastnoy nauchnoy konferentsii po istoricheskому kraevedeniyu*, 1991 g., ed. O. A. Makushnikov and A. I. Drobushhevsky [Gomel', 1991], 62–63).

⁷⁷ Tatishchev states that Igor' expected to be in captivity for a long period of time because his people were unable to raise the 2,000 given that the Polovtsy demanded for his ransom (*Istoriya Rossiyskaya* 4:305 and 3:138).

khan as "cursed, godless, and thrice-damned," his concession to Igor' reveals an unexpected tolerance for Christian practices. As for Igor', his request demonstrates the strength of his personal piety.

In addition to expressing his wish to attend the Divine Liturgy, Igor' declared his piety in other ways. To judge from the information that he kept an icon of Christ and the Holy Cross in his tent, we may assume that he conducted his private devotions in front of them. Indeed, he showed this prior to escaping when he prayed before the sacred images to ask God's assistance. After concluding his prayers, he hung the icon and the cross around his neck in the hope of securing divine protection. Igor' also sought the intercession of St. George, his patron saint. As others have pointed out, he departed on the campaign on 23 April, the Feast of St. George.⁷⁸ There can be no doubt that he set out on his patron's feast day out of devotion to the saint and to seek his protection on the campaign. Igor's recourse to God and the saints was also in keeping with the religious sentiments he expressed after his defeat in the moralizing thoughts over his guilt.

Because of the comforts of his captivity and the confidence he placed in his relatives to secure his release, it is not surprising that Igor' balked at escaping. The chronicler claims, however, that the prince's main reason for his reticence was his youthful idealism. He saw no glory in a seemingly cowardly escape. His goal was to win honour in the field of battle commanding his troops. Nevertheless, the threat of an inglorious death at the hands of his captors finally overrode his idealism. We are not told when he escaped, but he could not have been in captivity for more than a few months. Since he was captured in the middle of May, and to judge from the information that he was still a captive when Konchak returned from the Pereyaslavl' campaign sometime in June, Igor' probably fled in the late summer at the latest.⁷⁹

On his arrival in Novgorod Severskiy, Igor's first political duty was to inform his superiors of his return. At the same time, he solicited military aid from Yaroslav for the Posem'e region. His need to ask for troops suggests that Vladimir and Oleg had returned to their Vyatichi domains after Koza's raiders pillaged the Posem'e district. Igor' also visited Svyatoslav, who, if we can believe the chronicler, did not reprimand his cousin for not informing him of the campaign. Also surprising is Igor's failure to ask Svyatoslav for troops even though the latter, as the senior prince of the dynasty and prince of Kiev,

⁷⁸ In 1151, Igor' received the baptismal name of George (Ipat., col. 422; see Rybakov, "Slovo o polku Igoreve," 228).

⁷⁹ Using as his source the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, which says that Igor' heard the nightingale sing when he was fleeing, Rybakov claims that the prince escaped on Friday 21 June. According to folk tradition, the nightingale sings until 29 June ("Slovo o polku Igoreve," 271).

controlled more manpower resources than any other Ol'govich. Perhaps Igor' believed that Svyatoslav had fulfilled his obligation by sending his sons to defend the Posem'e in his absence. Or, perhaps, he had another even more pressing favour to ask.

The onus of raising the ransoms for the three captive princes and their *druzhinniki* fell on the cadet branch, in particular, on Igor'. He undoubtedly asked Svyatoslav for assistance. As the senior prince of the dynasty, Svyatoslav was the wealthiest Ol'govich. Moreover, he had the responsibility of securing the welfare of the entire dynasty. Igor' also turned to Ryurik. This is implied by the information that he visited Ryurik after leaving Svyatoslav. Igor's solicitation of the Monomashich is understandable since one of the captured princes, Igor's nephew Svyatoslav Ol'govich, was also Ryurik's nephew.⁸⁰ Igor' could therefore bring pressure to bear on Ryurik to help pay for the release of his relative.

After completing his negotiations with Svyatoslav and Ryurik, Igor' returned to Novgorod Severskiy to tackle three important tasks. First, he had to rebuild the fortifications destroyed by Koza's tribesmen in the Posem'e region and, above all, to close the gate which he had opened into Rus'. Accordingly, to judge from archaeological evidence, he reinforced the fortifications and founded new ones in the vicinity of Vyr'.⁸¹ Second, he had to negotiate the release of his kinsmen from the Polovtsy. Third, he had to rebuild the military resources of his family.

Although Igor's catastrophic campaign had dire consequences for the cadet branch, it had a lesser impact on Rus' as a whole. In the final analysis, Koza's invasion of the Posem'e region and Konchak's attack on Pereyaslavl' amounted to no more than new raids, albeit more devastating ones than usual. Neither the co-rulers nor the Polovtsy gained the upper hand in their military encounters. If anything, the Polovtsian victory over Igor' and their increased incursions on Rus' bound Svyatoslav and Ryurik even closer together and strengthened their determination to intensify their joint campaigns against the nomads.

⁸⁰ Under the year 1165, the chronicler tells us that Ryurik's sister Agafia married Svyatoslav's father Oleg (Ipat., cols. 524–25).

⁸¹ Yu. Yu. Morgunov points out that towards the end of the twelfth century, a strong fortification was constructed at Boyarskoe, southwest of Vyr' ("Letopisnyy gorod Popash," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* [1985/1]: 246, 248, and his "Letopisnyy gorod V'yakhan," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* [1982/2]: 244).

THE POST-KAYALA PERIOD

Under the year 1188, the Hypatian chronicler announces that Vladimir came from the Polovtsy with Konchak's daughter. Igor' therefore arranged the marriage of his son to the child (that is, Konchak's daughter).⁸² Vladimir was eighteen years of age,⁸³ but it is difficult to determine the age of the bride. As we have seen, in 1185 Igor' was already Konchak's *svat*. Consequently, the khan's daughter had been born before that year. As has been suggested, if Igor' and the khan concluded the betrothal in 1181 at Dolobsk, she would have been at least seven years of age when she came to Rus'. The marriage tie virtually assured the cadet branch that Konchak and his allies would continue their policy of non-aggression towards the Seversk lands. Igor's ultimate hope, undoubtedly, was that the presence of Konchak's daughter in Putivl', where Vladimir was prince, would deter all tribesmen from attacking the Posem'e region.

The year 1190 witnessed an unprecedented nuptial union. The chronicler's report is straightforward. He states that Svyatoslav married his grandson David Ol'govich to the daughter of Igor' Svyatoslavich.⁸⁴ This was the first marriage alliance between the senior branch and cadet branch. The chronicler does not reveal the identity of Igor's daughter. David, however, was the son of Svyatoslav's second eldest son, Oleg. He was evidently also the most senior princeling of the youngest generation of Ol'govichi.⁸⁵ Consequently, Svyatoslav must have looked upon David's marriage as an especially important one since the youth had a good chance of becoming the senior prince of the dynasty at some future date.

In the light of this consideration, it is surprising that Svyatoslav opted for an intra-dynastic marriage rather than selecting a bride from the House of Monomakh. Clearly, he and Igor' believed that a marriage tie between their families was preferable. It united the senior families of both branches with a personal bond and strengthened the internal organization of the dynasty. Because the two branches were now related through marriage in addition to

⁸² See s.a. 1187: Ipat., col. 659; cf. Gust., p. 321. Makhnovets' misinterprets this passage to mean that Vladimir married Konchak's daughter Svoboda, who by then had given birth to their child Izyaslav (*Litopys rus'kyi*, 346).

⁸³ He was born in 1170 (see s.a. 1173: Ipat., col. 562; Gust., p. 313). Concerning the date, see Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 187.

⁸⁴ Ipat., col. 668. Concerning the date, see Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, 206. Concerning the identities of the bride and the groom, see Baumgarten, *Généalogies*, Table IV, 49–50.

⁸⁵ Svyatoslav's eldest son Vladimir evidently had no sons (see Baumgarten, *Généalogies*, Table IV, 32).

blood ties, the Ol'govichi could work in closer cooperation against rival dynasties and against the Polovtsy.

A year later, in the winter of 1192, the Ol'govichi waged two campaigns against the Polovtsy. The first was crowned with success but the second achieved nothing. Igor' and his brothers, we are told, decided to march against the Polovtsy. They captured many cattle and horses, and returned home. That same winter, the Ol'govichi once again rode against the nomads. Igor' was accompanied by his brother Vsevolod. Svyatoslav sent three sons: Vsevolod, Vladimir, and Mstislav. Svyatoslav's son, Oleg, did not go but sent his son David. Yaroslav of Chernigov sent his son Rostislav. They rode east to the river Oskol, where the Polovtsy, who were forewarned of their approach, had assembled in great numbers and were waiting for them. When Igor' and his brothers saw the multitude of horsemen they realized that they were outnumbered and stole away in the night. At sunrise, on discovering that the princes had fled, the Polovtsy rode in pursuit but failed to catch them.⁸⁶

To judge from this account, the Polovtsy had not pillaged the Posem'e region for some four years.⁸⁷ Vladimir's marriage to Konchak's daughter in 1188 may have helped to stem the incursions. Significantly, this was the first reported expedition which Igor' organized following his defeat seven years earlier at the river Kayala. Thus, after licking their wounds for over half a decade, the Seversk princes were once again strong enough to launch raids against their foes.

The news that princes from both branches participated in the second campaign suggests that it was larger than the first. Indeed, the success of the first may well have prompted the second. The two eldest princes of the senior branch, Svyatoslav of Kiev and Yaroslav of Chernigov did not go but sent representatives. It is noteworthy that Svyatoslav's youngest delegate was his grandson David Ol'govich, Igor's new son-in-law. The two eldest princes of the cadet branch, Igor' and Vsevolod (who had returned from captivity) went in person. Igor', the most senior prince present acted as commander-in-chief. The responsibility that Svyatoslav placed on him demonstrates that Svyatoslav remained confident in his leadership despite his defeat at the Kayala.

A notable absentee was Igor's son Vladimir. Since he ruled Putivl' in the Posem'e region, Igor' most likely ordered him to remain at home to protect his domain. A second conspicuous absentee was Igor's eldest nephew Svyatoslav Ol'govich from Ryl'sk. As we have seen, he was one of the three Seversk princes taken captive at the Kayala. His return home, unlike those of Vsevo-

⁸⁶ Ipat., col. 673; cf. Gust., 323.

⁸⁷ The last reference to Polovtsian incursions on the Posem'e was made under 1187 (Ipat., col. 653).

Iod and Vladimir, has not been reported. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that his domain of Ryl'sk was also in the Posem'e region. Consequently, if he had been released, and there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that he was released, he like Vladimir remained at home to defend his patrimony from attack.

The purpose of the second campaign, like that of the first, was to plunder Polovtsian camps. Because of the raids that Koza and his allies had conducted on the Posem'e district, the Ol'govichi undoubtedly attacked camps belonging to those tribes. The princes hoped to seize livestock and goods to replace the ones the tribesmen had pillaged from them. The second campaign, however, was different from the first in two respects.

On the one hand, it was more ambitious. Having confidence in their greater numbers, the Ol'govichi ventured deeper into the steppe, namely past Kursk into the upper reaches of the river Oskol. To judge from chronicle reports, this was as far east as the Ol'govichi had ever campaigned. Indeed, the only other occasion on which they had ventured as far as the Oskol was in 1185, when Igor' led his Seversk troops into that region and encountered a multitude of tribesmen. It appears, therefore, that seven years later he revisited the region of his defeat with the intention of avenging the Seversk princes for their humiliation. But the nomads refused to be surprised a second time. Their scouts warned their camps of the approaching Ol'govichi, and the Polovtsy once again assembled in great force. Igor' had also learnt his lesson at the fateful Kayala. On seeing that he was outnumbered, he resolutely ordered his troops to flee under the cover of darkness.

On the other hand, the composition of the second campaign was significantly different. Although the Seversk princes suffered most from the attacks directed at them from the tribesmen living in the Oskol region, Svyatoslav sent his sons to assist the cadet branch. In doing so, he deviated from the strategy that he had espoused some seven years earlier. At that time, he had insisted that Igor' and Yaroslav accompany him on expeditions south along the Dnepr, but he himself refused to go or send troops into the steppe south-east of Kursk. The collaboration of the two branches in 1192 reflects a change in policy, one that Svyatoslav and Igor' probably negotiated two years earlier when they formed the marriage alliance. Indeed, the presence on the campaign of Igor's young son-in-law David supports this view. Although the chronicler fails to explain why Svyatoslav changed his mind, Igor's defeat at the Kayala must have convinced him of the seriousness of the Polovtsian threat from the Donets basin. Igor', for his part, probably promised to help Svyatoslav in campaigns along the Dnepr in defence of the Kievan land. But once again the chronicler fails to corroborate this observation.

Indeed, after 1192 the chronicler reports only a handful of nomadic attacks on Rus' suggesting that the Polovtsian incursions subsided. To judge from the silence of the chronicles, Igor' evidently led no more campaigns against marauding bands. Instead, he and the other princes of Rus' used the nomads as auxiliaries in their inter-dynastic rivalries. The chronicles also tell us nothing of Igor's activities during the last three years of his life, from 1198 to 1201, when he ruled Chernigov as the senior prince of the dynasty.⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

Popular tradition, as has been noted, remembers Igor' as the vanquished prince over whom his wife Yaroslavna lamented in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*. Because of the poem's preoccupation with his defeat, the prevalent image of the prince is that of a heroic failure. Many believe that he was incompetent as a military commander, that he recklessly conducted the campaign against the Polovtsy, and that he disobeyed his senior prince, Svyatoslav of Kiev, by leading the attack.

Unlike the *Slovo*, the chronicles tell us that Igor' planned his campaigns carefully and record his many victories. Instead of accusing him of recklessness, they report his prudent withdrawal from the field of battle in the face of overwhelming odds. They also do not accuse him of insubordination to Svyatoslav, but laud his initiative in pursuing the tribesmen, the scourge of Rus'. In this he was motivated, as were the other princes, by a desire to seize booty and to win glory in battle. Indeed, he objected to escaping from captivity because, given his youthful idealism, he believed that flight was cowardly conduct. The chronicles also relate his ambivalent relationship with the Polovtsy, notably with Khan Konchak. When the latter attacked Rus', Igor' pursued him with unflagging zeal even though the two men had established a strong bond of friendship and arranged a marriage for their children.

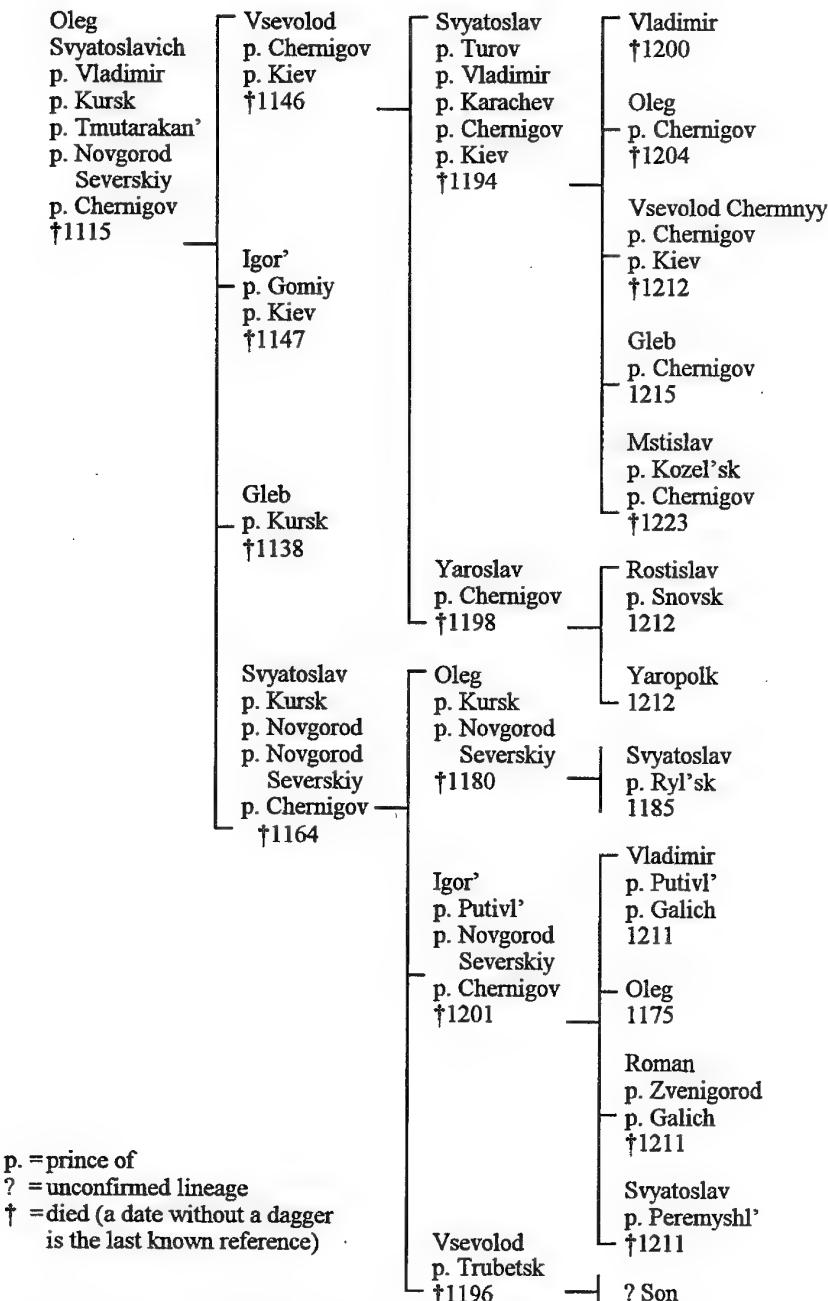
Igor's contemporaries did not blame him for the Kayala defeat. According to the chroniclers, it was his ill fortune to stumble upon a cluster of Polovtsian camps whose tribesmen overwhelmed his forces. But Igor' was a man of his day in that he was a worshipping Christian who prayed to God for assistance, especially before campaigns, during battle, and in captivity. In the light of his faith, Igor', unlike his contemporaries, believed that he was responsible for the defeat because he looked upon it as God's punishment for his sin. Significantly, he did not believe that he had committed an offence by leading an attack against the tribesmen.

⁸⁸ See Dimnik, *Dynasty of Chernigov, 1146–1246*, chap. 2.

Despite Igor's eagerness to curb nomadic raids, however, he disagreed with Svyatoslav in his Polovtsian policy: he refused to join his senior prince on campaigns against tribes living along the Dnepr. He believed that the main enemies of the Ol'govichi on the Posem'e frontier were the tribesmen inhabiting the upper reaches of the river Donets. They therefore became the objects of his attacks, including his fateful campaign to the Kayala. Despite the magnitude of the massacre, the only recorded defeat that Igor' suffered, it was not catastrophic for Rus'. Although the tribesmen decimated the ranks of the cadet branch, Svyatoslav and Ryurik's larger forces remained intact. Moreover, the cadet branch itself recovered sufficiently within some five years to renew its attacks on the nomads. Significantly, after the Kayala campaign, Svyatoslav evidently changed his policy by agreeing to assist Igor' against the tribesmen living in the Donets basin.

Consequently, chronicle evidence shows that, except for the one defeat, Igor' had an enviably successful military career. The Ol'govichi from both branches showed him every respect as a commander-in-chief and followed him into battle without demur. Moreover, Svyatoslav of Kiev had the utmost confidence in him as a military commander and routinely ordered him to lead expeditions, even after the Kayala calamity. Thus we may conclude that the historic Igor' was more complex than the one-sided picture of him the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* gives. Moreover, compared to the careers of the other princes in the cadet branch, his was the most successful. His rise to supreme power in the dynasty in the post-Kayala period testifies to this. After the deaths of his cousin Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Kiev and the latter's brother Yaroslav of Chernigov, he alone, from among all the princes of the cadet branch, attained the highest rung of political power among all the Ol'govichi. He became senior prince and prince of the dynastic capital of Chernigov.

Princes of Chernigov



JUSTIFYING DEATHS: THE CHRONICLER PIERRE DES VAUX-DE-CERNAY AND THE MASSACRE OF BÉZIERS

Elaine Graham-Leigh

ON 22 July 1209, Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay recorded in his *Historia Albigensis*, the southern French town of Béziers fell to the Albigensian crusaders, victim to a surprise attack by a group of servants who had been angered by the citizens' temerity in firing arrows at their crusader masters. "Entering immediately," Pierre wrote, "they killed almost all the inhabitants from the least to the greatest, setting fire to the city."¹ According to the slightly later account of Caesarius of Heisterbach, the crusaders were indiscriminate in their treatment of the citizens: when their leader, Arnauld Amaury, abbot of Cîteaux and papal legate (†1226), was asked how they should distinguish the heretical from the orthodox, the abbot supposedly replied, "Kill them all, the Lord shall know his own."² Pierre's version contains nothing to rank with this notorious one-liner, but in his account the massacre was nevertheless immense, with 7,000 citizens claimed to have been killed in the cathedral alone.³ While such figures cannot be given much credence, simply on the grounds of scale the sack of Béziers would nevertheless have been one of the most important events of the first crusade campaign in Languedoc, and Pierre des Vaux's account is one of its most valuable sources. While this account has been widely used for its accuracy and breadth of information, however, the way in which Pierre presents this information on the sack is also revealing of both the attitudes of the crusade leadership and the reception of the news of the sack within and without the south of France.

The ferocity of the sack was blamed by both Pierre des Vaux and Caesarius of Heisterbach on the intransigence of the citizens. According to Pierre, the

¹ Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia Albigensis* 16 (PL 213:566): "Statim intrantes, a minimo ad maximum omnes fere necati, tradentes incendio civitatem." See also the translations into French and English: Pascal Guébin and Henri Maisonneuve, *Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay: Histoire Albigéoise* (Paris, 1951); and W. A. and M. D. Sibly, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade: Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's Historia Albigensis* (Woodbridge, 1998).

² Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* 5.21 (ed. J. Strange, 2 vols. [Cologne, 1851], 1:302); see n. 88 below.

³ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 16 (PL 213:567).

people of Béziers had deliberately courted death by their refusal to surrender the heretics within their walls: “For, setting themselves up against God and the Church, . . . they chose to die as heretics rather than live as Christians,”⁴ while Caesarius described how “the heretics urinated on the book of the sacred Gospel and then cast it from the wall towards the Christians, and sending arrows after it they cried, ‘There is your law, miserable wretches!’ ”⁵ Against this picture of Biterrois depravity, there is the assertion of the Occitan poet Guillaume de Tudela, writing contemporaneously with Pierre des Vaux, that the sack was the result of a crusade policy designed to deter resistance: “The lords of France and of Paris, the clerks and the laymen, the princes and the marquises, had all agreed between themselves that the inhabitants of each fortified town which refused to surrender to the army should be put to the sword once it was taken by assault. Then they would not find anyone to resist them, because the horror created by such examples would be so great.”⁶ The effect of the sack of Béziers was certainly salutary: on their way from Béziers to Carcassonne in August/September 1209 the crusaders met with little resistance, and of the major towns, Narbonne surrendered immediately on their approach⁷ and Carcassonne after a short siege.⁸ The military reasoning of Guillaume de Tudela provides a more likely hypothesis than the rhetoric of Pierre or Caesarius, but it is noticeable that, while all three of the major accounts of the sack offer an explanation for the massacre, the reasons for which the crusaders attacked Béziers at all are less well rehearsed.

The assumed reason for the crusader presence at Béziers in Pierre des Vaux’s account is the heresy of some of the inhabitants, a theme running throughout the passage and shown particularly by his comments on the citi-

⁴ Ibid. (PL 213:566): “sed se adversus Deum et Ecclesiam erigentes, . . . elegerunt potius mori haeretici quam vivere Christiani.”

⁵ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* 5.21 (ed. Strange, 1:302): “haeretici super volumen sacri Evangelii mingentes, de muro illud contra Christianos proiecerunt, et sagittis post illud missis clamaverunt: Ecce lex vestra, miseri.”

⁶ Guillaume de Tudela, *La Chanson de la croisade Albigoise* 21 (ed. Eugène Martin-Chabot, 3d ed. [Paris, 1976], 1:56–59): “Le barnatges de Fransa e sels de vas Paris, e li cleric e li laic, li princeps e ls marchis, e li un e li autre an entre lor empris que a calque castel en que la ost venguis, que no-s volguessan redre, tro que l’ost les prezis, qu’aneson a la espaza e qu’om les aucezis; e pois no trobarian qui vas lor se tenguis per paor que aurian e per so c’auran vist”; see also the translation by Janet Shirley, *The Song of the Cathar Wars: A History of the Albigensian Crusade by William of Tudela and an anonymous successor* (Aldershot, 1996).

⁷ The surrender of Narbonne is not mentioned by either of the contemporary accounts of the crusade, but a copy of the submission made to the crusaders by Viscount Aimery IV (1202–39) and Archbishop Berenguer (1191–1211) is preserved in Guillaume de Catel, *Mémoires de l’histoire de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1633), 792.

⁸ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 17 (PL 213:567–69); Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 23–33 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:62–83).

zens' refusal to surrender those named as heretics on the list written out by the bishop,⁹ but it is possible that the fate of the town, whose reputation for heresy by no means surpassed those of its neighbours, was sealed by more specific considerations. Although the contemporary accounts of Pierre des Vaux and Guillaume de Tudela present Béziers as a natural target for the crusaders and do not question their choice of direction in their initial campaign, the attack on the town was the result of a major shift in the aims of the crusade.

The Albigensian crusade, called by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) in 1208 in response to the assassination of his legate, Pierre de Castelnau, by retainers of Raymond VI de Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse (1194–1222), was not aimed specifically at the heretics themselves, but at the count who had himself become a barrier to their extirpation. Throughout his papacy, Innocent had demonstrated his belief in the necessity for heresy to be combated through local secular involvement, and the events of 1208 did not change his opinion. In that same year, he described to Philip Augustus, king of France (1180–1223) his vision of antiheresy efforts as following the biblical example of Melchizedek, who was both priest and king, taking as their inspiration the ideal that “as the material and spiritual swords assist each other mutually, each shall help the other.”¹⁰ The count of Toulouse, nominally the most powerful lord of Languedoc, was essential to Innocent’s hopes for effective action against heresy in the area, and though his aggravated lack of cooperation was disastrous for the church, the pope was not prepared to relinquish his hopes that his assistance could either be either persuaded or coerced. The crusade was to be the vehicle for—not the replacement of—local secular efforts against heresy in Languedoc, and their initial efforts were to be directed at the troublesome count: “If such harassment does not give him understanding, we will make it our business to take more serious action against him,” Innocent wrote on calling the crusade in March 1208,¹¹ but while he advised that the temporary seizure of comital castles might be necessary to bring the reprobate to appreciate

⁹ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 16 (PL 213:566). The list referred to here by Pierre has been equated with the list of 222 Béziers heretics found in the cathedral archives by the seventeenth-century compilers of the Doat collection (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de la France Doat 60, fols. 3–6); see Henri Vidal, *Episcopatus et pouvoir épiscopal à Béziers à la veille des la croisade Albigéoise 1152–1209* (Montpellier, 1951), 82. Although the copy is dated 1220, this is more likely to have been an attempt at dating by the copyist than a part of the original manuscript.

¹⁰ Innocent III, Reg. 11.28 (PL 215:1358–59): “ut materiali et spirituali gladiis sibi invicem assistentibus, alter per alterum adjuvetur” (1359).

¹¹ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 8 (PL 213:559): “Quod si nec sic vexatio dederit intellectum, manus nostras in eo curabimus aggravare.”

the seriousness of his position, the aim of the crusade was to gain his co-operation, not his property.

In the event, however, the count, whom Innocent had dubbed a “changeable and crafty, shifty and inconstant man,”¹² forestalled crusade action against him by making a comprehensive surrender to the papal legates in June 1209, while the crusaders were mustering in Provence.¹³ The crusaders had to choose a new target, and the evidence suggests that they chose the viscount of Carcassonne and Béziers, the count of Toulouse’s nephew, Raymond Roger (1194–1209).¹⁴ The viscount’s attempt to surrender to the crusaders when they were mustered at Montpellier in July 1209 was rebuffed by Milo (†1209), the papal legate who had received the submission of the count of Toulouse,¹⁵ and the ensuing campaign concentrated on capturing the Trencavel towns of Béziers and Carcassonne while almost ignoring Narbonne, which lay on the main route from Béziers to Carcassonne and which retained quasi-neutral status under its viscount at least until 1212.¹⁶ Raymond Roger was not a heretic himself, although he was by no means an enthusiastic persecutor, but it is possible that the strength of Carcassonne as a fortified base for further crusade actions joined with doubts about Raymond Roger’s likely attitude towards crusading to make him an ideal replacement target after the count of Toulouse’s surrender.¹⁷

Although the crusaders’ efforts in July 1209 were probably directed specifically at the viscount and not the people of Béziers themselves, it was the citi-

¹² *Ibid.* (PL 213:556): “homo versipellis et callidus, lubricus et inconstans.”

¹³ *Processus negotii Raymondi comitis Tolosani* (PL 216:89–98); Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigenensis* 12–13 (PL 213:563–65); Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 11–13 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:30–39).

¹⁴ Raymond Roger’s family is usually referred to as “the Trencavel” from the nickname employed by some of its members, although not by Raymond Roger himself.

¹⁵ Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 11 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:32–33).

¹⁶ Narbonne served as the venue for meetings between the leaders of the crusade and their antagonists: when, for example, Pere II of Aragon (1196–1213) received Simon de Montfort’s homage for Carcassonne in January 1211, he did so at Narbonne; see Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigenensis* 43 (PL 213:599). Pierre des Vaux’s description of the incident in 1212 when the people of Narbonne rioted against Guy and Amaury de Montfort makes clear that there were still very few crusade troops in the town at this date; *ibid.* 42 (PL 213:631–32).

¹⁷ It has been suggested that the count of Toulouse encouraged the crusaders to attack Raymond Roger. See, for example, Joseph R. Strayer, *The Albigenian Crusades*, 2d ed. (Ann Arbor, 1992), 59; and, most recently, Laurent Macé, “Chronique d’une grande commotion: La rivalité entre les comtes de Toulouse et les Trencavel (XII^e–XIII^e siècles),” *Tarn médiéval*, Revue de Tarn, troisième série, 176 (2000): 661–83. The only evidence to support such a conjecture, however, is the comment by Guillaume de Tudela that Raymond guided the crusaders to suitable places to camp during their march on the Trencavel lands (Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 14, ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:44–45), a guidance which, given the crusaders’ consistent distrust of Raymond, is not likely to have been political as well as geographic.

zens who bore the brunt of the crusade attack. Raymond Roger did not stay to defend the town but, stopping briefly at Béziers on his return from Montpellier, left with the Jews of the town for his more important possession of Carcassonne.¹⁸ The consequences were vividly described by the three contemporary or near contemporary chroniclers of the sack, Guillaume de Tudela, Caesarius of Heisterbach, and Pierre des Vaux.

Of these three accounts, Caesarius's was written at the greatest distance from the sack itself; Caesarius was master of the novices at the Cistercian abbey of Heisterbach in Germany and in 1221 began his *Dialogus Miraculorum*, of which the account of the sack of Béziers forms only a small part, to instruct the youths in his care.¹⁹ In contrast, Guillaume de Tudela's *Chanson de la croisade Albigeoise* was written between 1211 and 1213 by someone who had lived in Languedoc since around 1204²⁰ and who would have had personal experience of at least some of the events which he described. Guillaume's *Chanson* concluded just before the battle of Muret in 1213, but the poem was continued in the late 1220s by an anonymous author, probably attached to the court of the count of Foix, up until the siege of Toulouse by the future Louis VIII (1223–28) in 1219.²¹ The continuation of the *Chanson* is opposed to the crusade and markedly more partisan than the original, in which Guillaume followed his patron Baldwin (†1214), the younger brother of the count of Toulouse, to represent Occitan crusade supporters.²² For Guillaume, as for

¹⁸ Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 16 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:48–49).

¹⁹ Brian Patrick McGuire, "Written Sources and Cistercian Inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 35 (1979): 227–82 at 227.

²⁰ Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 15 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:46–7). In 1211, he was living at Montauban and later settled at Bruniquel; *ibid.* 1 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:4–5).

²¹ The author of the continuation of the *Chanson* has been described as a Toulousan: he refers to bishop of Foulques of Toulouse as "our bishop" (*Chanson* 148, ed. Martin-Chabot, 2:62–63), and his stress on the battles for Toulouse has been held to indicate a Toulousan perspective. See, for example, Yves Dossat, "La croisade vue par les chroniqueurs," in *Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIII^e siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 4 (Toulouse, 1969), 221–59 at 250–57. However, the focus of the passages on Toulouse is not on the citizens but on the count of Foix and his sons, a focus which is repeated for other key incidents such as the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Since Foix was in the diocese of Toulouse, a connection with Foix presents no contradiction with the author's sparse biographical details while providing a context for his opposition to the crusade.

²² Guillaume de Tudela has been described as an anticrusade writer or as one who would change his support according to the victories of either side: Shirley, *Song*, preface, 2; Dossat, "La croisade vue par les chroniqueurs," 247, 250. There need, however, be no contradiction between his qualified support for his patron's brother, the count of Toulouse, and his more whole hearted approval of the crusade. When describing the quarrels between the two brothers, Guillaume does not fail to take Baldwin's side; see for example Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 77 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:186–87), and if he had still been writing in 1214, when Raymond had his brother executed (Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1145–1275*, chap. 22, ed. and trans.

Pierre des Vaux, the sack of Béziers was a particularly problematic event of the crusade, but it is Pierre's efforts to justify it which are the most revealing of general responses to it and which require the most detailed examination.

Pierre des Vaux is generally considered to have been a factually reliable chronicler: his statement in his introductory dedication of the *Historia Albigensis* to Pope Innocent III that "everything is true which is written here, as I have set down nothing which I have not either witnessed with my own eyes or heard from persons of the greatest authority"²³ has the ring of a ritual declaration but need not be treated with great scepticism. A Cistercian monk at the Abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay in northern France, Pierre visited Languedoc twice during the period of the crusade, in 1212 and 1214, and on the second occasion he did not return to his monastery until after the death of Simon de Montfort, the leader of the crusade, in 1218.²⁴ The bulk of the work was probably written in 1213, with a second section covering the later years of the crusade begun in 1218 and never completed. It would have been the first section which was originally dedicated to the pope, who died in 1216, and this choice of dedicatee gives an indication of Pierre's intentions for the work.

Pierre's connections were with the military and spiritual leaders of the crusade. As a Cistercian, Pierre was a member of the order particularly associated with preaching against heresy since St. Bernard preached against heresy in Toulouse in 1145,²⁵ and which was Innocent III's chosen force to deal with the problems in Languedoc.²⁶ Pierre's uncle, Abbot Guy des Vaux-de-Cernay (†1223), was not only involved in such Cistercian preaching efforts against heresy both before and during the crusade,²⁷ but was also a friend of Simon de

Jean Duvernoy, 2d ed. [Paris, 1996], 92–95), his unambiguous support for the crusade would probably have become much more evident. On Raymond VI and Baldwin, see Laurent Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage, XII^e–XIII^e siècles: Rivalités, alliances et jeux de pouvoir* (Toulouse, 2000), 74–86.

²³ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* (PL 213:543–44): "vera sunt illa quae scripsi, cum nihil unquam apposuerim, nisi quod viderim oculis meis, vel audierim a magnae auctoritatis personis. . . ."

²⁴ Guébin and Maisonneuve, *Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay*, introduction, xi–xii.

²⁵ See Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229* (York 2001), 78–108; and Jean Leclercq, "L'identité cistercienne et ses conséquences," in *Les Cisterciens de Languedoc (XIII^e–XIV^e siècles)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 21 (Toulouse, 1986), 370–9. For a detailed discussion of the mission, see Robert I. Moore, "St Bernard's Mission to the Languedoc in 1145," *Historical Research* 47 (1974): 1–10.

²⁶ On Innocent's enthusiasm for the Cistercians as preachers against heresy, see in particular Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 135–73.

²⁷ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 5–6 (PL 213:554–55); see Monique Zerner-Chardavoyne, "L'abbé Gui des Vaux-de-Cernay, prédicateur de croisade," in *Les Cisterciens de Languedoc*, 183–204.

Montfort,²⁸ having accompanied him on the Fourth Crusade in 1202.²⁹ Pierre accompanied his uncle to Languedoc, as he may have likewise done to Zara,³⁰ and would have been in close contact with both Simon and the head of his order, the papal legate Arnauld Amaury, abbot of Cîteaux. These connections suggest the source of much of Pierre's information and also indicate the intent with which that information was deployed. The *Historia Albigensis* can be regarded as the "official history" of the crusade, the version of events disseminated with the approval of the crusade leaders themselves.

That Pierre's personal relationship with the crusade leadership shaped his chronicle is demonstrated, for example, by the way in which he minimized any hints of dissension among the upper echelons of the crusade. Papal letters suggest that there were significant differences of opinion between the pope and his legates on policy against heresy by the first winter of the crusade. At Christmas 1209, the count of Toulouse visited Rome to plead for papal intervention against the attacks on him by the crusaders, resulting in a stinging rebuke from Innocent to his legates for having refused to absolve him from his excommunication. In this letter, Innocent warned his legates against allowing the execution of his orders to be obstructed by "malicious and frivolous questions,"³¹ and the suggestion that papal orders were not carried out was repeated two years later, when he was to call his legates "cool and dismissive."³² In 1213, the pope was to protest against crusade occupation of non-heretical lands,³³ and in 1215, according to the continuation of the *Chanson*, the problems between the pope and his legates culminated in an acrimonious debate on the fate of the count of Toulouse at the Fourth Lateran Council.³⁴ The importance of these differences, essentially a disagreement about the proper treatment of Raymond de Saint-Gilles, can be disputed and it is not necessary to conclude that Innocent had in fact lost control of his legates in

²⁸ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 17 bis (PL 213:570).

²⁹ Ibid. 19 (PL 213:571–72).

³⁰ Guébin and Maisonneuve, *Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay*, introduction, xiii.

³¹ Innocent III, Reg. 12.152 (216:171–72): "... ne propter malitiosas et frivolas quaestiones mandati nostri valeat exsecutio impediri" (172).

³² Ibid. 15.102 (PL 216:613–14): "... ne in nostri exsecutio mandai sitis tepidi et remissi, sicut hactenus dicimini exstitisse."

³³ Ibid. 15.212 (PL 216:739–40).

³⁴ *Chanson* 142–51 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 2:41–83). This dispute is also suggested by the evasiveness of the anonymous eyewitness to the Council, who follows an illegible passage at the beginning of the debate on Toulouse with the comment "Here, I must pass over many other matters whose truth I could not ascertain because I only heard rumours about them" (Stephan Kuttner and A. García y García, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council [1215]," *Traditio* 20 [1964]: 115–78 at 125: "Multa talium, que hic pertranseo, utpote non certa michi plenarie fama referente cognovi").

Languedoc by the end of his pontificate.³⁵ It is significant, however, that these problems are barely mentioned by Pierre, even though he would have been ideally placed to gain information on the disputes between pope and legates. He merely remarks that in 1213 the pope was temporarily swayed by "the false suggestions of the messengers of the king of Aragon"³⁶ and invokes divine intervention to prevent the pope from being convinced by the count of Toulouse's first embassy to Rome in early 1209.³⁷

Pierre similarly gives very little space to the lengthy quarrel between Arnould Amaury and Simon de Montfort over the title Duke of Narbonne, which traditionally belonged to the counts of Toulouse but which Arnould claimed following his elevation to the archbishopric of Narbonne in 1212.³⁸ His reticence on some of the most important issues for the crusaders and legates demonstrates how, while he wrote on behalf of the crusade leadership, it was not they but a more sceptical public who were his intended audience. Pierre's account contains justifications both for the fact of the crusade and for specific instances of crusader behaviour, and the need to justify the crusade is one of the principles informing the work.

Pierre's account of the crusade rests on the assumption that the inhabitants of Languedoc brought their fate upon themselves. His treatment of the capture of the castle of Bram, to the northwest of Carcassonne, in 1210 provides a graphic but not isolated example, as he describes how Simon de Montfort had the defenders mutilated in reaction to the atrocities which they had perpetrated on his men: "They put out the eyes of the defenders, over a hundred in number, and cut off their noses. . . . The count had this punishment carried out not because such mutilation pleased him but because his opponents had begun this . . . it was right that they should fall into the pit which they had dug themselves and drink from time to time of the cup they so often administered to others."³⁹ This viewpoint was not in itself unusual; Guillaume de Tudela used

³⁵ As suggested particularly strongly by Helene Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III* (Bonn, 1954), trans. Walter Sax (Amsterdam and Oxford, 1980), 230.

³⁶ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 66 (PL 213:656): ". . . eo quod nimis credulus fuisse set falsis suggestionibus nuntiorum regis Arragonensium."

³⁷ *Ibid.* 9 (PL 213:561).

³⁸ See *ibid.* 82 (PL 213:698); Raymonde Foreville, "Arnaud-Amalric, Archévêque de Narbonne (1196-1225)," in *Narbonne: Archéologie et histoire, XLV^e congrès organisé par la Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon*, vols. 2: *Narbonne au moyen âge* (Montpellier, 1973), 129-46 at 131-34; and R. W. Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne* (New York, 1941), 60-62.

³⁹ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 34 (PL 213:583): "hominibus autem castri illius plusquam centum oculos eruerunt, nasos amputaverunt. . . . Hoc autem fieri fecit comes, non quia placeret ei tallis detruncatio membrorum hominibus illata, sed quia adversarii sui hoc incooperant . . . justum enim erat ut, in faveam incidentes quam foderant, biberent aliquando cali-

the same rationale for the crusaders' attack on Raymond Roger, stating, "All his knights and other subjects maintained the heretics in their towers and castles, and so caused their own ruin and their shameful deaths. The viscount himself died in great anguish, a sad and sorry loss, because of this grievous error";⁴⁰ but in the *Historia Albigensis* it receives a more thoroughgoing application to both whole regions and individual opponents of the crusade.

Two of those singled out for particularly lengthy passages are the counts of Toulouse and Foix. Pierre was careful to show both as not only anticlerical but actively heretical, Raymond Roger of Foix for the blasphemous persecutions he visited on two abbeys within his sphere of influence, Saint-Antonin de Pamiers⁴¹ and Sainte-Marie d'Urgel,⁴² and Raymond of Toulouse for tolerating heretics at his court.⁴³ The point that the latter's sympathies lay with his Cathar courtiers is illustrated by various examples of his derision for Catholicism, such as the accusation that he instructed his Fool to caper at the back of a church in which Mass was being said,⁴⁴ and the declaration he was said to have made while playing chess with his chaplain: "the God of Moses, in whom you believe, cannot help you in this game."⁴⁵ In the same way, Pierre's descriptions of the sieges of various castles in the Carcasses are prefaced by an account of the heresy of their lords and inhabitants: the lord of Termes, taken by the crusaders in the summer of 1210, was "a manifest heretic who . . . neither feared God nor regarded man,"⁴⁶ the men of Cabaret, who assisted the defenders of Termes, were "the chief and most cruel enemies of the Christian religion at the time,"⁴⁷ while the lady of Lavaur, Giraude, is dubbed "the very worst sort of heretic" at the beginning of the section describing the siege of her castle in the spring of 1211.⁴⁸

Pierre's attributions of heresy to the enemies of the crusade do not necessarily relate to the extent of their actual unbelief: while some of the

cem quem aliis saepissime propinarent" (cf. Ps 7:15: "lacum aperuit et effodit eum et incidet in foveam quam fecit").

⁴⁰ Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 15 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:46–47): "E tuit sei cavalier e l'autre valvassor tenian los eretges, qui en castel, qui en tor, per que foron destruit e mort a desonor. El meteis ne morig, a mot granda dolor, dont fo pecatz e dans, per cela fort error."

⁴¹ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 44–46 (PL 213:600–603), including his maintenance of his heretical wife and sister at Pamiers and the expulsion of the abbot and monks.

⁴² Ibid. 46 (PL 213:602–3).

⁴³ Ibid. 4 (PL 213:551–54).

⁴⁴ Ibid. (PL 213:552).

⁴⁵ Ibid. (PL 213:553): "Deus Moysi, quem vos creditis, non poterit vos juvare in ludo isto."

⁴⁶ Ibid. 40 (PL 213:591): "manifestus haereticus, qui . . . nec Deum timebat, nec homines verebatur."

⁴⁷ Ibid: "praecipui et crudelissimi Christianae religionis tunc temporis inimici."

⁴⁸ Ibid. 49 (PL 213:605): "pessima haeretica."

castles mentioned above have a strong reputation for heresy, neither the count of Toulouse nor the count of Foix can be shown to have had heretical leanings, their distaste for the extirpation of heretics and the enthusiasm of some of their female relatives notwithstanding. Pierre generally seems to have been unwilling to admit the concept of orthodox opponents of the crusade, and often equated religious dissension with military resistance as if the latter invariably proved the presence of the former. The effect of this is to provide a general justification for the behaviour of the crusaders by asserting that they attacked only those whose heresy meant that they deserved it: the declaration of Giraude's heresy at the beginning of the passage on Lavaur justifies her death at the hands of the crusaders at the end of it. The effort which Pierre devoted to establishing the heresy of named crusade opponents is also proportionate with their fate. Hence the count of Toulouse, the original target and the most significant Occitan opposition to the crusade, receives a more comprehensive condemnation than his less powerful neighbour of Foix, against whom Pierre has little beside his dispute with Saint-Antonin,⁴⁹ and both have a more lengthy account of their misdeeds than the one accusation made against Raymond Roger, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, who was dispossessed in September 1209 and safely dead by mid-November.⁵⁰

The comparison between the presentation of the counts of Toulouse and Foix on the one hand and the viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne on the other suggests that Pierre responded not only to the degree of enmity between his targets and the crusade but also to the degree of support which they received from other quarters. Raymond Roger's dispossession gave rise to little protest, and two years before Pierre began the *Historia Albigenis* his overlord, Pere II of Aragon (1196–1213), had grudgingly accepted Simon de Montfort as viscount of Carcassonne.⁵¹ The rights of Raymond Roger's heir, two years old when his father died in 1209, likewise received little support until his guardian, Roger Bernard, count of Foix, and his cousin Raymond VII de Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, recaptured Carcassonne for him in 1224.⁵² In contrast, Pere of Aragon was prepared to exert considerable diplomatic and, by 1213, military pressure in defence of the counts of Foix and Toulouse, and the latter also received support from his brother-in-law John of England (1199–1216), whose prelates spoke on his behalf at the Fourth Lateran Coun-

⁴⁹ Ibid. 44–46 (PL 213:600–603).

⁵⁰ Ibid. 16 (PL 213:566).

⁵¹ Ibid. 47 (PL 213:603–4).

⁵² Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–92; 2d ed., Osnabrück, 1973), 6:574. He was dispossessed by Louis VIII in 1226 and died lord of Limoux sometime after 1263.

cil in 1215,⁵³ and from his first cousin Philip Augustus, king of France, who protested on his behalf to Innocent in 1208 that he could not be legally deprived of his lands unless he was found personally to be a heretic.⁵⁴ It can be seen from this that Pierre's passages on the counts of Toulouse and Foix not only provide abstract defences of the crusade but also answer high-profile criticisms of crusader behaviour.

These criticisms did not always emanate from opponents of the crusade: although Pierre took pains to suppress it, letters between Innocent and his legates from 1210 on show a widening gulf between papal and legatine perceptions of proper crusade priorities. Hence in 1213, the year in which Pierre began his work, Innocent wrote angrily to Arnauld Amaury, then archbishop of Narbonne, and Simon de Montfort, denouncing them for attacking non-heretical lands: "You also, brother Archbishop, and the noble man Simon de Montfort, leading the crusaders into the lands of the count of Toulouse, have not only occupied lands where heretics were living but stretched out your greedy hands into those lands which have no reputation for heresy."⁵⁵ Pierre's characterization of all the enemies of the crusade as heretics goes some way to defend the crusaders against such papal complaints, but he also attempted to provide a more explicit rebuttal of the accusation that the crusaders were concerned with their own gain. Describing the campaign against Minerve in 1210, Pierre related how the citizens of Narbonne urged Simon de Montfort into attacking the castle, commenting that "they did this because the people of Minerve troubled them excessively, and a love of their own interests moved them more than zeal for the Christian faith."⁵⁶ The contrast between the Narbonnais behaviour and that of the crusaders is clear: by accusing the citizens of Narbonne of the same motives laid against Arnauld and Simon by the pope, Pierre provided an answer to specific criticisms of the crusade in addition to the general heresy justification present throughout the *Historia Albigensis*.

Despite such tacit disagreements with papal pronouncements, Pierre's dedication to Innocent suggests a connection between the author's justificatory

⁵³ *Chanson* 150 (ed. Martin-Chabot 2:73–78). See Claire Taylor, "Pope Innocent III, John of England and the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1216)," in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John C. Moore (Hofstra, N.Y., 1999), 205–28.

⁵⁴ De Vic and Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* 8:558.

⁵⁵ Innocent III, Reg. 15.212 (PL 216:739–40): "Tu autem, frater archiepiscope, ac nobilis vir Simon de Montforti crucesignatos in terram Tolosani comitis inducentes, non solum loca in quibus habitabant haeretici occupastis, sed ad illas nihilominus terras quae super haeresi nulla notabantur infamia manus avidas extendistis" (739).

⁵⁶ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 37 (PL 213:585): "Hoc autem faciebant, quia illa de Minerba eos nimis infestabant, magisque eos ad hoc movebat amor utilitatis propriae quam zelus religionis Christianae."

passages and papal concerns about the effects of the crusade. Innocent was anxious that the crusaders should keep within the bounds of legality, complaining to Arnauld Amaury in 1212, “Since [the count of Toulouse] has not been found guilty of heresy nor of the murder of Pierre des Castelnau of blessed memory, although he is strongly suspected of them . . . we do not see by what right we can give his land to others, which has not been lawfully taken from him or his heirs.”⁵⁷ For Innocent, the idea that the church might be seen to be unjust was a deeply troubling one. As early as 1208, he was instructing his legates that “nothing should appear in . . . [their] words and actions which a heretic could argue against,”⁵⁸ and he enlarged on this point to Arnauld Amaury in 1212: “It is not suitable that we should be seen to be seizing the castles from [the count of Toulouse’s] lands by a trick, for the Apostle tells us to avoid not only evil but the appearance of evil.”⁵⁹ Innocent’s concern that the conduct of the crusade might damage the reputation of the church can be seen reflected in Pierre’s work. The *Historia Albigensis* not only answers papal criticisms of the crusade leadership, but it also presents a version of reality in which Innocent’s hopeless wish that the crusaders would be only legal and just had always been true.

Unlike the count of Toulouse, the citizens of Béziers had no powerful protectors who could speak for them against the crusaders. The viscounts of Béziers had until the late twelfth century held the town under the nominal authority of the counts of Toulouse, but the increasing dominance of Aragon over Carcassonne brought Béziers tacitly within an Aragonese sphere of influence: in an 1186 treaty with Richard, duke of Aquitaine, for example, Alfonso II of Aragon (1162–96) appeared to claim an authority over Béziers which had never actually been ceded to him by Toulouse.⁶⁰ Raymond Roger’s preference for Carcassonne appears to have been echoed by his Aragonese overlord, and Toulousan links with the town had plainly become too weak by 1209 for the count of Toulouse to protest at the sack of a city which he could

⁵⁷ Innocent III, Reg. 15.102 (PL 216:613–14): “quia tamen nondum est damnatus de haeresi vel de nece sanctae memoriae Petri de Castronovo, etsi de illis sit valde suspectus . . . non intelligimus qua ratione possemus adhuc alii concedere terram ejus, quae sibi vel haeredibus suis abjudicata non est.”

⁵⁸ A. Teulet, *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1863), 319: “nec apparent quicquam in verbis vel actibus vestris quod hereticus etiam valeat reprobare.”

⁵⁹ Innocent III, Reg. 15.102 (PL 216:614): “praesertim ne videremur in dolo castra nobis exhibita de suis manibus extorsisse, cum non solum a malo, sed ab omni specie mali praecipiat Apostolus abstinere.” This is an adaptation of 1 Thess 5:22 (“ab omni specie mala abstine vos”), which Innocent seems to have altered to stress the importance of the appearance as well as the existence of evil.

⁶⁰ Richard Benjamin, “A Forty Years War: Toulouse and the Plantagenets, 1156–1196,” *Historical Research* 61 (1988): 270–85 at 283–85.

still have claimed as his own. Neither was the sack ever the subject of an explicit papal complaint, but nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest considerable general outrage at the massacre of the citizens. Guillaume de Tudela, writing not as an opponent of the crusade but for nobles who, like his patron Baldwin, the younger brother of the count of Toulouse, were generally sympathetic to it, made his horror at the sack abundantly clear: "I believe," he said, "that such savage butchery has neither been planned nor carried out since the time of the Saracens."⁶¹ By the 1220s, the fate of Béziers could symbolize the entire crusade: for Caesarius of Heisterbach, the sack of the town was plainly the most absorbing part of his passage on Catharism in Languedoc,⁶² and the massacre of the citizens also stood for all the Occitan dead in the *Sirventes contra Roma* by the outspoken troubadour Guilhem Figueira.⁶³ This notoriety, and the fact that the capture of Béziers is the first crusade action described in the *Historia Albigensis*, served to bring Pierre's justificatory purpose to the fore. The way in which he justified the sack, however, differs in several respects from the methods used elsewhere in his work, and make the passage worth examining in detail.

Pierre introduced his passage on Béziers with the unexceptional statement that the inhabitants of the town were heretics, but went on to attribute to them more comprehensive iniquities: "they were robbers, lawbreakers, adulterers and thieves of the worst sort, full of every kind of sin."⁶⁴ He strengthened the heretical characterization of the citizens by recounting an incident in which a group of them had set on a priest on his way to Mass, beat him up, and urinated on his chalice, but this is only a prelude to the principal charge laid at their door: that, decades before, they had murdered their viscount. This murder also had elements of disrespect for the church, since the killing occurred in the cathedral of St. Mary Magdalene and the mob broke the teeth of the bishop, who was vainly trying to defend the viscount, in the process, but while Pierre attempted to link the murder to Cathar disparagement of Mary Magdalene, his attempts to make it appear overtly heretical are unsuccessful. The ecclesiastical elements in any case were secondary in Pierre's account: he

⁶¹ Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 21 (ed. Martin-Chabot 1:58): "C'anc mais tan fera mort del temps Sarrazinis no cuge que fos faita ni c'om la cossentis."

⁶² Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* 5.21 (ed. Strange, 1:302); and see Jacques Berlioz, "Tuez-les tous, Dieu reconnaîtra les siens": *Le massacre de Béziers (22 juillet 1209) et la croisade contre les Albigeois vue par Césaire de Heisterbach* (Portet-sur-Garonne, 1994), 21.

⁶³ René Lavaud and René Nelli, *Les Troubadours*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1966), 804–15 (verse 22) at 814–15.

⁶⁴ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 16 (PL 213:565): "erant raptore, injusti, adulteri, latrones pessimi, pleni omni genere peccatorum."

was most exercised by the disloyalty of the citizens to their rightful lord, calling the perpetrators “the worst sort of traitors.”⁶⁵

In the context of this particular crime, for Pierre the 1209 massacre became the proper penalty for the murder of the viscount and the crusaders the instruments of God’s vengeance. Before the crusade attack, divine portents were arrogantly ignored by citizens determinedly blind to their peril. While they worked on the city’s defences, a strange old man appeared and questioned them: “You are defending the city against the crusaders, but who can defend you from above?” Pierre explained the old man’s divine message to make sure his point was not missed (“By this he meant that the Lord would be attacking them from Heaven”⁶⁶) and concluded his account of the massacre with a further reflection on how the fate of Béziers was not only deserved but divinely ordained: “It is especially worth noting that, just as the city of Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus and Vespasian forty-two years after the Passion of our Lord, so the city of Béziers was devastated by the French forty-two years after the murder of the lord of the city. Nor should I omit to point out that the city was destroyed several times for the reason mentioned above, always on the feast of the blessed Mary Magdalene, in whose church so enormous a crime had been committed, and so suffered a punishment worthy of its crime.”⁶⁷ Again, as throughout the passage on the sack, it is the murder of the viscount and not the general and somewhat perfunctory accusations of iniquity which justifies crusader behaviour.

Unlike Pierre’s more colourful accusations against the count of Toulouse and other high profile crusade opponents, for this crime there is substantial near contemporary evidence, a long passage in William of Newburgh’s *Historia rerum Anglicarum*.⁶⁸ According to William, in 1167, Raymond Trencavel, viscount of Carcassonne, Béziers, Albi, and Razès (1130–67) campaigned with his nephew, Bernard Aton, viscount of Nîmes (†1214), against the count of Toulouse, a campaign for which there is no other surviving evidence but which is perfectly credible given the political situation in the Languedoc of

⁶⁵ Ibid. (PL 213:565): “traditores vessimi.”

⁶⁶ Ibid. (PL 213:566): “‘Vos contra peregrinos civitatem istam munitis: sed quis desuper poterit vos munire?’ Per hoc innuit, quod Dominus de coelo bellaturus esset eos.”

⁶⁷ Ibid. (PL 213:567): “Notabiliter est notandum quod sicut civitas Jerusalem XLII anno a passione Domini nostri a Tito et Vespasiano fuit destruuta, ita civitas Biterrensis XLII anno ab interfectione domini sui per Francigenas est vastata. Hoc quoque non est omittendum, quod saepedicta civitas multoties devastata fuerit ob causam superius memoratam, semper in die festi S. Mariae Magdalene; in cuius ecclesia tantum scelus perpetratum fuerat, dignam recepit ejusdem sceleris ultiōnem.”

⁶⁸ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum* 2.11 (ed. Richard Howlett, Rolls Series 82 [London, 1884–89, rpt. 1964], 1:126–30).

the 1160s.⁶⁹ While Raymond Trencavel's troops were on the march, an argument broke out between a household knight and a citizen of Béziers who was using the former's horse as a beast of burden. Vicecomital attempts to arbitrate proved unsatisfactory and the citizen, expelled from the army, vowed revenge. By the end of the campaign, his disaffection had spread to a large number of the citizens, and the viscount called a meeting in the cathedral of Béziers to lay the problem to rest. The citizens, however, came armed to the meeting and attacked and murdered the viscount. William's account is unclear about the precise events immediately following the massacre, but implies that the citizens effectively declared their independence. Roger (†1194), Raymond Trencavel's son and heir, was unable to enter the town until the following year, and that only following a siege carried out on his behalf by his sometime ally and overlord Alfonso II of Aragon. When he had regained possession of the town, however, in William's version his behaviour preempted the revenge of the crusaders by forty years. On the excuse of protecting it from the count of Toulouse, he quartered large numbers of Aragonese troops in the city, who in the middle of the night rose up and murdered their unsuspecting hosts.

William of Newburgh's account of the murder agrees in essentials with the other twelfth-century description, a much shorter account written by the chronicler Gaufred of Vigéois,⁷⁰ and in many details with Pierre des Vaux's, with both writers including, for example, the bishop's attempt to save the viscount's life.⁷¹ Despite these similarities it is unlikely that William was Pierre's informant; the repetition of details on the contrary suggests a strong local tradition concerning the murder to which Pierre, during his travels in Languedoc, would have had access. William's source is more difficult to pin down, although his mistaken belief that the viscount was called Guillaume may point

⁶⁹ On the conflicts between the counts of Toulouse and the counts/kings of Barcelona and Aragon, which shaped the politics of twelfth-century Languedoc, see Charles Higouet, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XII^e siècle: La rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelone pour la prépondérance méridionale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 313–22; Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "A propos de la 'domination' de la maison comtale de Barcelone sur le Midi français," *Annales du Midi* 76 (1964): 315–45; Benjamin, "Forty Years War," 270–85; Marie-Bernadette Bruguière, "Un mythe historique: 'L'impérialisme capétien' dans le Midi aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles," *Annales du Midi* 97 (1985): 245–67; Jacqueline Caille, "Les Seigneurs de Narbonne dans le conflit Toulouse-Barcelone au XII^e siècle," *Annales du Midi* 97 (1985): 227–44; and Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse*, 23–33.

⁷⁰ Gaufred of Vigéois, "Chronica," in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols., nouvelle édition (Paris, 1869–1904), 12:421–51 at 440–41.

⁷¹ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 16 (PL 213:567); William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum* 2.11 (ed. Howlett, 1:128). Only Pierre described the injuries to the bishop, William merely commented that he risked danger by attempting to defend the viscount.

to an Aragonese origin. The name Guillaume was not one which had ever been used by the rulers of Béziers, but it is attributed to them in two late twelfth-century sources, William's account and the report of the inquiry commissioned by Alfonso II of Aragon in ca. 1175 into his claims to Carcassonne.⁷² The repetition of the mistake over the name makes a plausible connection between these two sources, while diplomatic contacts between the Angevins and Aragon in the 1180s and 1190s, such as the 1186 treaty between Alfonso II and Richard, duke of Aquitaine,⁷³ provide a context for transmission.

No source gives the names of any of the participants aside from the viscount and his son, although a recent article has suggested that the leader of the rebels was a certain Bernard who ended his days as a recluse attached to the abbey of Saint-Bertain in 1182.⁷⁴ The lack of details aids William's and Pierre's presentations of the citizens as a mob, but in both cases this is probably a distortion. The viscounts had long standing rivalries with several of the most powerful noble families in the city and it is probable that William's description of the citizens' resentment of noble privilege obscures an attempt by both the nobles and the citizens to free their town from vicecomital control. If the 1167 Béziers rebellion demonstrated an urge for civic independence it would not have been unusual in twelfth-century Languedoc; the struggles of Toulouse with its count being only one example of a fairly general trend.⁷⁵

⁷² Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, perg. Alfonso I, no. 730, printed in the Appendix to Pierre de Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus*, ed. E. Baluze (Paris, 1688), cols. 1131–32, and in De Vic and Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* 5:31–33.

⁷³ Benjamin, "Forty Years War," 283–85.

⁷⁴ Pierre-André Sigal, "Bernard le Pénitent et la révolte de Béziers de 1167," *Annales du Midi* 101 (1989): 275–77; *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp 1675), April II, 676–97.

⁷⁵ On the attempts of some southern French towns to gain independence, see Linda M. Patterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society c.1100–c.1300* (Cambridge, 1993), 165–70; John H. Mundy and Peter Riesenber, *The Medieval Town* (New York, 1958), 48–53; Archibald Ross Lewis, "The Development of Town Government in Twelfth Century Montpellier," *Speculum* 22 (1947): 51–67, and "Seigneurial Administration in Twelfth Century Montpellier," *ibid.*, 562–67, esp. 567–68; Jean Sarrand, "Origine du Consulat dans la Cité: le Bourg de Carcassonne et les communautés avoisinantes," in *Carcassonne et sa région: Actes des XLI et XXIV Congrès d'études régionales tenus par la Fédération Historique du Languedoc Méditerranéen et du Roussillon et par la Fédération des Sociétés académiques et savantes Languedoc-Pyrénées-Gascogne* (Carcassonne, 1970), 153–58. For consuls in the thirteenth century, see James Given, *State and Society in Medieval Europe: Gwynedd and Languedoc under Outside Rule* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 57–58; Jacques Bousquet, "Le traité d'alliance entre Hugues, comte de Rodez et les Consuls de Millau (6 juin 1223)," *Annales du Midi* 72 (1960): 25–42; and (in Catalonia) Philip Daileader, "The Vanishing Consulates of Catalonia," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 65–94. On Toulouse, see R. Limouzin-Lamothe, *La Commune de Toulouse et les sources de son histoire (1120–1249)* (Toulouse, 1932), 106–35; John Hine Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050–1230* (New York, 1954), 53–89, and

There are indications that this was the case: Gaufred of Vigeois implied that the rebellion was against vicecomital tyranny: “[The rebels] swore that they would return him alive to Toulouse, because he gravely oppressed the citizens,”⁷⁶ and relations between Roger and the nobles of Béziers were particularly sour. The head of the most powerful Béziers family, Pierre Nairat, is referred to as “the traitor” in vicecomital charters from the 1180s, when he appears to have been in exile, and it is tempting to speculate that his treachery was the murder of Raymond Trencavel.⁷⁷

William, however, saw the murder of the viscount as an illustration of the dangers inherent in giving way to the demands of the urban bourgeoisie. His interest in Béziers ostensibly resulted from the viscount’s earlier participation in Henry II’s 1159 campaign against Toulouse,⁷⁸ but in reality the story of the murder was included in the *Historia rerum Anglicarum* because it gave him an opportunity to illustrate his particular view of society. For William, the murder of the viscount and the resulting rebellion were the products of a class conflict, between the citizens and the knights, and pointed out the moral that the bourgeoisie should not seek to participate in such knightly pursuits as warfare.⁷⁹ Both William and Pierre’s accounts are parables of crime and retribution, and both also centre on the identity of the inhabitants of Béziers as citizens: members of a particular class who betrayed their loyalty to their betters so monstrously as to kill their rightful lord.

William’s account of the 1167 rebellion brings out his opinions on class present elsewhere in the work, but for Pierre, the concentration on the victims of the Béziers massacre as citizens was a marked departure from the purely heretical Occitan who make up the majority of the crusade’s opponents in his work. The difference between this passage and Pierre’s usual agenda is further indicated by the implicit identification between Raymond Trencavel and Christ in the rather strained parallel drawn between Béziers and Jerusalem.⁸⁰ In Pierre’s account, unlike Gaufred of Vigeois’s or even William of Newburgh’s, the viscount is a figure given unambiguous approval. The fact that this viscount was the grandfather of Raymond Roger, the viscount of Béziers who Pierre had described earlier in the chapter as “following the de-

idem, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars*, Studies and Texts 129 (Toronto, 1997), 234–46.

⁷⁶ Gaufred of Vigeois, “Chronica,” ed. Bouquet, 441: “Juraverunt enim Tolosano vivum illum reddere ipsi, eo quod graviter opprimeret cives.”

⁷⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Doat 61, fols. 290r–291v.

⁷⁸ William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum* 2.10 (ed. Howlett, 1:121–26).

⁷⁹ Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth Century England* (Chicago, 1977), 110–11.

⁸⁰ Pierre des Vaux, *Historia Albigensis* 16 (PL 213:567).

pravity of his uncle [Raymond of Toulouse]⁸¹ and who was to be consigned by the crusaders to die in a dungeon in Carcassonne, is not remarked. In dealing with Béziers, Pierre suspended his usual rule that any lord of Languedoc was suspect until clearly proven otherwise, a change in attitude which suggests an attempt to reach a more general audience than that persuaded by the more usual defence of heresy.

It is worth noting that, in addition to his justifications based on heresy, Pierre abandons another prevalent theme for his passage on Béziers. In most of the *Historia Albigensis*, it was not sufficient for the nobility of Languedoc to be heretical unless they were generally portrayed in the worst possible terms. Pierre made sure to recount the cruelty and stupidity of the enemies of the crusade, providing a long description of the tortures visited on a group of unarmed crusaders captured by Roger Bernard, the son of the count of Foix, in 1212⁸² and portraying the lords of Languedoc as foolishly superstitious. According to Pierre, Roger de Comminges, viscount of Couserans, approached his uncle, the count of Foix, for an alliance in 1211, but was unwilling to conduct the business after the count provided a bad omen by sneezing once,⁸³ and, similarly, the count of Toulouse avoided a meeting with the papal legates in the same year because he had seen "the bird of St. Martin" flying from right to left, a very bad omen: "Like the Saracens he put faith in the flight and song of birds and other auguries."⁸⁴ These examples of Occitan depravity underlined for Pierre the generally heretical character of Occitan society, through the disrespect for the church and the pagan superstition, but they also show the general contempt of the French chronicler for a foreign society. Throughout the work, Pierre invites his audience to despise the nobility of Languedoc on many levels, not just on the religious level, and it is thus all the more striking that for the crucial passage on Béziers this is abandoned.

In a marked departure from the rest of the *Historia Albigensis*, Pierre used his passage on the 1167 rebellion to form a justification for the 1209 massacre based not on heresy or on the malign character of the Occitan nobility, but on general noble concerns about loyalty and authority. The evident notoriety of the massacre, persisting for some years after 1209, allows the hypothesis that Pierre's account was tailored to address criticisms of crusader behaviour at Béziers along the lines of those made by Guillaume de Tudela, speaking for

⁸¹ Ibid. (PL 213:566): "sectans avunculi pravitatem."

⁸² Ibid. 64 (PL 213:646–47).

⁸³ Ibid. 53 (PL 213:609–10).

⁸⁴ Ibid. 47 (PL 213:604): "ipse enim more Saracenorum, in volatu et cantu avium et caeteris auguriis spem habebat."

an orthodox noble Occitan audience who supported the crusade but who nevertheless could not swallow the wholesale massacre of innocent citizens. The structure of Pierre's defence seems particularly suited to such criticisms: here, for almost the only time in the *Historia Albigensis*, he chose to justify the crusaders' behaviour in terms as valid to the Occitan nobility as to crusade supporters outside the south of France.

Pierre des Vaux's passage on the sack of Béziers seems to have been written, as does much of his work, to persuade an unsympathetic audience that the crusaders' behaviour did not betray the justice of their cause. The extent to which this shaped his account can be seen in comparison with the account closest to Pierre's in its relation to the crusade leadership, that of Caesarius of Heisterbach. Like Pierre des Vaux's, Caesarius's interest in Béziers would have sprung from the special Cistercian involvement in campaigns against heresy. His sources were many and varied, including not only written works but anecdotes and stories brought to his monastery and preserved in the oral traditions of the monks,⁸⁵ a major source of these being the Cistercian General Chapter, "the meeting place for stories from all over Europe"⁸⁶ for the Cistercian order. Although Caesarius does not give any attribution for his account of the sack of Béziers, it is possible that this story, focusing as it does on the head of the Cistercian Order, had its roots either in an account given by Arnauld Amaury of his activities in 1209 or to general gossip among the abbots. Caesarius certainly did not use either of the other surviving accounts for his version of the massacre, which is an entirely idiosyncratic passage made up of two anecdotes: how the heretics threw the Gospel in scorn from the walls of the town and Arnauld Amaury's instructions to the crusaders, which do not appear in any other account.

If Caesarius's account originated in the Cistercian General Chapter, his source was broadly similar to those available through his contacts with the crusade leadership to Pierre des Vaux. The difference between the two accounts lay not so much in information as in intent. The sack, in Caesarius's version, is largely unjustified: the heretics may have made their petulant defiance, but Caesarius was prepared to admit the existence of a sizeable orthodox population who were nevertheless slaughtered. In similar circumstances, Guillaume de Tudela denounced the massacre as butchery; although he admitted that Occitan toleration of heresy had brought the crusade to them, he

⁸⁵ On Caesarius's sources, see McGuire, "Written Sources," 227–82, and "Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980): 167–247.

⁸⁶ McGuire, "Written Sources," 281.

was nevertheless moved to condemn the slaughter of the citizens and to hope that “the Lord shall receive their souls, if it please him, in Paradise,”⁸⁷ but Caesarius’s account is shows his approval of the massacre. Arnauld Amaury’s motives in ordering wholesale killing are presented as sensible and cautious: “The abbot, fearing even more than that the heretics should be spared than that they should pretend, out of their great fear of death, to be catholics, and then afterwards when they had left return again to their evil, is said to have said, ‘Kill them all, the Lord shall know his own.’”⁸⁸ Arnauld thus prevents the church from being mocked by the heretics and there is no hint anywhere in the account that Caesarius thought he was wrong.

Caesarius’s acceptance of the idea that at Béziers orthodox citizens were sacrificed for the greater good differs widely from Pierre des Vaux’s carefully constructed excuses because, while the two may have had many personal views in common, they were writing for different audiences. Caesarius intended his *Dialogus* for his novices, for other Cistercians, and did not envisage an audience outside the order. The sack of Béziers is not the only episode in the work given a blunter treatment than in other, externally directed accounts: as McGuire points out in his important article on Caesarius’s sources, the difference between Caesarius’s attitude towards Molesme and that of the *Exordium Primum*, for instance, can similarly be explained by his exclusively Cistercian intended audience.⁸⁹ It is likely that the passage on Béziers is another example, and that Caesarius allowed his version of the sack to reflect his own view of the behaviour of the monks of his order during the crusade. Since no one connected with the crusade ever expressed regret over the sack of Béziers, it may also be that Caesarius’s account, despite his comparative lack of personal connections with them, represents a closer link than does Pierre’s to the attitude of the crusade leadership.

If the thoughts of Arnauld Amaury and Simon de Montfort are represented by Caesarius of Heisterbach, however, for many the sack of Béziers represented a dubious beginning to an even more dubious enterprise. Since this group included three European monarchs and, at times, the pope, this was not an opinion which could be ignored. Pierre des Vaux’s justification of the sack of Béziers conforms to that offered for the deaths caused elsewhere in Languedoc by the Albigensian crusaders only insofar as the crusaders remain

⁸⁷ Guillaume de Tudela, *Chanson* 21 (ed. Martin-Chabot, 1:58): “Dieus recepia las armas, si l platz, en paradis!”

⁸⁸ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum* 5.21 (ed. Strange, 1:302): “Timens tam Abbas quam reliqui, ne tantum timore mortis se catholicos simularent, et post ipsorum abcessum iterum ad perfidiam redirent, fertur dixisse: Caedite eos. Novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius.”

⁸⁹ McGuire, “Written Sources,” 230–31.

God's instruments. As far as Pierre was concerned, the crusaders had assembled to do the work of the Lord and their conformity with God's will remained consistent throughout. His change of emphasis for the passage on Béziers does not cast doubt on the divinely ordained later actions of the crusaders because it is not crusader worthiness but the divine will which changes. While for most of the *Historia Albigensis* it is only the crusaders whose interests represent God's, for the passage on Béziers the divine viewpoint becomes that of any Occitan noble. Both Pierre des Vaux and William of Newburgh recounted the story of the murder of the viscount of Béziers to demonstrate the terrible punishments due to citizens who so abrogate the privileges of noble rank as to rise up against their rightful lords. The divine is noticeably lacking from William of Newburgh's account and he was interested solely in the human vengeance taken by the murdered viscount's son Roger, the father, incidentally, of the viscount Raymond Roger who died in the crusaders' dungeon in November 1209. For Pierre, Roger's role is taken by divine providence and its instruments, the crusaders. In the face of what was probably considerable infamy, Pierre des Vaux justified the sack of Béziers by temporarily abandoning his usual guise as the Frenchman despising the foolish, depraved, and heretical Occitans and becoming simply a noble among nobles, celebrating the proper punishment for any bourgeois who dared to get above themselves.

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ALEXANDER OF ASHBY: NEW BIOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE*

Greti Dinkova-Bruun

ALEXANDER was an Augustinian canon and the second prior, after William, of the small Augustinian house of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, in the diocese of Lincoln.¹ The priory, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded by the local lord of the manor Stephen de Leye in 1147–51. It was suppressed in 1534,² and only fragments of the priory church remain today.³

The aim of this article is, first, to present and interpret the diplomatic evidence related to Alexander of Ashby and, second, to present an edition and a discussion of his unpublished epitaph found in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Vulc. 94, fol. 108v.

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¹ The life of Alexander of Ashby has been previously discussed by J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth-Century England*, 2d ed. (London, 1967), 12–13; R. W. Hunt, “English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 19 (1936): 19–42; T. H. Bestul, “The *Meditationes* of Alexander of Ashby. An Edition,” *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 24–81; and F. Morenzoni, “Aux origines des ‘Artes praedicandi’: Le *De artificio modo predicandi* d’Alexandre d’Ashby,” *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser., 32 (1991): 887–935. Alexander is mentioned also in D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), 157. The more recent scholars rely primarily on the information gathered by Russell, but he does not present the complete diplomatic evidence. For instance, of the eight court cases I discuss below, he mentions only two documents which refer to case 4. These documents are Westminster Abbey Muniments, nos. 2471 and 2479 (see nn. 13, 15, and 17 below).

² For a detailed history of the priory and its benefactors see G. Baker, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, 2 vols. (London, 1822–30), 2:7–17. Baker’s information is summarized in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England [VCH]: Northamptonshire*, vol. 2, ed. R. M. Serjeantson and W. R. D. Adkins (London, 1906; rpt. 1970), 130–33. The foundation date is from D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971), 152.

³ See G. N. Wright, *Discovering Abbeys and Priories*, 3d ed. (Princes Risborough, 1994), 96.

I

The diplomatic material can be divided into three groups: documents showing Alexander's involvement in the courts as judge-delegate; foundation charters and grants of various land donations, to which Alexander appears as one of the witnesses; and two further documents from the *Cartulary of Canons Ashby*.⁴

ALEXANDER AS JUDGE-DELEGATE

The earliest reference to Alexander is in a charter from the period 1181–85,⁵ late in the reign of King Henry II (1154–89), and the last certain one is from 1205, in the reign of King John (1199–1216).⁶ In both instances Alexander is acting as a member of a collegium of judges-delegate. In the period 1185–1204 Alexander was involved in at least eight court cases.⁷

1) 1181 × 1185 (late 1185?)⁸—a dispute over tithes and parochial rights between the abbot and monks of Abingdon and a certain W., clerk of Seueke-worth (Seacourt). The charter testifies to the agreement reached between the two parties. The abbot of Abingdon (a Benedictine house in Berkshire) appears to be Roger who was in office in 1175–85.⁹ The judges-delegate were

A(dam), abbot of Missenden [Augustinian canons, Buckinghamshire]
 E(ustace), abbot of Dorchester [Augustinian canons, Oxfordshire]
 Ph(ilip), prior (of St. Frideswide) [Augustinian canons, Oxfordshire]
 A(lexander), prior (of Ashby) [Augustinian canons, Northamptonshire]
 R(obert) Bedeford, magister.

⁴ The *Cartulary of Canons Ashby* is preserved in London, British Library [BL] Egerton 3033 (s. XIII ex). Excerpts from it are published in *English Episcopal Acta I: Lincoln 1067–1185*, ed. D. M. Smith (London, 1980), 60–61, no. 89; *English Episcopal Acta III: Canterbury, 1193–1205*, ed. C. R. Cheney and E. John (London, 1986), 36, no. 367; and *English Episcopal Acta IV: Lincoln 1186–1185*, ed. D. M. Smith (London 1986), p. 25, no. 31.

⁵ *Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey*, vol. 2, ed. G. Lambrick and C. F. Slade, Oxford Historical Society, n.s., 33 (Oxford, 1992), 112–16. The charter is from the pontificate of Pope Lucius III (1181–85). The editors date it “perhaps late in 1185.”

⁶ See below, case 8.

⁷ For more information about the development and the procedures of the papal courts in medieval England, see J. E. Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury 1198–1254* (Oxford, 1971).

⁸ See n. 5 above.

⁹ Knowles, Brooke, and London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 25.

2) 1197 × 1201¹⁰—a dispute over the tithes of the island of Langney between Abbot Hugh and the canons of Oseney and the Prior and the canons of St. Frideswide, Oxford. Hugh eventually withdrew the suit. Both Oseney Abbey and the priory of St. Frideswide are Augustinian foundations. The judges-delegate were

Robert, abbot of Eynsham [Benedictine Abbey, Oxfordshire]
 Geoffrey, abbot of Bruern [Cistercian Abbey, Oxfordshire]
 Alexander, prior of Ashby.

3) 1198 × December 1201¹¹—a dispute over tithes in Duns Tew between Abbot Hugh and the convent of Oseney and prior Walter and the canons of Merton (an Augustinian priory in Surrey). A compromise was reached. The judges-delegate were, again,¹²

Robert, abbot of Eynsham
 Geoffrey, abbot of Bruern
 Alexander, prior of Ashby.

4) 2 March 1202¹³—an appeal case between the prior and the monks of Luffield¹⁴ and Robert, clerk of Shalstone, concerning the chapel of Evershaw in Buckinghamshire. Robert claimed that the chapel belonged to the church of Shalstone, also in Buckinghamshire, but eventually renounced his claim. Stephen, archdeacon of Buckingham, read the decision of the judges-delegate in the chapter of Maids Morton with Robert present and approving.¹⁵ At the

¹⁰ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, vol. 4, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford Historical Society 97 (Oxford, 1934), 62, no. 39D; and *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, vol. 2, ed. S. R. Wigram, Oxford Historical Society 31 (Oxford, 1896), 19–20, no. 703.

¹¹ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey* 4:241, no. 178. The case is mentioned in C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney, *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) Concerning England and Wales: A Calendar* (Oxford, 1967), 59, no. 361. The existence of a letter by Pope Innocent III is postulated on the basis of the entry in the *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*. The actual letter is not extant.

¹² In this charter it is explicitly stated that the case was presented “coram . . . iudicibus in causa illa a sede apostolica delegatis.”

¹³ *Luffield Priory Charters*, ed. G. R. Elvey, 2 vols. (Buckinghamshire Record Society and Northamptonshire Record Society, 1968–75), 1:76–77, no. 74. The case is also mentioned in Cheney and Cheney, *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, 63, no. 389. The original draft of this document is preserved in Westminster Abbey Library and Muniment Room, no. 2479. The actual letter of Pope Innocent III is not extant.

¹⁴ Luffield is a Benedictine priory partly in Buckinghamshire, partly in Northamptonshire.

¹⁵ *Luffield Priory Charters* 1:77–78, no. 76. The original draft of this document is preserved in Westminster Abbey Library and Muniment Room, no. 2471.

same time, John, son of William de Rollendric, also claimed the chapel of Evershaw, but renounced it in the end.¹⁶ The judges-delegate were

W(alkelin), abbot of St. James, Northampton [Augustinian canons]
 (Walter), prior of St. Andrew, Northampton [Cluniac priory]
 (Alexander), prior of Ashby.¹⁷

5) 1198 × May 1203¹⁸—the case of William Bassett, who complained that a divorce between him and his wife Beatrice de Taenden had been unjustly granted, even though at the time when the case was judged he was already living with another woman called Matillde. William insisted that, since Beatrice was still his lawful wife, he had a right of ownership over her lands in Parva Waberg.¹⁹ The ruling in the appeal went against William, who had to pay 13 marks to Beatrice by the feast of St. Michael (29 September). The judges-delegate were

(Adam), abbot of Biddlesden [Cistercian Abbey, Buckinghamshire]
 (Walter), prior of St. Andrew, Northampton
 (Alexander), prior of Ashby.

6) 1198 × December 1203²⁰—a case between Walter, precentor of St. Paul in London, Magister Robert, vicar of the chapel of Alswick, and Peter, prior of Holy Trinity in London, concerning the chapel of Alswick. An agreement was reached, and the three parties swore in the presence of the judges never to enter the argument again. The vicar of the chapel, Magister Robert, remained in charge of it but had to pay money annually to both Walter and Peter. The judges-delegate were

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 1:77, no. 75.

¹⁷ The document (Westminster Abbey Muniments, no. 2479) had originally been validated with three seals, on tags. Seal one and seal two are missing. Seal three is a pointed oval, 50 × 31mm., red-brown color, containing a full-length standing figure, facing half-left, holding a staff (?) with the point down in his right hand; the legend (in Roman capitals) is SIGILL ALEXAND PRIORIS DE ..SEB. Presumably, the two missing seals were the seals of the other judges-delegate, abbot Walkelin and prior Walter, attached in the order of precedence.

¹⁸ Cheney and Cheney, *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, 79, no. 482. The text of the document is found in *Curia Regis Rolls*, vol. 2 (London, 1925; rpt. Nendeln, 1971), 267–68 and 298. See also *Placitorum in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensis asservatorum Abbreviatio temporibus regum Ric I-Edw II*, ed. W. Illingworth (London, 1811), 42, col. 1. Again, the actual letter of Pope Innocent III is not extant.

¹⁹ I have not been able to identify this place.

²⁰ The original document, which still remains unpublished, is preserved in London, Public Record Office, E. 40/13847. The case is mentioned in Cheney and Cheney, *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, 86, no. 523. The actual letter of Pope Innocent III is not extant.

Walkelin, abbot of St. James, Northampton

Walter, prior of St. Andrew, Northampton

Alexander, prior of Ashby.

7) 31 May 1204²¹—the case of a young woman, Agnes, who appeared in person before Pope Innocent III and complained that her father and step-mother, wanting to defraud her of her inheritance, had her imprisoned in chains in the monastery of Haverholme,²² but she escaped. In his letter Innocent III advises the judges that, since the assertions of the canons and the nuns of Haverholme are unsupported by oath, they should not prevail against the sworn testimony of Agnes. Obviously, the case was difficult and the judges required the counsel of the pontiff. We do not know what the outcome of the case was, but presumably Agnes won. The judges-delegate were

(Alexander), prior of Ashby

H(enry) of Gilleville, canon of Lincoln

A(...) de Wilna, magister, rector of the church of Barkwith (?), Lincoln diocese.

8) 1199 × 13 July 1205²³—the case of R. de Chenes, who appealed to the archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, complaining that the Templar Anketil summoned him before the bishop of Coventry on a charge of violence. The outcome of the case is unknown. The judges-delegate were

(Alexander), prior of Ashby

Walter Dammartin, magister.²⁴

²¹ See *Die Register Innocenz' III*, vol. 7, ed. O. Hagedener (Vienna, 1997), 137–38. This is the only case from which we have an actual letter by Pope Innocent III addressed to the appointed judges-delegate, even though it is not the original mandate. See also Cheney and Cheney, *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, 89, no. 545, and 92, no. 563.

²² Haverholme is a Gilbertine priory in Lincolnshire.

²³ Original draft in London, Public Record Office, S.C. 1|1 no. 18. Mentioned in C. R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London, 1967), 74, and *Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1844), 60, no. 377. The document is edited in *English Episcopal Acta III*, 73–74, no. 407.

²⁴ In 1186 Aubri II, count of Dammartin, was forced by King Philippe II Augustus (1180–1223) to flee to England. His lands were confiscated. In compensation, King Henry II gave Aubri lands in Norfolk and Suffolk. Three other men, namely Philippe, Odo, and Gautier de Dammartin, left France together with Aubri and were rewarded by Henry II. Gautier is our Magister Walter Dammartin, who evidently remained in England at least until 1205. See H. Malo, *Un grand feudataire Renaud de Dammartin et la coalition de Bouvines* (Paris, 1898), 28–29.

From the evidence presented above it becomes clear that Alexander of Ashby was active in a judicial capacity in England in the period from 1185 to 1205. He was chosen to act as judge in suits concerning tithes (cases 1, 2, and 3), chapels (cases 4 and 6), a divorce (case 5), an inheritance (case 7), and a complaint of suffered violence (case 8). Even though none of these cases could be considered a major one, the later charters show that Alexander was involved in more important and broader issues. For example, the three earliest charters concern tithes, while the later ones concern possession of both church and secular land (cases 4, 5, 6, and 7). It is also apparent that the earlier charters deal only with church matters, while the later ones involve broader issues like imprisonment for personal gain or charges of violence (cases 7 and 8). All this points to the fact that in time Alexander gained a reputation as a judge and that later in his career he was called to judge a wider variety of litigations. Three times he was chosen to hear appeal cases (cases 5, 6, and 8).

Alexander received seven of his eight judicial appointments from the Papal Curia.²⁵ Even though the original papal mandates have not survived, we can infer their existence either from the documents which witness the settlements between the arguing parties (cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6), or, in one instance, from a subsequent letter by Pope Innocent III giving his advice on how the case should be judged (case 7). Only in case 8 was Alexander, or rather the prior of Ashby, appointed by Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury in 1193–1205. Alexander's name is explicitly mentioned in half of the cases (cases 1, 2, 3, and 6),²⁶ while in the other half simply the prior of Ashby is referred to. In any case, since the choice of judges-delegate was based on the individual's legal reputation, the mandates, even when Alexander was not explicitly named, were certainly given personally to him and not to the office of the prior of Canons Ashby.

Alexander's judicial colleagues were mainly heads of neighbouring religious foundations. He served three times with Walter, prior of St. Andrew in Northampton, two times each with Walkelin, abbot of St. James in Northampton, Robert, abbot of Eynsham, and Geoffrey, abbot of Bruern, and once with Adam, abbot of Biddlesden. These judges-delegate were all members of different religious orders: Walter was Cluniac, Walkelin was Augustinian, Robert was Benedictine, while Geoffrey and Adam were Cistercian. Only in case 1 were the judges all of the same religious order, the Augustinian canons, but this could have been a mere coincidence.

²⁵ One mandate is from Lucius III (case 1) and the other six are from Innocent III (cases 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).

²⁶ If we count his seal, he was also mentioned in case 4.

It is also worth noticing that cases 2 and 3 are very similar. They are both concerned with disputes over tithes between two Augustinian houses (Oseney Abbey and the priory of St. Frideswide in the first case, and Oseney Abbey and the priory of Merton in the second); they happen during the same period of time, 1197/8–1201; and finally, the judges are the same (Robert, abbot of Eynsham, Geoffrey, abbot of Bruern, and Alexander, prior of Ashby). It looks as though both cases were decided in one sitting.

ALEXANDER AS CHARTER WITNESS

Apart from his involvement in the court, Alexander was invited to witness charters all around the county of Northampton. The following is a list of all known documents involving Alexander as a witness:²⁷

- 1) Foundation charter of the small Augustinian priory of Chacombe,²⁸ situated only seven miles southwest from Canons Ashby. The priory, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, was founded in the period 1180–1206²⁹ by the local lord Hugh of Chacombe.³⁰ The first three witnesses are Walkelin, abbot of St. James in Northampton, Eustace, abbot of Dorchester, and Alexander, prior of Ashby.³¹ The charter is not dated.
- 2) Grant from William de Plumtum (or Plumpton, Northamptonshire)³² of his chapel in Plumpton³³ to the church of St. Mary of Weedon and the monks

²⁷ Russell, *Dictionary of Writers*, 13 n. 1.

²⁸ T. Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum* (London, 1702), 250–51, no. 422. See also *VCH Northamptonshire* 2:33–35, and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 153.

²⁹ See A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066–1216*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 1 (Woodbridge, 1989), 128. Binns clearly bases her dating of the charter on the years of Abbot Walkelin in office (1180–1206). See n. 63 below.

³⁰ In ca. 1180–97 Hugh confirmed, first, the donation of lands in Croxton (Leicestershire) made by his grandfather Godefridus to the abbey of Eynsham, and second, an agreement made previously between the monks of Eynsham and the canons of Chacombe called by Hugh *mei canonici de Chaucumbe*. See *Eynsham Cartulary*, vol. 1, ed. H. E. Salter, Oxford Historical Society 49 (Oxford, 1907), 120, no. 156.

³¹ Full witness list: “Hiis testibus Walkelino abbatte de sancto Iacobo Northamtoniae, Eustacio abbatte de Dorkecestre, Alexandro priore de Essebi, Iohanne subpriore de Daventre, Roberto priore de Landa, Radulfo persona de Midelton, Benedicto sacerdote de Cropsi, Roberto sacerdote de Wardinton, Elya Foliot persona de Wardon, Reginaldo persona de Bereford (with eight more by names), et multis aliis” (text in Madox, *Formulare*, 251).

³² See London, British Library Cotton Ch. V. 34. Probably the same William de Plumpton appears among the witnesses to a charter by Hugh Gulasre who grants to the church and the canons in Ashby six and a half virgates of land in Ettenstone (Easton Neston, Northamptonshire). The first witness to the grant is Walkelin, abbot of St. James, who is known to have been

who serve God there³⁴ in order to save the right of Magister Richard de Aisselfordesbi who was then holding the chapel under an annual rent of five shillings. After Richard the chapel was to go to the monks. The three first witnesses are Alexander, prior of Ashby, Helias the chaplain, and William, vicar of Wedun.³⁵ The charter is not dated.

3) Grant from Lucia de Cockefeld (or de Chokefeld, Northamptonshire)³⁶ of one virgate of land in Charwelton to Osbern, smith of Charwelton (Northamptonshire), and his heirs at an annual rent of four shillings. For this donation and warranty Osbern paid Lucia four silver marks. The three first witnesses are Alexander, prior of Ashby, William de Nunacort, and John de Audebiria.³⁷ The charter is not dated.

4) Charter of Magister Robert de ...ford(?) and Magister Roger de Rolvest',³⁸ confirming Eustace de ... (?) as parson of the church of Watford. Wit-

a contemporary of Alexander of Ashby and one of his judicial colleagues (see cases 4 and 6). Among the other witnesses we see Henry de Pincheni, Robert de Leys, and Robert de Wanci, all of whom were connected to Alexander on different occasions. The presence of these persons as witnesses makes it likely that the otherwise undated charter of Hugh Gulasre was issued under Alexander's time in office, even though he was not explicitly mentioned in the deed. The charter of Hugh Gulasre is found in London, BL Add. Ch. 5884.

³³ Plumpton Manor is only two miles southeast of Canons Ashby. For other connections between the de Plumpton family and Canons Ashby, see n. 71 below.

³⁴ By "Wedun" is meant either the Benedictine priory of Weedon Lois (Weedon Pinkney) or the Benedictine priory of Weedon Beck, both dedicated to the Virgin Mary, both alien cells having French mother houses, and both in Northamptonshire. See *VCH Northamptonshire* 2:182–85; and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 94. The presence of William vicar of Wedun among the witnesses probably makes Weedon Lois a better candidate, because we know that a vicar was ordained to its church in the early thirteenth century (see *VCH Northamptonshire* 2:184).

³⁵ Full witness list: "Hii sunt testes: Alexander prior de Essebi, Helias Capellanus, William vicarius de Wed, Ricardus de West et Walterius frater eius, Robertus Reuel, Galfridus de Northine, Galfridus filius eius."

³⁶ See London, BL Harley Ch. 85.B.18.

³⁷ Full witness list: "Huius rei testes sunt Alexander prior de Essebia, Willelmus de Nunacort, Iohannes de Audebiria, Willelmus de Stowa, Ulianus de Chemidedut, Willelmus pedester et Robertus filius eius, Ricardus pedester, Tursinus filius Tursini, Hebertus de Falewesle et Willelmus filius eius, Ricardus de Hintona, Iordanus del Estra, Willelmus persona de Falewesle, Simon filius Willelmi, et plures alii."

³⁸ See London, BL Cotton Tiberius E.v (s. xiv), fol. 52v. This manuscript contains the Cartulary of the abbey of St. James in Northampton. The text of our charter is only partially preserved after the Cotton fire. Magister Robert and Magister Roger are possibly Robert of Bedford and Roger of Rolleston, who acted as viceregents for Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (1186–1200). See D. M. Smith, "The 'Officials' of the Bishop in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England: Problems of Terminology", in *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in honour of Dorothy*

nesses: Aug (...?), prior(?) de Henham, Alexander, prior of Ashby, and Magister Richard de Bussei. Date: Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, is mentioned, probably Hugh of Avallon (1186–1200).

5) Four documents related to the foundation in 1200 of the hospital of St. David and the Holy Trinity in Kingsthorpe, near Northampton:³⁹

a) Foundation charter.⁴⁰ The hospital in Kingsthorpe was founded under the patronage of the Cluniac priory of St. Andrew in Northampton and its prior Walter. The first three witnesses are Walkelin, abbot of St. James in Northampton, Magister Richard of Kent, archdeacon of Northampton, and Alexander, prior of Ashby.⁴¹ Date: 1200.

b) Charter of Adam, abbot of Sulby (Premonstratensian Abbey, Northamptonshire)—*Compositio de Suleby de domo sancte Trinitatis*.⁴² This is a statement by Adam and the convent of Sulby of undertaking the provision and the tuition of the hospital of the Holy Trinity outside Northampton. The first three witnesses are Walter, prior of St. Andrew in Northampton, Alexander, prior of Ashby, and Adam, chaplain of St. Giles.⁴³

M. Owen, ed. M. J. Franklin and C. Harper-Bill, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* 7 (Woodbridge, 1995), 201–20, esp. 215.

³⁹ See *VCH Northamptonshire* 2:154–56; and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 367.

⁴⁰ See London, BL Ms. Royal 11.B.ix (s. XIII), fols. 31r–33r (Cartulary of the priory of St. Andrew in Northampton); London, BL Cotton Vesp. E.xvii (s. xv), fols. 33v–35r (a fifteenth-century copy of the original cartulary with additions); London, BL Harley 6952 (s. XVII), pp. 208–209 (extracts from the registers of the diocese of Lincoln by Dr. Matthew Hutton [1686]). The text of the charter is published in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1817–30), 5:192–93.

⁴¹ Full witness list: “Huius testibus Walkelino abbatte sancti Iacobi de Northamton, magistro Ricardo de Kent tunc archidiacono de Northamton, Alexandro priore de Esseby, magistro Henrico de Gilleville, magistro Roberto de Wahaton, magistro Roberto de Kinton, magistro Iohanne de Hikeford, magistro Roberto de Arche, Henrico decano de Northamton, Radulfo decano de Billing, Ricardo decano de Dodeford, Rogero decano de Patteshille, magistro Nicholao capellano archidiaconi, magistro Stephano de Yrencestre, Thoma clericu filio Adae Albi, Roberto de Leicest., Ada Gurnay, Symone de Davintre, Roberto Oriol, Simone filio Sewardi, Radulfo de Pontefracto, Roberto clericu, et multis aliis” (text in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* 5:193).

⁴² See London, BL Add. Ch. 22380; BL Royal 11.B.ix (s. XIII), fols. 33r–33v; BL Cotton Vesp. E.xvii (s. xv), fols. 35r–35v. Adam was in office between 1197 and 1206/7. See Knowles, Brooke, and London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 197.

⁴³ Full witness list: “Huius testibus W. priore de sancti Andree, Alexandro priore de Essebi, Adam capellano de sancto Egidio, Thoma filio Ade, Stephano de Yrencestre, Ada de Gurnai, Gilleberto Passelev., Henricus filius Ade, Geruasio de Paueli, Iohanne de Louent, Bernardo filius Herberti, Radulfo Albo, et multis aliis.”

c) An agreement between the priory of St. Andrew and the hospital of the Holy Trinity concerning the rights and the privileges of the hospital—*Ordinatio inter domum sancte Andree et domum sancte Trinitatis*.⁴⁴ The charter is issued by Walter, prior of St. Andrew in Northampton. The first three witnesses are Walkelin, abbot of St. James in Northampton, Adam, abbot of Sulby, and Alexander, prior of Ashby.⁴⁵

d) Charter of William, procurator of the hospital of the Holy Trinity outside Northampton—*Disposicio domus sancte Trinitatis*.⁴⁶ William confirms the agreement *super statu et dispositione domus nostre (sc. sancte Trinitatis)* between the prior and the monks of St. Andrew in Northampton and Henry of Northampton, son of Peter. The first three witnesses are Walkelin, abbot of St. James in Northampton, Magister Richard of Kent, archdeacon of Northampton, and Alexander, prior of Ashby.⁴⁷

6) Many properties in different places are granted by William Ruffus of Northampton and his wife Margaret to the monastery of St. Andrew in Northampton.⁴⁸ With the proceedings from these donations the prior and the monks of St. Andrew agree to build a chapel in honour of St. Lawrence for the benefit of the poor. The first three witnesses are Hugo, abbot of Cluny,⁴⁹ Walkelin, abbot of St. James in Northampton, and Alexander, prior of Ashby.⁵⁰ Date: *Hec autem carta facta fuit anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCI. Principatus regis Iohannis anno II.*

⁴⁴ See London, BL Royal 11.B.ix (s. XIII), fols. 33v–34r = BL Cotton Vesp. E.xvii (s. xv), fols. 35v and 37r.

⁴⁵ Full witness list: ‘Hiis testibus W. abbate sancti Iacobi, A. abbate de Sullebi, A. priore de Esseby, W. priore fratrum hospitalis sancti Iohannis de North’, Thoma clero filio Ade Albi, Willelmo de Huntend’, Philippo filio Iord’, Bartholomeo fratre eius, Ingeramo Ruffo, Roberto fratre eius, Roberto de Leicest’, Willelmo filio Reimundi, Roberto filio Mamerii, Riccardo uinitore, Henrico filio Tunam(?), Roberto filio Gilberti, Willelmo fratre eius, Roberto clero, Simone filio Lelkard’, Laurencio portario, et aliis.’

⁴⁶ See London, BL Royal 11.B.ix (s. XIII), fols. 34r–34v = BL Cotton Vesp. E.xvii (s. xv), fol. 37r.

⁴⁷ Full witness list: ‘Hiis testibus Walkelino abbate sancti Iacobi de North’, magistro Riccardo de Kent archidiacono de North’, Alexandro priore de Esseby, magistro Nicholao de Rading’, magistro Roberto de Kint’, magistro Roberto de Arches’, magistro Reg. de Vndol’, Petro cappelano omnium sanctorum, Willelmo de Huntend’, magistro Stephano de Yrecest’, Thoma clero filio Ade Albi, Roberto Leicest’, Ada de Gurnay, Simone filio Lelkard’, Roberto Oriol, Roberto clero, Radulpho de Pontefracto, et multis aliis.’

⁴⁸ See London, BL Royal 11.B.ix (s. XIII), fols. 130v–131v; not found in BL Cotton Vesp. E.xvii.

⁴⁹ This is Hugh V d’Anjou, abbot of Cluny from 1199 to 1207.

⁵⁰ Full witness list: ‘Testes: Hugone abbate Cluniac’, Walkelino abbate sancti Iacobi North’, Alexandro priore de Esseby, Warnerio priore hospitalis sancti Iohannis Baptiste, Hen-

7) Three documents found in the Cartulary of St. Mary in Biddlesden (Cistercian Abbey, Buckinghamshire)⁵¹ and probably written around the same time, but all undated:

- a) Robert de Wanci confirms the donation of the lands between Bichenho and Bissopespolis⁵² and between the King's road and Gudlakesho, which his father Robert de Wanci had granted previously to the monastery of St. Mary in Biddlesden. "Testes sunt: Alexander, prior de Esseby, Iohannes, decanus de Preston', Iohannes, persona de Touecest', Ricardus de Insula cum aliis."
- b) Henry de Pinkeni, son of Gilbert de Pinkeni, is asked by Robert de Wanci,⁵⁴ son of Robert de Wanci, to confirm his concession to the monastery of St. Mary in Biddlesden of the lands between Bichenho and Bissopespolis and between the King's road and Gudlakesho. "His testibus: Alexander, prior de Essebi, Iohannes, decanus de Prest', Iohannes, persona de Tonecest', et multi ali."
- c) Cirographum—Robert de Wanci, son of Robert de Wanci, confirms the grant of his father of the land in Blakenham to the monastery of St. Mary in Biddlesden. "Huius rei testes sumus ego A., prior de Essebi, et ego Henricus de Pinkeni, et ego Radulfus Hareg', et multi ali."

Despite the fact that the charters in which Alexander of Ashby appears as witness are more numerous than the documents of his involvement in the courts (twelve against eight), they do not add very much to our knowledge of the prior's life. His image as a respected member of the local ecclesiastical and secular community is reinforced, but since only two of the documents are dated (charter 5a, dated to 1200, and charter 6, dated to 1201), we still have no certain proof that Alexander was active after 1205.⁵⁵

rico decano de North', Willelmo filio Reymundi, Roberto filio Henrici, Ricardo Gobuin, Philippo filio lord', Roberto de Bacestr', magistro Roberto de Arches', Radulpho de Boseuille, et multis aliis."

⁵¹ See London, BL Harley 4714 (s. XIV), fols. 21v–22v.

⁵² In Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* 5:365 (note y), Bichenho and Bissopespolis are rendered as Bichino and Bissopespoll, which unfortunately does not make the identification of the places easier. Bichenho could be the lost Birchenhoe in the King's Sutton Hundred, Northamptonshire. See J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-names of Northamptonshire*, English Place-name Society 10 (Cambridge 1933), 59. I have not been able to determine the modern placenames of either Bissopespolis or Gudlakesho.

⁵³ The modern name of Touecest' is Towcester in Northamptonshire.

⁵⁴ For more information about Robert de Wanci and Henry de Pinkeni, see n. 32 above.

⁵⁵ See above, case 8.

In the minor private transactions of William de Plumpton (charter 2), Lucia de Cockefeld (charter 3)⁵⁶, and Robert de Wanci (charters 7a, 7b, and 7c) Alexander of Ashby appears as the first and most important witness. In the remaining seven documents he is either the second (charters 4 and 5b) or the third witness (charters 1, 5a, 5c, 5d, and 6).

The documents in which Alexander does not feature as the principal witness testify nevertheless to his involvement in events of greater importance: the foundation of the priory of Chacombe (charter 1), the foundation of the hospital in Kingsthorpe (charters 5a, 5b, 5c, and 5d), and the donation of many lands by William Ruffus to the priory of St. Andrew in Northampton, a grant considered so significant that the contemporary abbot of Cluny, Hugh V d'Anjou, was called to be the first witness (charter 6).

It should be mentioned as well that some of Alexander's colleagues in the courts are also among his fellow witnesses. The most noteworthy presence is that of Walkelin, abbot of St. James in Northampton, with whom Alexander acts as witness in five documents (charters 1, 5a, 5c, 5d, and 6).⁵⁷ Another important figure is Walter, prior of St. Andrew in Northampton.⁵⁸ The foundation of the hospital in Kingsthorpe was during Walter's time in office, and he appears, with Alexander's name following, as the first witness to one of the documents related to this event (charter 5b). Among the other connections of Alexander we see Eustace, abbot of Dorchester (charter 1 and case 1), Adam, abbot of Sulby (charters 5b and 5c), Magister Richard of Kent, archdeacon of Northampton (charters 5a and 5d), and Magister Henry of Gilleville (charter 5a and case 7, where Henry is called canon of Lincoln).

The fact that Walkelin abbot of St. James in Northampton appears so often connected to Alexander of Ashby in his professional life may prove significant when Alexander's literary production is discussed. Two of the works of Alexander, the published prose treatise *De artificio modo predicandi*⁵⁹ and the unedited verse calendar *Liber Festivialis*,⁶⁰ are addressed to the same un-

⁵⁶ It is probably not a coincidence that charters 2 and 3 are among the few originals preserved. Not being testimonies of grants to religious houses, they were not copied in any particular cartulary like the rest of the documents, with the only exception of charter 5b, which exists both in the cartulary of St. Andrew in Northampton and in original draft.

⁵⁷ Walkelin and Alexander were judges-delegate in two disputes. See above, cases 4 and 6 (heard in 1202 and 1203 respectively).

⁵⁸ Walter and Alexander judged three cases together. See above, cases 4, 5, and 6 (heard in 1202–1203). In cases 4 and 6 they have as their superior the already discussed Walkelin abbot of St. James in Northampton. Walter was in office between 1199 and at least 1207/8 (see Knowles, Brooke, and London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 123).

⁵⁹ See Morenzoni, "Aux origines des 'Artes praedicandi,'" 902–35.

⁶⁰ Alexander of Ashby's *Liber Festivialis* is preserved in five manuscripts: London, BL

named abbot.⁶¹ From Alexander's reverential words we understand that this abbot was a talented and well educated man, whose "prudent simplicity deeply appreciated both learning and the learned,"⁶² but who was he? We can only speculate, but the connection between Alexander and Walkelin, abbot of the Augustinian Abbey of St. James in Northampton from 1180 to 1206,⁶³ seems obvious. As already discussed, abbot Walkelin and prior Alexander acted together as both papal judges-delegate and witnesses to charters.⁶⁴ To be sure, Alexander also had other abbots as colleagues, but no one is as frequently linked with him as Walkelin (two court cases and five charters), and also none of the other abbots is Augustinian like Alexander himself. If the hypothesis of Abbot Walkelin being Alexander's addressee were true, it would give us 1206, the year of Walkelin's death, as *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Liber Festiualis*. This would also mean that the treatise *De artificioso modo predicandi* was composed even earlier than that.

Finally, Alexander's involvement in the foundation of the Augustinian priory of Chacombe may hold the explanation of another interesting feature in the *Liber Festiualis*. The majority of the sections in the *Liber Festiualis* are single entries dedicated to the feasts of individual saints.⁶⁵ The only excep-

Add. 46352 (s. XIII), fols. 101r-115r, Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 40 (s. XIII), fols. 1r-39v, Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 527 (s. XIII), fols. 85r-114v, Eton College 20 (s. XII ex), fols. 166r-175v, London, BL Harley 1819 (s. XVI), fols. 156v-183r. See R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), 48, which excludes the two manuscripts from the British Library. For a discussion of the literary production of Alexander of Ashby, see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge, 1992), 131-33; G. Dinkova-Bruun, "Alexander of Ashby's *Breuissima comprehensio historiarum*: A Critical Edition with Annotation" (Ph.D. diss., Toronto, 1999), chap. 2; and F. Morenzoni, "<Sermones breues et leues composui>: Les sermons d'Alexandre d'Ashby," *Studi Medievali*, 3d ser., 42 (2001): 121-64. For the edition of both the *Breuissima comprehensio historiarum* and the *Liber Festiualis*, see G. Dinkova-Bruun, "Opera Poetica of Alexander of Ashby" (a critical edition in preparation for the *Corpus Christianorum*, to be published by Brepolis in 2002).

⁶¹ We have reason to suppose that the same dignitary is the addressee of both these works because, in the prologue to the *De artificioso modo predicandi*, Alexander tells him that he will perhaps receive, when it is ready, the book about the miracles of the saints, which Alexander has already almost finished composing in verse: "Quia uero in subsequenti opere moneo ut in sacro sermone aliqua sanctorum exempla plerumque ad simplicium edificationem interseras, forte adhuc tibi transmittam libellum de miraculis sanctorum quem iam ex magna parte metrice composui, infra presentis anni circulum ad unguem perducturus si michi fauor diuinus affuerit" (Morenzoni, "Aux origines des 'Artes praedicandi,'" 903, lines 45-49).

⁶² "Quia ergo prudens simplicitas tua litteras et litteratos familiari affectu diligit" (prologue to the *Liber Festiualis*).

⁶³ See Knowles, Brooke, and London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 178.

⁶⁴ For other connections of Walkelin to the priory of Canons Ashby, see n. 32 above.

⁶⁵ The exact number of saints represented in the *Liber Festiualis* is fifty. The group is di-

tions are Peter and Paul. Peter is represented with *De cathedra sancti Petri* (22 February) and *De uinculis sancti Petri* (1 August), while on January there is the *De conuersione sancti Pauli*. Both Peter and Paul are celebrated on 29 June with *De passione Petri et Pauli*. Alexander's stronger interest in Peter and Paul could possibly be explained by their prominent place among the rest of the saints. At the same time, it could hold a more immediate meaning as well. It is enough to remember that the priory in Chacombe, whose foundation Alexander witnessed, was dedicated to the honour of Peter and Paul (charter 1). Perhaps Alexander paid special attention to the patrons of the Augustinian house in Chacombe, which was situated only seven miles away from Ashby, because he intended his versified calendar also to be read by the brothers there.

TWO FURTHER DOCUMENTS FROM THE CARTULARY OF CANONS ASHBY

In order to complete the presentation of all diplomatic evidence concerning Alexander of Ashby, two final documents have to be mentioned. They are found in the Cartulary of Canons, London, BL Egerton 3003 (s. XIII). Ashby and they will be discussed separately, because they are different from the rest of the material. While in the other deeds Alexander was either appointed to judge a case or chosen to witness a charter, in the two documents from the Cartulary of Canons Ashby the action is directly related to Alexander's own priory and occurs as a result of Alexander's own initiative.

The first document is about the church in Coleworth (or Culworth, Northamptonshire)⁶⁶ which was donated to Canons Ashby by Robert, son of William of Coleworth. After inspection of the charter of the donor, the donation was confirmed by Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln in 1186–1200.⁶⁷ The prior of Ashby Alexander confirmed the rectory of the church to Thomas, son of William of Coleworth, for forty shillings a year.⁶⁸

The second deed refers to a more unusual action. Robert, son of the founder of the priory Stephen de Leye,⁶⁹ released and made free three of his men,

verse. It includes the twelve apostles plus Matthias and Barnabas, the four doctors of the church (Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great), the four evangelists, martyrs (both female and male), a number of holy church officials (popes, archbishops, bishops, abbots), two hermits (Leonard and Giles), the Archangel Michael, and John the Baptist. The English saints present are Thomas Becket, Brigid of Ireland, Cuthbert, Augustine of Canterbury, Alban, Edmund, Guthlac, and Edward the Confessor.

⁶⁶ Culworth is about four miles southwest of Canons Ashby.

⁶⁷ See *English Episcopal Acta IV*, 25, no. 31.

⁶⁸ See London, BL Egerton 3033, fol. 62r.

⁶⁹ About Robert de Leye, see also n. 32 above.

Ingeram, Hugh and Ingannam, together with their families to go wherever they pleased. Robert de Leye did this at the request of prior Alexander and the canons, who made the manumission of the three men more pleasing to him by paying him four shillings.⁷⁰

In conclusion, it is remarkable that we have as many as twenty-two documents related to Alexander, the prior of Canons Ashby, a small and otherwise insignificant Augustinian house in Northamptonshire. Considering the fact that many deeds probably did not survive, the amount of the remaining evidence about Alexander is even more astonishing. It is true that, as far as we know, he was not involved in any famous international event, but he must have been one of the important and trusted dignitaries in Northamptonshire during the late twelfth and the early thirteenth-century. It certainly seems that, even though he was only a prior and hence not extremely high in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Alexander had many connections with his superiors, with whom he repeatedly worked in the courts and witnessed charters. He was concerned with both church and secular issues, and he was respected not only as the head of a religious house but also as a highly ambitious educator. His service to the local community and his literary production make Alexander of Ashby one of the important, but sadly neglected, figures in medieval English history. This conclusion is also supported by the existence of an epitaph in Alexander's honour, the edition of which will be presented in the following section of this article.

II

ALEXANDER'S EPITAPH AND THE PROBABLE DATE OF HIS DEATH

There is no certain information about what happened to Alexander after 1205.⁷¹ The only known fact is that by 1214–15 his successor Hugh was

⁷⁰ "Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus de Lesa quietos clamaui et liberos feci hos tres homines ecclesie Ingeramum et Hugonem et Ingannam, sororem eorum et filios eorum et filias, ita ut possint ubicumque uoluerint letum et dominum sibi eligere. Et hoc feci rogatu Alexandri prioris de Esseby et canonicorum eiusdem loci qui dederunt mihi quatuor solidos ut ego hoc libertius facerem. Hii sunt testes" (London, BL Egerton 3033, fol. 116v). The deed is mentioned in Baker, *History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton* 2:8.

⁷¹ In 1214 the priors of Canons Ashby and Beaulieu (no names given) were involved in a dispute with Robert of Middleton over the advowson of the church of Milton Ernest (see *Curia Regis Rolls*, vol. 7 [London, 1935; rpt. 1971], 135–36). The priors lost the case (see *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles Episcopi Lincolnensis*, vol. 1, ed. W. P. W. Phillimore, Canterbury and York Society 1 [London, 1909], 4), even though they produced older charters to support their

already in office.⁷² This would mean that Alexander was probably dead by that time. Nevertheless, scholars have not been able to say anything more precise about when he died. Now much more can be said about not only the year, but also the date and even the weekday of Alexander's demise. This new information is found in Alexander's epitaph, unknown until now and unedited. The epitaph is preserved in *Codex Vulcanianus* 94, a thirteenth-century manuscript in the University Library, Leiden.⁷³ The following is a list of its contents:

1r–55r	Alan of Lille, <i>Anticlaudianus</i> ⁷⁴
55v–103r	Johannes of Hauville, <i>Architrenius</i> ⁷⁵
103v–105v	blank
106r–107v	Serlo of Wilton, <i>Carmen de declinatione</i> ⁷⁶
108r	blank
108v	Anonymous epitaph of Alexander of Ashby
109r–112v	blank

claims. For the charter produced by the prior of Beaulieu, see *English Episcopal Acta IV*, 15–16, no. 19. The document is not found in *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, ed. S. F. Hockey (Southampton, 1974). The prior of Ashby claimed a fourth part of the advowson of the church on the basis of a donation charter by William Ursel. Unfortunately, it does not appear from the document who was the prior of Ashby in this case. It could have been Alexander, but it also could have been his successor Hugh. Another dubious case is found in *Luffield Priory Charters* 2:56–57, no. 348. This is the charter of Robert de Plumpton, who confirms the gift of two virgates of land in Blakesley (Northamptonshire) given to the Luffield Priory by his brothers William and Anketil. The first name in the witness list is "A. priore de Assebi." The charter is dated by the editor ca. 1215–25. The attribution to Alexander is very tempting, but if this dating is correct, the document appears to be posterior to Alexander's time in office. A certain Robert de Plumpton, probably the same, appears among the witnesses to a charter by William, son of Hamo, who grants to the church and the canons in Ashby half acre of land in Wappeham (see London, BL Add. Ch. 5883), but this does not help with the dating of the charter in the Luffield cartulary.

⁷² See Knowles, Brooke, and London, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 157, based on an entry in the Cartulary of the priory (see London, BL Egerton 3033, fol. 117v).

⁷³ See *Codices Manuscripti Bibliothecae Uniuersitatis Leidensis*, vol. 1: *Codices Vulcaniani* (Leiden, 1910), 38.

⁷⁴ *Alain de Lille: Anticlaudianus*, ed. R. Bossuat (Paris, 1955).

⁷⁵ *Johannes de Hauville: Architrenius*, ed. P. G. Schmidt (Munich, 1974). According to Schmidt (94 and 106), the Leiden manuscript is of English origin.

⁷⁶ *Serlon de Wilton: Poèmes latins*, ed. J. Öberg, *Acta Universitatis Stockholmensis. Studia Latina Stockholmensia* 14 (Stockholm, 1965). Our manuscript, mentioned on p. 36, is given the *siglum Lm*. The edition of the poem is found in Appendix I:a 4, pp. 125–32, where it is called *Versus de generibus nominum*.

TEXT OF THE EPITAPH

Migrat Alexander prior Essebiensis ad astra,
 Mercurius mundo, philologia Deo.
 Migrat honor claustrī, rigor orbis, regula regni,
 Artis amor, domui Martha, Maria Deo.
 5 Migrat in Augusto prior ordinis et pater orbis,
 Ordo prioris opus predicat, orbis opes.
 Mercurium morti dat Mercurius, data sorti
 Augustique dies sexta patrique quies.
 Messem maturam mensis maturior occat;
 10 Vernat in autumno fructus et auctor obit.
 Quis uultus? Que uerba uiri? Que summa uoluntas?
 Legis leticia, uisio uera Dei.
 Sic queritur, sic querit opem, sic uota sigillat:
 “Largitor uenie parce mihi, Domine,
 15 Sexaginta bonos mihi Messias dedit annos,
 Vix uolo sex tristes sustinuisse dies.
 Inducie mortis mihi sint, iniuria morbi
 Crescat, sint comites credula spes et amor.”
 Quis modus in morbo, qui mores in moriente
 20 Fas est scire, nefas uelle silere uiris.
 Est data pro meritis tam gracia magna ministris—
 Hii tamquam socii sunt dominiae sui:
 Terminus a Domino datur in ter quinque diebus.
 Hoc agit et patitur tempore tantus homo.
 25 Quinque dies domui, quinos sibi, quinque saluti,
 Omnia dat iuri tempora iustus homo.

The epitaph of Alexander of Ashby is written in unrhymed elegiac couplets, the favorite meter of Alexander himself.⁷⁷ A string of laudatory comparisons is attached to Alexander's name. He is called *Mercurius mundo, philologia Deo, honor claustrī, rigor orbis, regula regni, amor artis, Martha domui, Maria Deo, pater orbis* (2–5). The expression *regula regni* and the statement later on (11–12) that Alexander's *summa uoluntas* was *leticia legis* refer clearly to his active involvement in the papal and episcopal courts. The epitaph also reveals that the prior fell ill and quotes his prayer to God asking for six more sad days of life (14–18). For his merits Alexander was actually

⁷⁷ Both Alexander's poems, the *Breuissima comprehensio historiarum* and the largest part of the *Liber Festivialis*, were written in elegiacs.

granted fifteen days, and he died after he suffered five days for his religious house, five days for himself, and five days for salvation (21–26). This happened on August 6: *Augusti dies sexta* (8), when he was sixty years old: *Sexaginta bonos mihi Messias dedit annos* (15). The day was Wednesday: *Mercurium morti dat Mercurius*, says the epitaph (7). It is worth paying attention to this statement. If the information is correct, and we have no reason to doubt it, the fact that we know the weekday of Alexander's death also makes it possible to determine the year in which he died. In the period 1205–14 there are only two years in which 6 August falls on a Wednesday,⁷⁸ namely, 1208 and 1214. The 1214 is a very tempting date, since we have evidence of prior Hugh being in office by then, but we cannot be sure that he was not chosen for the office earlier than that. We need to find more, preferably dated, charters either of Alexander or Hugh in order to be more specific. On the other hand, 1208 seems more attractive, because otherwise it is hard to explain that a person like Alexander, who was generally so active, suddenly did nothing for as long as nine years, between 1205 and 1214. In any case, all we can say for certain is that Alexander of Ashby died on 6 August 1208 or 1214, and since the epitaph tells us that he was sixty years when he died, he must have been born in 1148 or 1154.

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⁷⁸ C. R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, revised by M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000).

A NEGLECTED EPISODE IN
THE PREHISTORY OF SYON ABBEY:
THE LETTER OF KATILLUS THORNBERNI IN UPPSALA
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY PAPPERSBREV 1410–1420*

Eric Graff

HISTORICAL accounts of the coming of the Brigittines to England routinely pass over the time between Lord Henry Fitzhugh's pledge in 1406 to sponsor a new monastery and the emergence of the Brigittine community of Syon Abbey in 1415. Recent studies by Neil Beckett and Jeremy Catto have discussed Syon in the context of the building program of King Henry V and in light of the religious atmosphere in England at the turn of the fifteenth century.¹ However, information about the pre-history of the great Brigittine house remains scarce. Considering that the Brigittines had the benefit of direct royal patronage and enjoyed the highest level of spiritual and political advantage, it is surprising how suddenly Syon Abbey appears to have sprung up out of the fog surrounding the last years of King Henry IV's reign. With this edition of the letter of a Brigittine brother, a few of the intricate matters that preceded the establishment of Syon Abbey may be clarified.

While the importance of this letter from Katillus Thornberni, deacon of the Order of the Holy Savior, to the Brigittine confessor general at Vadstena has been established by the use which scholars have already made of it, no edition has previously been available.² The letter records an effort made by the Brig-

* I must pay several debts of gratitude. It was at Monica Hedlund's suggestion that I came to work on this manuscript in the first place. Her interest in Katillus as a scribe has been helpful to me on more than one occasion. I owe thanks as well to George Rigg, who corrected several errors after just a casual viewing of my transcription, and to Ann Hutchison, who has helped shape my interest in the Brigittines in many ways. Most especially, however, I am grateful to Stephan Borgehammar, who is largely responsible for correctly ordering the manuscript fragments at the bottom of the recto side and who was kind enough to check my transcription against the original and offer suggestions and corrected readings.

¹ Neil Beckett, "St. Bridget, Henry V and Syon Abbey," in *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order*, ed. James Hogg, 2 vols. (Salzburg, 1993), 2:125–50. For a wide-ranging contextualization, including reference to the progress of Lollardy and growing royal involvement in English religious affairs, see Jeremy Catto, "Religious Change under Henry V," in *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss (Oxford, 1985), 97–115.

² Monica Hedlund, "Katillus Thornberni, a Syon Pioneer and his Books," *Birgittiana* 1

tine pioneers and their English sponsors to establish the Swedish order in England by converting the hospital of St. Nicholas outside of York into an abbey with male and female houses.³ In the end, this plan was abandoned in favor of building at an entirely new site, but the proposal in this document offers a valuable look at the mechanics of such a large institutional undertaking.

In 1406, on the occasion of Philippa of England's marriage to Eric of Pomerania, king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Lord Henry Fitzhugh announced his intention to underwrite the establishment of the first Brigittine monastery in England.⁴ While visiting Vadstena at that time, Fitzhugh asked that two Brigittine brothers be sent to England under his care, so that they might begin to arrange for the building of the new house. One year and four months later, the *Diarium Vadstenense* records the election of two brothers for this mission: Katillus Thornberni, author and scribe of the present letter, and Johannes Petri, who seems to have been the senior member of the delegation.⁵ The recipient of this letter was Ericus Johannis, confessor general of the

(1996): 67–87, cites this and other letters on the way to constructing a history of this important scribe's sojourn in England and discovering the eventual fate of the books he copied. Dr. Hedlund provides additional references to this material (68 n. 3), including one from the unpublished dissertation of M. B. Tait, *The Brigittine Monastery of Syon* (Oxford, D. Phil. thesis, 1975), which refers to this letter on p. 54. See also T. Höjer, *Studier i Vadstena klostrets och birgittinorders historia intill midten av 1400-talet* (Uppsala, 1905), 252; and Margaret Deanesly, *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Manchester, 1915), 103–4. Deanesly gives a brief summary of Höjer's use of the document in tracing the prehistory of Syon and of his conclusion (based upon an examination of the Swedish evidence) that just as the plan to convert the hospital of St. Nicholas was never completed, so there was never an early monastery built on Fitzhugh's gift of land at Cherry Hinton. In fact, the realization of a fully constituted Brigittine community would have to wait not only for the new buildings dedicated by Henry V in 1415, but for the profession of English sisters after the normal period of their novitiate.

³ For a detailed history of the hospital of St. Nicholas outside Walmgate Bar, see David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2d ed. (London, 1971), 338, 409; also *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Yorkshire*, vol. 3, ed. William Page (London, 1913; rpt. 1974), 346–49; and William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, part 2 (London, 1830), 709–11. The hospital may have been appealing to the Brigittines because it was already equipped to house both men and women and because its financial status was in question throughout the early fifteenth century (see the discussion of the letter's date, below).

⁴ The royal wedding was celebrated on 26 October 1406 according to E. B. Fryde et al., eds., *The Handbook of British Chronology*, 3d ed. (London, 1986), 41. The *Diarium Vadstenense*, ed. Claes Gejrot, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 33 (Stockholm, 1988) refers to Henry "Rawinzwatt" (Ravensworth) and his pledge in the same entry with the royal wedding (item 147 in the chronology) and notes that Fitzhugh's promise was made "circa festum beati Andree apostoli," that is, around 30 November 1406.

⁵ In the notice of election for the missionaries (item 161), they are called "frater Katillus dyaconus" and "frater Iohannes Petri sacerdos." For a summary of Katillus's progress through

monastery of Vadstena from 1401 to 1423, and an experienced administrator of a rapidly growing order. Lord Ericus was especially active in establishing new Brigittine foundations across Europe, notably in Italy, Estonia, and England.⁶

THE DATE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Uppsala University Library Pappersbrev 1410–1420 is dated from York on 29 July (the feast of St. Olaf), but because Katillus does not indicate the year in this letter, we cannot be sure how long after arriving in England he formulated the plan for taking over St. Nicholas's hospital. The trip to England was undertaken in April of 1408, but the letter almost surely was not drafted in that year. Unless the intention to use the hospital had been conceived by Fitzhugh or another local agent prior to Katillus's arrival, it seems unlikely that he would have decided on a site for recommendation during the first summer of his residence.⁷ Moreover, St. Olaf's day fell on a Sunday in 1408, which further reduces the likelihood of his writing in that year. The letter's *terminus ante quem* is, of course, the charter of Syon Abbey, dated 3 March 1415. We could do better if the request from Henry IV to the pope were datable, since it would necessarily follow the approval of Vadstena's confessor general regarding the whole scheme.⁸ As matters stand, we must consider that the letter

the ecclesiastical orders, see Hedlund, "Katillus Thornberni," 67–68. It is not clear why Katillus writes directly to the confessor general without reference to his companion, but in the Brigittine tradition deacons, representative of the doctors of the Church, were expected to act as men of letters. For the possibility that Brigittine deacons could also be ordained priests, see the textual notes below.

⁶ The notice of his death in the *Diarium* says that he enlarged the order in many regions and cities (item 577: "Ordinem dilatavit pluribus partibus et civitatibus"). The new foundation was called "Paradise" in Italy, "Mariental" in Estonia, and "Syon" in England. References to his role in these foundations occur frequently in the *Diarium*.

⁷ In fact the Brigittines had already sent an agent ahead of Johannes and Katillus, one Hemming, whose untimely death is recorded in October of 1407 in the city of Ribe on Denmark's West coast (item 155). Since it is doubtful that he ever reached England, we cannot assume that Katillus was taking up a proposal developed in consultation with any predecessor.

An older history attributed to Hemming a full career of service to the Brigittines and especially to their English foundation (F. M. Steele, *The Story of the Bridgettines* [London, 1910], 65–66), but it seems that the Hemming who was appointed to go to England had been confused with another contemporary of the same name, who died in 1411 (see *Diarium* items 94 and 198).

⁸ In James Hamilton Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1914–29), King Henry IV's letter to the pope appealing for licence to convert the hospital into the new monastery is twice referred to in the notes, once as "undated" (1:221 nn. 6 and 8). Though the letter still exists in a manuscript calendar of royal letters (London, British Library Add. 24062,

could have been written in any year from 1409 to 1413. We may rule out 1414 on the basis of the internal reference to both the king and the prince, since Henry IV died in the previous year.

Given this five-year frame of time, it seems likely that Katillus was writing either in 1409 or 1410,⁹ though it may be possible to be even more specific. During this time, the hospital of St. Nicholas was showing signs of institutional stress and thus becoming vulnerable to dissolution or reorganization. Katillus, who was housed by Henry Fitzhugh in Yorkshire, and who had the benefit of that lord's extensive network of friends, could hardly have failed to note the possibilities raised by the difficulty that plagued this large establishment.¹⁰ The final years of King Henry IV's reign saw the royal wish for new religious works take on political implications for the prelates and the whole baronial estate.¹¹ In fact, Katillus's proposal may have been the direct result of a report on the hospital's state made by Master John Newton, treasurer of York, at King Henry IV's request in 1408.¹²

fol. 150), I have not yet been able to see it. Anne Connon has been kind enough to examine the manuscript briefly, and confirms that it bears no explicitly datable features.

⁹ Hedlund estimates that the letter probably dates "from Johannes" and Katillus's first few years in England" ("Katillus Thomberti," 68).

¹⁰ Lord Henry Fitzhugh's position at the court offered unparalleled access to royal opinion: he was summoned to parliament from 17 December 1387 to 1 September 1423, made Knight of the Garter, and, on the coronation of Henry V, made constable of England, then lord chamberlain of the king's household. He died on 11 January 1424. Cf. George James Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (London, 1840), 25 n. 2.

¹¹ Catto, "Religious Change under Henry V," 98–106, demonstrates the coherent action of ecclesiastical and lay authorities, from Chichele's liturgical reform in the *Sarum Missal* to the devotional service of the likes of Fitzhugh and Philip Morgan.

¹² The hospital of St. Nicholas, along with its parochial church, had by 1408 become a likely candidate for such a "hostile" takeover. It had been in trouble since at least May 1400, when King Henry IV issued a writ protecting William Fulthorpe, one of the royal agents charged with accounting for the aliened rents of the hospital, from legal proceedings against him (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, Henry IV, vol. 1 [London, 1927], 187). In November 1408, John Newton, treasurer of York, was commissioned "to visit the hospital and survey the defects and do all things concerning the visitation and reformation of the premises; as the king's kinsman Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, to whom the visitation of the king's hospitals pertains, is too busy" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry IV, vol. 4 [London, 1903–9], 65). Perhaps the continuing investigation revealed some latent disputes, for on 1 November 1410 the king ordered the resumption of a legal case involving St. Nicholas's recently appointed warden Robert Wolden (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, Henry IV, vol. 4 [London, 1932], 132). Again in January 1416, the king (now Henry V) appointed a committee to inspect the grounds on the basis of "the report that in the hospital of St. Nicholas of York, founded by the king's progenitors for the maintenance of poor and infirm, . . . there are many defects needing great repair, and the hospital has collapsed so much by alienations of its lands and possessions . . . that the lands and possessions remaining do not suffice for the maintenance of the warden,

This timeline of events indicates that Katillus sent to Sweden the following summer for permission to arrange the takeover with the English authorities. Since the conversion of a hospital for the poor also required papal consent, the process of winning such approval is carefully detailed in the letter. A summary and discussion of its contents, therefore, will not only clarify the information in Katillus's report and the reasoning behind it, but will also show that the letter was written and sent on Monday, 29 July 1409.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

As might be expected, the letter opens with a series of flattering comparisons for its recipient, Lord Ericus Johannis, Vadstena's confessor general: to the guardians of paradise; to a mirror of virtues; even to a "light on the candelabra showing the way for those coming to God." The reference to paradise may reflect Lord Ericus's recent role in establishing the monastery of Paradise, a new Brigittine house in Italy.¹³ Katillus's prominent mention of the biblical Syon in his introduction suggests that the name for their new community had already been chosen by the time of the letter's writing, either by the Brigittines or their sponsors. After his preliminary remarks, Katillus turns mysteriously to the subject of proper order in religious preferments:

... from the day on which Saul was anointed king, he was suddenly changed into another man . . . (there followed) "this change of God's right hand." On this account, I presume to say that you (Lord Ericus) care for the gates of Syon above all the tabernacles of Jacob. . . . Indeed it is right and just that those who have been proven for a long time in good living and regularly tested with virtuous exercises should be preferred to others in the distinction of governing; and seniors in a higher rank and office should be favored instead of novices, lest the head be turned into the tail and once more the tail of Juno's bird will be marked with the eyes of Argus. Since it would be most wrong and absurd that the inexperienced should be preferred to the masters, the young to the old, rude men to distinguished ones (and so the cleft stone would not be healed and the Lord's David would not be honored . . .), therefore even you should not

brethren and sisters, and divine worship is diminished and other works of piety withdrawn" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry V, vol. 1 [London, 1910–11], 410). It is likely that the report cited in the writ of 1416 was derived from Newton's investigations in 1408. Several similarities of phrase between the 1416 order and Katillus's letter (e.g., the remembrance of the king's ancestors and of the hospital's mission as well as the emphasis on the increase or decrease of divine worship), would seem to point to their common dependence upon Newton's findings, which were probably sent to the king early in 1409.

¹³ For references to Ericus Johannis in the *Diarium Vadstenense*, see items 119, 258, 264, 347, and 577 in the chronology.

wonder that I write these things to you . . . , since the flock forgets its food at the sound of the harp.¹⁴

In this intricate texture of biblical and Ovidian reference, Katillus discloses his concern for hierarchical order and for the appreciation of devout experience, but what should we make of his reference to Saul, and the "Lord's David," and the cleft stone? Undoubtedly, Katillus gauged the effect of his allusions by his familiarity with the recipient of the letter. Although distance from the event imposes on us a position of ignorance, we must assume that Lord Ericus knew well how to unpack Katillus's carefully chosen words. Hedlund reasons that the letter hints at "domestic troubles," either at Vadstena or in England.¹⁵ However, the hints given by Katillus point, I believe, to a wider sphere of activity.

If we assume that the letter was written, as I have posited, in 1409 or 1410, we might refine that estimate by identifying possible touchstones for our scribe's expressed anxiety. One possibility is that Katillus hedges around the topic of his own ordination and promotion.¹⁶ Another, more intriguing alternative is that he raises the topic of the papacy in conflict. If Katillus was writing in 1409, it was during a summer that must have been filled with uneasiness for the devout; the same summer when the unity of the Church, not to mention a myriad of financial and administrative initiatives, hung in the balance. Since March of that year, the Council of Pisa had been negotiating an end to the Great Schism. News of the deposition of the two contending popes and the election of Pope Alexander V spread quickly from Italy. The cardinals informed King Henry IV by dispatch on 26 June, 1409. If the plan to convert St. Nicholas's had been hatched by Fitzhugh and Newton, then Katillus would have been waiting to hear the outcome of the council before he sent his proposal. By 29 July 1409, he could be fairly sure that the papacy would be open to hearing the king's petition, and so he sent the letter for Lord Ericus's approval. The anointing of Saul, the honor of the Lord's David, the cleft stone: all these allude to the announcement of the papal election in 1409 and provide a touchstone for the letter's more cryptic passages, and thus seem to indicate that 1409 was the year in which the document was written.

¹⁴ Translations from the letter are my own.

¹⁵ Hedlund raises this issue as a potential cause of worry for Katillus ("Katillus Thornberni," 68). Despite its rationality, this explanation leads Katillus into one of two faults; either he complains fruitlessly about difficulties in England, or, if he refers to matters in Sweden that are under the confessor general's direct control, he offers opinions on politics at Vadstena without having been there for more than fifteen months.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 68 n. 2.

Having ventured his comments on these broad matters, Katillus returns quickly to business:

But now I leave this matter, writing to you about the progress which the illustrious prince, the king of England and the Lord Henry Fitzhugh have made and are making in arranging the foundation of our monastery in England, and where they propose to build it, as will be clear below in the underwritten articles proceeding in order.

From this point on, the letter becomes an itemized agenda and justification for the plan to convert the hospital of St. Nicholas outside of Walmgate Bar, York into the new monastery. Katillus seeks his confessor general's assent to this plan of action because at first glance it appears to be patently illegal. Even with the king's support, the Brigittines would lose face if their name were attached to an unsavoury proposal sent to the Papal Curia. St. Nicholas's hospital was a royal foundation annexed to the parish of St. Nicholas, and its goods were stipulated for the use of the sick or poor. One of the oldest tenets in canon law is the prohibition against alienating or converting goods reserved specifically for the poor. Yet Katillus demonstrates his familiarity with legal sources by marshalling citations from the *Liber Extra*. Item number one:

... it should be understood that this hospital can indeed be transformed because a place of secular clerics can be changed informally into a place for religious, and a religious place conversely into a secular place in the case of a deficiency of those religious persons (if they are not to be found there). Also this hospital was founded for the infirm, as is clear in its letters of confirmation, and such ones are not found or sustained there at present nor (have been) for a long time since. And these (judgments) are clearly established by those (cases) that are read and noted: "Extra," Concerning holy buildings ... and Concerning religious houses. ... So in the sight of the law it can be done and is expressly permitted.

Katillus has cleverly emphasized the dedication to the infirm, rather than to the poor, and has introduced the familiar argument that the hospital was understaffed. So far, he lays out just the precedents for conversion between secular and religious institutions.

The poor, nevertheless, prey on Katillus's mind. Item number two:

... in the view of conscience these things may be done, since although the laws say, "Extra," Concerning religious houses, that it appears in similar cases that goods collected for the use of the poor should not be appropriated to another use without the authority of the apostolic see (even if that use into which it will have been converted is known by all to be more pious than the previous use); nevertheless, in our case they can be appropriated with apostolic authority . . . , and it is more deserving so to convert, because divine wor-

ship is to be increased, which here happens as much in number as in quality of persons.

Here Katillus gives, complete with footnotes, his rationalization for countervening the usual canons, but his argument is noticeably thin. Having just cited two canons in which exceptions were made to the usual order, he declares that the law expressly allows this sort of conversion. On this basis, he recommends that the conscience may be set at ease over the matter. Next he adds the assumption that regulars contribute more to divine worship than seculars. Most importantly, perhaps, he has shown that with papal approval all things are possible.

The letter continues with item number three, in which Katillus advises his superior that King Henry IV will write to the pope for a licence to transfer the property. Items four and five, written on the bottom of the letter's recto side, suffer badly from damage to the manuscript, but appear to call for two sisters and two brothers to be sent from Sweden and charged with taking possession of the new house. At the top of the verso side, item six is much clearer to read, but introduces a new problem of interpretation:

... that these persons so licensed by the permission of our lord king should come to England and arrive as his lieges.

The textual difficulty here is that Katillus seems to be speaking of England's king as his own. It is possible that our scribe, a Dane by birth, a Swede by profession, may already have pledged English fealty. At any rate, he indicates that the arriving cohort of Swedish Brigittines will take English citizenship before claiming their lands. In this way, the new house will not retain the character of an alien priory and will avoid conflicts with England's mortmain legislation.¹⁷

Now that he has introduced the canonical precedents for this unusual plan of action, allayed possible royal concerns about foreign houses, and briefly noted the hospital's suitability for conversion, Katillus attacks its current administration:

But since it is grievously reported in modern time that one master and six women (not the least bit sick) are found there, and thence the monies received

¹⁷ The statute *De viris religiosis*, first promulgated under Edward I in 1279, continued to shape English law in the early fifteenth century. Its restrictions on foreign ownership, intended to prevent French interference in the management and taxation of English religious establishments, were extended to include boroughs, guilds and fraternities as late as 1391. The text of the statute is printed in Sandra Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church, 1279–1500* (Cambridge, 1982), 193–94. For further discussion of the problem with reference to Syon Abbey, see Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, 31 n. 5.

against the prohibitions of the canons are converted into other extraneous uses, therefore your aforementioned son, wishing to provide for the salvation of these abusers and to turn the goods of this hospital to better uses—namely into the building and sustainment of a monastery of the Order of the Holy Savior by Saint Birgitta of the country of Sweden from a new foundation and approved by the apostolic see, since it is said to be apt for this and well disposed both in its goods and possessions—should strive and purpose together with others conferring about this new endeavor.

All along, it appears, Katillus has been trying to save the abusers from themselves, for they have already violated the canon against appropriation by mismanaging the hospital's funds. He goes on to state the intended number of Bridgettines who will occupy the same site—sixty women and twenty-five men, all recluses—which explains his earlier boast that divine worship will benefit both in quantity and quality. Certainly with six residents and one curator the hospital was nearly empty. Its residents, moreover, practised the Augustinian rule very casually; there was very little communal prayer, and practically no singing of the hours. In a fully constituted Bridgettine house, the abbess and nuns are served by thirteen priest brothers who administer confession and celebrate masses, and by four deacons and eight other men.¹⁸ One of the priests is elected to serve as a confessor general. The daily offices are sung by the brothers according to local use, while the sisters observe the Office of the Virgin. Undoubtedly Katillus was convinced about the virtue of this plan, and he was not the first to assert the superiority of regular over secular religious lifestyles. As a Brigitine responsible for making complex arrangements regarding the use of considerable resources, Katillus's partiality to the wishes of his English sponsors has led him into some delicate interpretations of Church law. Yet nothing in the letter or in its use of legal sources suggests that Katillus was cynical about turning the canons against the hospital's residents. Although we see in this report an argument directly contrary to the spirit and the letter of the canons, we also recognize that Katillus appeals to a prior concern—prior from the point of view of the salvation of souls—the maintenance of the worship of God.

We might expect, then, that the Brigitines would have lived happily ever after at the old St. Nicholas grounds. Instead, they were installed at Twickenham in 1415 and moved to better accommodation at Isleworth in 1432.¹⁹ We

¹⁸ *Regula Salvatoris* 13 (ed. Sten Eklund, *Sancta Birgitta: Opera minora I* [Stockholm, 1975], 119–20).

¹⁹ For Syon's charter and foundation, see Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 202; also *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Middlesex*, vol. 3, ed. Susan Reynolds (London, 1962), 97–100; and William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, part 1 (London, 1830), 540–44.

can only speculate about the exact reason why the plan to convert St. Nicholas's hospital failed. It is easy to imagine that either Lord Ericus or the pope might have declined to continue the process, but neither of them have left a record of their assent or refusal. The young king's role in the foundation of Syon Abbey has been discussed at length by Neil Beckett, but the future Henry V's program for a collection of royal religious houses at Sheen, if it had been formulated at all by 1409, was in abeyance at least while his father's illness lingered. We know only that he took up the work at Sheen almost as soon as he put on the crown.²⁰

FEATURES OF THIS EDITION

This edition aims to represent as accurately as possible the letter in Uppsala University Library Pappersbrev 1410–1420. Because the manuscript is heavily damaged, the text is marred by lacunae at the top and bottom of the recto side of the page. I have indicated damaged passages with ellipsis points. Words that are partially legible begin or end with hyphens in order to show where the damage occurs. Only occasionally have I ventured to supply missing letters or words, which I have placed in angle brackets < >. Included in the textual notes are biblical and literary references, canon law citations, and explanatory comments.

DESCRIPTION

Script. A peculiar hand with a blockish, Anglicana aspect, showing some cursive tendencies, but largely upright and formal. Written by the scribe Katillus Thornberni.²¹ Can be identified by the use of *i*-longa made from two strokes, by an *e* with a back that travels along the baseline (can be mistaken for a Carolingian-style minuscule *a*), and by the form of final *s* that resembles a heavy capital *B*.

²⁰ King Henry IV died, and Henry V ascended the throne on 20 March 1413. For an outline of Henry V's plan to establish religious houses at Sheen, see Beckett, "St. Bridget, Henry V and Syon Abbey," 126; and Catto, "Religious Change under Henry V," 110–11.

²¹ The hand of Katillus Thornberni appears in many Uppsala manuscripts, notably C 1, C 17, C 193 and C 621, all of which Hedlund has discussed ("Katillus Thornberni," 75–87) and illustrated with plates. Here is Dr. Hedlund's description of the hand as it appears in all these books: "It is a cursive hand that at first sight looks quite unlike most Vadstena manuscripts. One rather gets the impression of an *anglicana* hand, but this is only a superficial impression, caused by the broad nib and the low and somewhat heavy character of the script. The basic letter forms are continental and, on the whole, consistent with the ordinary Vadstena script" (75–76).

Material: A single medium weight parchment sheet, with brown ink, folded for protection during travel.

Damage: The parchment shows an area of severe discoloration on both sides near the top. This discoloration may have resulted from residue left by a seal which has since been lost, though there is not enough evidence to demonstrate such an hypothesis. The letter has been trimmed too closely on the sides, and may therefore lack intended marginal insertions. Damage from having been folded appears below lines 7 and 12 of the recto side and after line 8 of the verso. The bottom quarter of the recto side has extreme damage and is missing almost half of its text. The many fragments of this portion of the letter have been mounted in random order at the foot of the manuscript, but a photocopy showing the correct position of these fragments has now been deposited with the manuscript in Uppsala.

Mounting: The document is enmeshed, according to the "old style," and framed with heavy acid-free paper, which closely crops the text.

TEXT

recto

Premissa humillima salutem in . . . pater karissime et domine reverende, divina pietate opitulante, vos estis firma et pre . . . *⟨d⟩omo domini et speculum excubancium*²² ad introitum sanctuarii, paradisus omnium deliciarum ascend- . . . -dum sacerdocii tamquam alter Aron. Vnde ex die qua unctus est Saul in regem mutatus est, subit(er in virum alium)²³ . . . "haec mutacio dextre excelsi."²⁴ Propterea presumo dicere quod diligitis "portas syon super omnia tabernacula Iacob."²⁵ Vere inpresenciarum, vie syon lugent eo quod pauci sint qui debite veniant ad solemnitatem, sed vos estis lucerna supra candelabrum posita, omnibus lucens suburbium deo ingredientibus, in virtutum speculum sublimium et exemplum. Dignum siquidem et iustum est ut, qui in vita spirituali diu in bonis moribus et virtuosis exerciciis regulariter probatus et exercitatus, aliis in apice regiminis preferatur, ac seniores noviciis in digniori gradu et officio preferantur, ne caput vertetur in caudam,²⁶ et iterum cauda Iunonii alitis insignita erit oculis Argi.²⁷ Cum valde iniquum sit absurdumque

²² Gen 3:24.

²³ Cf. 1 Sam 10:6.

²⁴ Ps 76:11.

²⁵ Ps 86:2.

²⁶ Cf. Deut 28:13 and Eph 1:22–23.

²⁷ Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.625–723.

ut imperiti magistris, novi antiquis, rudes preferantur emeritis—et sic silex saucia non solidatur et David domini non decoratur, dum domesticis tanquam abortivis et ethnicis obturatur quod aliis si sint divites indifferenter et aude reseratur—ergo etiam non ammiramini propter deum quod vobis ista et isto modo scribo, quia “ad sonitum cythare grex obliviscitur esum.”

Sed iam relinquo istam materiam, scribens vobis progressum quem illustrissimus²⁸ princeps, rex Anglie et dominus Henricus Fitzhugh miles habuerunt et habent in tractando de funda(cione) monasterii nostri in Anglia, et ubi proponunt illud erigere, ut patebit inferius in articulis infrascriptis taliter prosequendo.

Primo, in facto hospitalis pauperum sive infirmorum iuxta Eboracum convertendi et mutandi in monasterium ordinis sancti salvatoris per sedem apostolicam approbatum: sic breviter videtur senciendum quod ipsum hospitale sic mutari potest, quia locus clericorum secularium indistincte mutari potest in religiosum, ac locus religiosus e converso in secularem, ob defectum personarum ipsarum religiosarum (si ibidem non reperiantur). Et hoc hospitale fundatum erat pro infirmis, ut patet in litteris confirmatoriis eiusdem, et tales ad presens et addiu [sic] non reperiebantur aut sustentabantur ibidem. Et haec fundantur clare per ea quae leguntur et notantur: Extra “De ecclesiis edificandis, Ad audienciam”²⁹ et “De religiosis domibus, Inter quatuor”³⁰ de

²⁸ In the manuscript “rex” is added, then cancelled.

²⁹ “De ecclesiis aedificandis vel reparandis—Urbanus III. Ad audientiam nostram iam pridem pervenit, quod tu in ecclesia de Cologia, de qua in episcopum vocatus et electus fuisti, regulares canonicos desideras ordinare, et eorum institutioni de bonis tibi collatis congrue providere. Inde siquidem est, quod tuum nos desiderium atque propositum multis modis in Domino laudibus commendantes, hoc devotioni tuae auctoritate apostolica indulgemus, ut iuxta votum tuum canonicos regulares in ecclesia praescripta, si tibi episcopus diocesanus consenserit in hac parte, ad honorem dei et ecclesiae tuae secundum beati Augustini regulam valeas ordinare, et eos ibidem nullius contradictione et appellatione obstante instituere. Verum si clerici saeculares in ea fuerint, qui adhuc superesse noscuntur, volumus eis, dum vixerint, ibi vel alibi necessaria secundum consuetudines provideri. Licet autem nobis instantius suppli- caveris ut ecclesiae predictae confirmationis privilegium faceremus de canonicis, tibi non possumus de iure deferre, quum nulli canonici adhuc existant, quibus privilegium concedatur. Eis utique, quam fuerint instituti, tam in his quam in aliis precum tuarum obtentu in quibus cum Deo poterimus libertius deferemus” (*Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Ae. Friedberg, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1879–81], 2:653 [X 3.48.5]). In this and the following citation, Katillus refers specifically to the *Liber Extra*, or *Decretals of Gregory IX*; here I give the more accessible locus from the *Corpus iuris canonici*.

³⁰ “De religiosis domibus ut episcopis sint subiectae—Innocentius III. Inter quatuor (Et infra: [cf. c.8. de mai. et ob. I.33.]) De monasteriis quoque Graecorum, in saeculares canonicos convertendis, fraternitati tuae taliter respondemus, quod, Quamdiu monasteria per regulares viros, sive Graecos sive Latinos, remanere potuerint ordinata, non sunt ad saeculares clericos transferenda. Sed si regulares defuerint, propter eorum defectum in eis seculares clerici poterunt ordinari” (*Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 2:603 [X 3.36.5]).

similibus. Et ex parte iuris fieri potest et permittitur expresse. Secundo: ex parte conscientie hec fieri possent, quia licet dicant iura, Extra "De religiosis domibus," quia contingit cum similibus quod res collate in usum pauperum in alium usum converti non debent absque se(dis) apostolice auctoritate (etiam si usus ille in quem fuerit magis prius ut ibidem notatur per omnes); tamen auctoritate apostolica possunt, ut ibi liquet a contrario sensu et meritorium est sic convertere in casu quo sumus quia cultus divinus augmentandus est. Quod hic cont(ingit) tam in numero personarum quam qualitate (person)arum, nam ubi vix non habetur unus vel duo presbyteri tunc, erunt XVII³¹ et octo inferiores ministri . . . irreligiose viventes tunc, habebuntur LX religiose et re- ordinem et regulam approb(atam) . . . -gri nunc ibidem qui pre . . . dispensacionem sive auctoritatem sedis apostolice convertit bo(na) illius hospitalis in alios usus quod dep- . . . contra textum predictum. Tercius: modus faciendi secundum vi- . . . erit talis quod dominus noster rex scribat si . . . senso suo scribatur domino pape pro licencia habenda de mutando l(ocum) et statum eiusdem in usum ordinis sancti salv(atori)s in bona forma et . . . avisata. Quarto: quod mutatur pro d- . . . -abet n- . . . cum duobus viris eiusdem ordinis et reg(ulis) . . . -t in regulam et . . . -entum omne . . . i- . . . lm informa(ti)s et summ- conver-. Quinto: quod iste quatuor persone licentientur . . . eundo . . . -strum et c- . . . suram . . . est . . . de admittendo locum pred(ictum) . . . in congru- . . . et . . . -lter . . . et requirit. . . .

verso

Sexto: quod iste persone sic licenciate de licencia etiam domini nostri regis in Angliam veniant et legii sui deveniant. Septimo: quod dominus noster rex unam de eisdem personis secundum regulam sui ordinis prefici paciatur in abbatisam sive priorissam. Octavo: quod locum predictum cum suis iuribus et pertinenciis universis secundum formam licencie a domino papa date ipsis abbatissae sive priorisse et consororibus suis et confratribus in puram perpetuam elemosinam conferat et in bona forma secundum avisamentum consilii secularis et ecclesiastici confirmet. Nono: quod dyocesanus etiam consensum et auctoritatem suam in omnibus premissis adhibeat excercendi officium suum, prout convenit et fuerit opportunum. Sequitur: supplicacio exponitur sanctitati vestre pro parte devoti filii vestri Henrici regis Anglie, quod antecessores sui reges anglie quoddam hospitale in suburbii civitatis Eboraci quondam erexerunt ac, in bonis et possessionibus temporalibus una cum eccllesia parochiale sancti Nicholai eidem hospitali annexa unita et incorporata,

³¹ Katillus includes the statutory four deacons in the number of priests he expects to live in the new house.

notabiliter fundaverunt. Cuius hospitalis fructus redditus et proventus ad verum valorem LXXX marcharum sterlingorum hiis diebus (secundum communem estimacionem) se extendunt. Et in quo hospitali sustentari deberent et esse unus magister ac nonnulli, ut dicit, viri et mulieres infirmi. Sed quod dolenter refertur moderno tempore unus magister et sex mulieres (tamen minime infirmi) reperiuntur ibidem, et pecunie inde recepte contra prohibiciones canonum in alios *usus* extraneos convertuntur, predictus igitur filius vester, volens ipsorum sic abutencium providere saluti et bona ipsius hospitalis in *usus* convertere meliores—videlicet in erectionm et sustentacionem monasterii ordinis sancti salvatoris per³² sanctam Byrgittam regionis Swecie de nouo *funus* dati et per sedem apostolicam approbati sunt, quod ad hoc aptum dicitur et bene dispositum ac bonis et possessionibus eiusdem—una cum aliis eidem de novo conferendis fundare nititur et intendit. I^{udex} E^{sto}.³³ In quo monasterio fore deberent LX mulieres et XXV *homines* omnes reclusi; Quod quidem monasterium in loco predicti hospitalis, dummodo sedis apostolice concessus et auctoritas interveniant. Supplicatur eidem in Vrbe Sancto quatenus ad premissa consensum et auctoritatem huiusmodi adhibere velit et litteras concedere gracie cum non obstaciis debitibus et clausulis oportunis intuitu caritatis, et cetera. Vitam vestram conservet semper in prosperis et protegat in adversis ipsa sapiencia dei patris. Scriptum ex civitate supradicta in die sancti Olavi³⁴ regis et martyris sub signeto. Hec ego frater Katillus ordinis sancti salvatoris professor, licet indignus.

tab

Religioso viro domino Erico confessori in monasterio Vaczstena hec cum reverencia presentetur.

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³² The direct attribution of agency here to Saint Birgitta seems puzzling, but since the Latin text is clear, one must assume that Katillus refers to the Brigitine community in the person of their patron.

³³ Here Katillus has placed three medial points to signal the beginning of the letter's closing phrases.

³⁴ Olaf's feast day is 29 July. See *Butler's Lives of the Saints* 3:208–9. St. Olaf of Norway, who was instrumental in bringing monks and priests from England to Scandinavia, would doubtless have appreciated the Brigitine mission as evidence that true Christianity was flourishing in the Northern kingdoms.

NEW DOCUMENTS AT RIETI FOR THE MONASTERIES OF SAN BENEDETTO AD XENODOCHIUM AND SANTA SOFIA IN NINTH-CENTURY BENEVENTO*

Virginia Brown

IN a recent and now indispensable survey of medieval monasteries at Benevento, Carmelo Lepore assembled the rather sparse information presently available for the Benedictine house of San Benedetto ad Xenodochium. He has shown that its history is mostly bound up with the nearby monastery of Santa Sofia, also Benedictine but larger, much more influential, and much better documented.¹ Reducing Lepore's findings for the former to the bare essentials, especially in the earlier period, we may note these facts.

Founded at an unknown date and located inside the city walls, San Benedetto ad Xenodochium was certainly in existence by the second decade of the eighth century and consisted (as its name implies) of a monastery with a hospice. The latter structure was intended for the reception of pilgrims. In 774 Arechis II made both monastery and hospice subject to the control of the then female monastery of Santa Sofia (established s. VIII²), ordering the prepositus of Santa Sofia to reside at San Benedetto and attend to the needs of visitors. Although the hospice was still in use towards the last decade of the ninth century, at some point there set in a decline. By July 1050 Pandulf III and Landulf VI described it as abandoned for some time and decreed the erection of a new hospice near the church of Sant'Angelo a Ponticello. The church of

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¹ C. Lepore, "Monasticon Beneventanum. Insediamenti monastici di regola benedettina in Benevento," *Studi beneventani* 6 (1995): 44–48 (San Benedetto ad Xenodochium) and 137–58 (Santa Sofia).

San Benedetto, however, continued to function until 1581 but then fell into disrepair and was torn down in 1641.

Further information on the early history of both monasteries is offered by a leaf, now at Rieti, that was written in Beneventan script of the early twelfth century. It contains incomplete copies of two documents seemingly hitherto unattested.² The first document lacks the beginning and hence the indication of date that would ordinarily have been supplied by the imperial regnal year. What survives of the text in the Rieti fragment attests to a previously unknown abbess (Teopegis) and prepositus (Benedictus) at Santa Sofia. Since Santa Sofia became a male monastery around the middle of the tenth century, this date serves as the obvious *terminus ante quem*. The second document breaks off incomplete; datable to 895, it mentions that the xenodochium of San Benedetto had been destroyed in a fire. Both documents concern donations *pro anima*. They are to be classed under the heading of *cartule* since they exhibit, despite their mutilated state, many of the features common to records of this kind.³ Possibly, as will be suggested below, the leaf comes from a hitherto unknown cartulary of Santa Sofia intended as a companion volume to the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*.⁴

² It would be rash to claim that these documents are *unique* since so much remains to be discovered and studied with regard to the vast holdings once in the archive of Santa Sofia and now dispersed among three principal repositories: the Archivio Storico Provinciale (Benevento), the Archivio Privato dei Principi Aldobrandini, and the Vatican Library. For informative surveys of the dates and types of documents involved, see G. A. Loud, "The Medieval Records of the Monastery of St Sophia, Benevento," *Archives* 19 (1991): 364-73, rpt. in Loud, *Montecassino and Benevento in the Middle Ages: Essays in South Italian Church History* (Aldershot and Burlington, Vt., 2000), no. VI; and V. Matera, "Minima diplomatica. Per l'edizione delle più antiche carte dell'abbazia di S. Sofia di Benevento (secoli VIII-XI)," in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Badia di Cava, 3-5 Ottobre 1990)*, ed. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola (Cava, 1991), 383-98.

³ For an extremely useful survey of the differences between *cartule* and *memoratoria* produced s. VIII-X in southern Italy, along with an examination of their various components, see F. Magistrale, "Il documento notarile nell'Italia meridionale longobarda," in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria*, 257-72. As will be seen in the transcription on pp. 342-45 below, the texts of the Rieti fragment display standard procedure vis-à-vis the protocol, *dispositio*, *rogatio* of the notary, and the eschatol.

⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 4939, fols. 25r-217r, s. XII in. (1119), copied at the monastery of Santa Sofia, Benevento. For many years, the essential points of departure for the study of this text were W. Smidt, *Das Chronicon Beneventani monasterii S. Sophiae* (Diss. Berlin, 1910) and O. Bertolini, "I documenti trascritti nel «Liber Preceptorum Beneventani Monasterii S. Sophiae». («Chronicon S. Sophiae»)," in *Studi di storia napoletana in onore di Michelangelo Schipa* (Naples, 1926), 11-55 (an invaluable inventory of the documents). Unfortunately, Bertolini's intended edition of the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* never appeared. This lacuna has now been filled: see *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* (cod. Vat. Lat. 4939),

The edition and study given here of these texts is intended as a modest supplement to Lepore's fundamental and authoritative work.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BENEVENTAN FRAGMENT

The leaf under consideration formerly served as the cover of a notarial register of Antonellus Fabri for the years 1532–41: Rieti, Archivio di Stato, fondo Archivio Notarile, Rocca Sinibaldo 64. This volume measures 277 × 100 (ca. 250 × ca. 90) mm. and consists of i + 91 folios numbered by a modern hand in pencil usually at the top right-hand corner of the folio and always on the recto.

At present this is the only register of Antonellus Fabri identified by the personnel of the Archivio di Stato, Rieti. It begins with a reference to his presence *in Voconiano* (= Bocchignano, approximately five kilometers from Farfa):⁵ (fol. 1r) "In dei nomine amen anno domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo secundo indictione quinta tempore pontificatus sanctissimi in christo patris et domini nostri domini Clementis diuina prouidentia pape septimi Die vero decima quinta mensi(s ma)rtij Ego Antonellus fabri notarius publicus et ad presens substitutus in uoconiano spe^{lis} viri ser Ioannis Capitani generalis." Many of the transactions recorded in the volume were effected at Bocchignano or vicinity (e.g., *in Castro Catini* = Catino) and involved residents of these places as well as men and women living in nearby Salisano, Casaprota, Toffia, and elsewhere. From time to time the abbey of Farfa also figures. Farther afield, Antonellus Fabri was also active in the area of Rocca Sinibaldo itself (e.g., *in Castro Sancti Silvestri* = San Silvestro).

The Beneventan fragment has been removed from Rocca Sinibaldo 64 and is now kept separately in a folder under the shelf mark of the volume.⁶ Measuring (max.) 306 × 223 (226 × 117) mm., with 39 long lines of text placed 5–7

edizione e commento a cura di J.-M. Martin con uno studio sull'apparato decorativo di G. Oronfino, 2 vols., Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 3* and 3** (Rome, 2000).

⁵ On Bocchignano, see F. Palmejani, *Rieti e la regione sabina. Storia – arte – vita – usi e costumi del secolare populo sabino: La ricostituita provincia nelle sue attività* (Rome, 1932), 585–86.

⁶ I discovered the fragment in May 1998 when it was still serving as the cover of the volume, and I published a brief description in "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (IV)," *Mediaeval Studies* 61 (1999): 369. The present article constitutes the forthcoming study announced there (n. 12). I returned to Rieti on 5 May 1999 and noted that the leaf had since been removed. A definitive shelf mark (*segnatura*) will be assigned to the fragment by dott.ssa Flavia Carderi, who is preparing an inventory of all the fragments in the Archivio di Stato, Rieti, that once served as covers and binding fragments.

mm. apart, the folio is mostly complete except for various small holes in the text.⁷ Ruling was done in dry point on the hair side of the parchment. The distance from the first and last ruled lines to the top and bottom of the page is (max.) 37 mm. and (max.) 42 mm. respectively. Double vertical lines 7–9 mm. apart enclose the text; maximum distance from the outer of the two bounding lines to the outer edge of the leaf is 62 mm., and to the gutter 30 mm. Pricked from the flesh side are thirty very small holes arranged in practically a straight line ca. 37 mm. from the outer vertical bounding line and ca. 22–24 mm. from the outer edge of the leaf.

Text ink is black, with red used on the hair side for the title (ll. 11–12) preceding the second document. Majuscule *I* ("In") at the beginning of this new text measures ca. 84 × ca. 10 mm.; the main body of the letter occupies part of 7 text lines and a descender continues into the margin for another 5 lines. The rather thin strokes making up the initial are divided into panels edged in red or green whose interior is occupied by green, red, and yellow interlace terminating in a floral motif at the top and in the head of a fantastic dog who is biting the extended descender at the bottom. Letters beginning sentences are written in black text ink and infilled or edged with red or red and yellow.

Aside from the instructions for the title that are given to the rubricator in compressed Caroline minuscule with a Beneventan cast and found on what is now the extreme outer edge of the hair side, the script is Beneventan written on a small scale. Generally speaking, the text is very legible on the hair side (*verso*) but less so on the flesh side (*recto*) in a number of instances since the latter was on the outside while the leaf functioned as a cover and consequently suffered discoloration and rubbing. With a fine pen and an average height of 1.5–2 mm. for minims and 3 mm. for ascenders, the scribe was able to get a considerable amount of script on each side of the page. Despite the small size of the writing, the scribe was still able to preserve an impression of chiaroscuro by bending the minims often and attaching feet consistently to the bottom, along with breaking the curves of *c* and *o* as well as the bows of *d* and *p*.

Although the overall initial impression is one of neatness, the script is not consistently regular. Placed on or above the ruled text line, the writing leans now to the right, now to the left (particularly if *r* in ligature is involved), and the final letters of a word often rise upwards. Individual notable features include *uncial d* with a shaft so small it seems a mere stem, straight-shouldered *r* in ligature, a strong preference for short *r* in final position, and the *i* stroke

⁷ The folio comes from the part of the hide nearest the joint, and this explains the lack of parchment at the outer edge (whose absence is marked by a strong curve) and the irregular shape of the bottom edge. Of average weight, the parchment displays many clusters of black follicles on the hair side.

often pulled sharply to the right (especially in the first upright of *u* and the letter *i* itself).⁸

Abbreviations are used sparingly. Occurrences of the *Nomina Sacra* are confined to *di* (*dei*), *do* (*deo*), *dño* (*domino*). Forms of *noster* and *vester* are shortened in the usual manner, e.g., *n̄ra* (*nostra*), *n̄ri* (*nostrī*), *n̄ro* (*nostro*), *n̄ros* (*nostros*). The typically Beneventan 3-sign, placed suprascript, signals omitted *m*; worthy of note is the fact that this symbol, made with a reduced upper curve and an ample lower curve, is sometimes placed in an almost horizontal position. Such endings as *-ter* and *-tur* also follow the Beneventan norm by exhibiting respectively *t* with a macron and *t* with a suprascript 2-sign. The older Beneventan abbreviations *oma* and *om̄bus* are used for *omnia* and *omnibus*, as is the older form *an̄me* for *animae*. In a text of this kind, it is not surprising to find the frequent occurrences of *monasterium* normally written as *monāſt̄*, to be expanded as needed. Finally, short words written at line-end are sometimes abbreviated, e.g., *ēē* (*esse*), *sic̄t̄* (*sicut*), etc.⁹

Punctuation reflects standard Beneventan practice. The final stop is marked by two points, often angular or rectangular in shape, surmounting a small comma placed under the second point. A diagonal placed over a point indicates a major pause, and the simple diagonal a minor pause. Hyphens are often seen (hair side, ll. 1, 4, 6, 13, 16, 30); they appear to have been made by the original scribe.

As for the date and origin of the fragment, s. XII in. has already been suggested, and here we may propose Benevento as the likely place of origin. The script, certainly Campanian in character, is a reduced, somewhat less calligraphic version of the typical Benevento type produced by the union of the Montecassino variety and a roundish type influenced by the city's ties with Puglia.¹⁰ Benevento as the place of origin is also satisfactory from a logical point of view: given the contents, we would expect local interest to have prompted the copying of the text in the place where the monasteries were located.

⁸ This smaller format for the script is also used for a number of books copied at Monte-cassino during the abbacies of Desiderius (1058–87) and Oderisius I (1087–1105); generally speaking, surviving examples exhibit some of the features, including the leftward lean, noted in the Rieti fragment. The only discussion of this kind of Beneventan in a Cassinese context has been provided recently by F. Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 7 (Cambridge, 1999), 415 (subject index, s.v. "Fine Script").

⁹ The documents that make up the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* in Vat. lat. 4939 use abbreviations in a similar fashion.

¹⁰ On the three general types of Beneventan script practiced at Benevento, see V. Brown, "Origine et provenance des manuscrits bénéventains conservés à la Bibliothèque Capitulaire," in *La cathédrale de Bénévent*, ed. T. F. Kelly (Ghent and Amsterdam, 1999), 154–55.

EDITION OF THE TEXTS

The following transcription preserves the original orthography. Punctuation and capitalization have been adjusted in accord with modern usage, and expansions of abbreviations are italicized. These symbols have been used:

- ⟨ ⟩ conjectured letters now missing because of damage
- [] letters or words now illegible
- \\/ a word added suprascript
- | change from recto to verso
- ... mutilated incipit or explicit

For explanatory notes on the text, see pp. 345–49 below.

I

Cartula oblationis

Between 774 and ca. 950,
Benevento. Notary: Maio
(Plates 1 and 2)

... *Teopegisa* and *Benedictus*, abbess and *prepositus* respectively of the monastery of Santa Sofia, together with *Maio gastaldius*, protector of the same monastery, confirm the terms of the donation made to Santa Sofia by *Johannes* of his house at Benevento and his three *casalia* at *Cupoli*: *Johannes* and his wife *Arnibona* will have a lifetime usufruct, and the property will come into the possession of Santa Sofia after their death; their son and daughter, *Iochelmo* and *Wiselbona*, will be provided with suitable food and clothing and allowed to remain for life at Santa Sofia; if *Iochelmo* and *Wiselbona* should be turned out at some future date, 200 Beneventan solidi will be paid to *Johannes* (if he is still alive) or to *Iochelmo* or to *Wiselbona*. Moreover, should *Johannes* or *Arnibona* become infirm and unable to care for themselves, *Teopegisa* and *Benedictus* promise to send them help in the form of horses or sheep or whatever is needed; if this aid is not forthcoming, then *Johannes* and *Arnibona* will receive 100 Beneventan solidi from *Teopegisa* and *Benedictus* or their successors.

⟨CXXIIJ⟩^a

... case tue intus hanc Beneventanam civitatem cum ipsis tribus casalibus tuis, quod habuistis in *Cupoli*^b et in *arvistu* et in *viri*^c, tali ratione ut, donec tu *Iohannes* et *Arnibona* uxor tua vixeritis, vestre sint potestatis tantum residendum laborandu et usufructuandi et bivendi nomine; post vero ambarum hobi-
tum vestrum in predicto monasterio in integrum semper^d possidendum ebenire deberent, modo vero pro eandem casam et predicti casalibus quod in eodem

cenovio optulisti. Ego quidem T(e)opegisa abbatissa^e et ego nominatus Benedictus prepositus^f, una cum consensu fratrum de predicto monasterio, et inter nobis vocavimus^g esset Maione gastaldius^h qui est tutor eidem nostri monasterio, denique per hunc scriptum bona nostra voluntate repromittimus tibi superius dicti Iohannis sub hoc enim ordinem, ut a nunc tam nos et posteres nostro qui in eodem monasterio fuerintⁱ avere deveamus in prephato cenovio Iochelmo filius tuus et Wiselbona filia tua quatenus a nunc^j ipsis ibi offersunt, s(icut) et ceteris nubilis monachi et monache, qui ibi sunt, et dare promittimus eorum donec ipsi vixeris tam vestimenta et calciamentum et vivenda unde ipsi bene vivere debeant, sicut et aliis perfecti monachis et monache ex ipso monasterio habitantibus; et nunquam aliquando quoque adveniente tempore aut nos superius dicti vel posteris nostris, qui in ipso monasterio preordinatos esse videtur, per qualemque^k <c>rime<n> aberemus potestate^k iam dictus Iochelmo filio tuo aut prephata Wiselbona filia tua de supradicto monasterio Sancte Sophie expellere, ut ipsum aut in monasterio Sancti Benedicti vel in cella de ipso monasterio pertinente adabitandum dirigamur, sed ipse prenominatus Iochelmo filius tuus cum eandem Wiselbona sororem suam semper in iam dicto monasterio habitare debeant, et quomodo superius diximus, donec ipsi vixerit de omnibus taliter eorum adimpleamus. Quod si nos supradicti aut posteres nostros hec omnia, ut dudum dictum est, eorum complire noluerimus, vel per qualemque argumento de predicto monasterio ipsum Iochelmo et predicta eius sororem aliquando eicere temptaverimus et claruerit veritas, duocentos Beneventanos solidos parti nostri monasterii aut tibi nominato Iohannis, si vixerit, aut iam dicti Iochelmi aut prephate Wiselbone filius vel filia tua complire obligamus et, qualiter superius scriptum est, de omnia eorum nos aut posteris nostris ut diximus ad imbitis adimpleamus. Super hoc autem ego que supra Teopegissa et ego predictus Benedictus prepositus per hunc scriptum similiter modo bona nostra voluntate repromittimus tibi nominato Iohanni in h(o)c <monaste>rio, si tu aut Arnibona uxor tua de hac infirmitate ubi reiacere videtur ad tales perveneritis necessitatem ut vestra | minime possatis, perageret causam unde bivere debeatis, nos vero aut posteres vestros^l emittamus vobis adiutorium tam de caballos aut bobe aut de aliud, quod vobis necesse fuerint pro vestra curandum necessitatem. Quid si nos aut posteris nostris, qui in eodem monasterio prefuerit ordinatos, hec, ut superius legitur, dum tu ipse Iohannes et iam dicta Arnibona vixerit, tua vobis adimplere noluerimus vel faciendum hec ita ut diximus dilataverimus, centum Beneventanos solidos nos aut posteris nostris comprile^m debeamus et ut diximus dum vixeritis taliter ad imbitis adimpleamus vobis, sicut te Maionem notariumⁿ taliter ut supra scribere rogavimus. Actum Beneventum feliciter. Ego qui supra Benedictus diaconus et prepositus ut supra egi et me subscrispsi.

II

Cartula offertionis

895, Benevento (?)
(Plate 2)

Fredericus, son of the deceased *Petrus*, offers *pro redemptione anime* to the monastery of *San Benedetto ad Xenodochium* (the xenodochium itself has burned down) all his property *in loco Cupuli*, except for the portion which he has already given to *Liupertus*, a shoemaker and son of *Leo*. If, however, *Fredericus*'s son *Adericus*, who was captured many years ago by the Saracens and whose fate is presently unknown, should return, *Adericus* is to receive half of *Fredericus*'s property after the latter's death; if he does not return, then all the property would go . . .

CXXIII

OFFERTIO IN SANCTUM BENEDICTUM AD XENODOCHIUM DE CURTIS ET
ORTALIS, VINEIS, TERRIS, SILVIS, CASTANIETIS, QUERTIETIS, ASPRA,
ABELLANITO IN CUPILI.^o

In nomine Domini. Nono anno imperii *dominorum nostrorum Leonis et Alexandri magniss(i)mi imperatoribus*, mense *septembrio* *tertia decima* *indictione*.^p Ideoque ego *Fredericus* filius *quondam Petri* declaro quia, sicut *humans ordo* *decurrit*, in *valida me reiacere cognosco infirmitas*, sed *data michi a Domino protectione sana* in *me esse memoriam recognosco*, *idcirco* *dum me sine filios vel filias esse agnosco*, *Dei namque inspiratione compulsus*, *pro redemptione anime* *mee offero omnipotenti Deo* et in *monasterio beatissimi Sancti Benedicti*, qui *constructum* *fuit intus hanc veterem Beneventanam civitatem*, *ubi xenodochio* *vocatur*, *qui nunc ab igne crematus est*^q *et ubi nunc dominus Criscius prepositus*^r *esse videtur*, *integram rem ipsam meam*, *quam habeo in loco Cupuli* *sive de iure parentum meorum* *aut de meo parato* *vel undecumque* *pertinentem*, *hec est*, *curtis*, *ortalis*, *vineis*, *terris*, *silvis*, *castanietis*, *quertietis* *culti in cultisque cum diversis finis*, *abiaciens et pertinentiis suis*, *cum omnibus* *arboribus fructiferis* *et infruitiferis* *ibidem stantibus*, *de qua videlicet rebus*, *sceptuo* *tantum terra illa* *et asprittelus seu abellanito* *ex eo loco Cupuli* *uno teniente*, *quos per cartulam* *dedi Liuperti calciolario* *filius Leonis*, *nam reliquas omnes rem ipsas meas* *ex eo loco Cupuli* *et in terra et in pristinari*^s *cum viis et andita sua*, *sicut supra legitur*, *cum inferius superiusque suis in supra dicto Sancti Benedicti monasterio* *per hanc offertionem optuli possidendum*, *ea ratione* *velut hic subter legitur*, *ut*, *si fortasse Dei fuerit voluntas*, *et Adericus filius meus* *qui a Saraceni a plurimis preteritis annis duc-*

tus est in captivitate fuerit reversus, quamvis tanquam mortuus existimamus eum esse, abeat iuxta legem medietatem ex eadem rebus post meum obitum, reliqua autem exinde medietatem abeat prephato *Sancti Benedicti monasterio* in possessione sua et de suis rectoribus; tam si Adericus filius meus non redierit, in integrum *pro redemptione anime meae supra ditam*^t . . .

Notes on the Texts

^a The first document, which begins incomplete on the flesh side, ends on the hair side at l. 11 on the leaf. When preserved in its entirety, the text was probably headed by a rubricated number, i.e., "cxxxij" (supplied in our transcription), and title since the second document exhibits a number ("cxxxij") and title, both in red, before the text begins.

^b There are at least two possibilities for the location of *Cupoli*. The same place is mentioned in a document of 1050 in the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* 3.50 (ed. Martin, 585 n. 1), and Martin refers to a *vicus Cupuli* apparently situated in Liburia, "zona di confine tra il principato di Benevento e il ducato di Napoli, fiancheggiata a nord dai Regi Lagni" (ibid., 284 n. 1: "Documenti fuori sezione," no. 3, dated November 774). Another possibility is the area around the modern Sant'Angelo a Cupolo (approximately twelve kilometers south of Benevento and not far from Strada Statale 88 and the Sabato River); on the history of this locality, see A. Zazo, "S. Maria a Toro e S. Angelo a Cupolo e i loro 'Capitoli, Costituzioni e Bandi' (1518)," *Samnium* 28 (1955): 1-23. Zazo (4 n. 19) points out that the name *Cupuli* appears in the *Platea antiqua usque ad a. 1382* of Santa Sofia: "Notarius laurentius mancus tenet terram a Monasterio ad incensum in territorio vocato cupuli qua solvere teneatur annuatim libram bone cere I."

^c Perhaps the equivalent of "in arbusto et in viri(di)," i.e., "uncultivated and cultivated land."

^d This word is read with difficulty. The abbreviation for *per* is clear at line-end, and traces of the previous three letters can be made to yield what appears to be *sem-*.

^e Mentioned below with the spelling "Teopegissa," this personage can be added to the list of the abbesses already associated with the monastery by Lepore, "*Monasticon beneventanum*," 153, and Martin, *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, 87: unknown sister of Arechis II (774), Eusoffronia (April 785), Ariegisa (August 821), Wilerona (April 833-October 841), Ota (868), and Rodelgarda (17 June 923-938). While it is logical to assume that this document precedes chronologically, just as it does textually, the second document (895) of the Rieti fragment, this does not necessarily have to be the case.

^f Similarly, *Benedictus prepositus* constitutes an addition to the list of *pre-*

positi of Santa Sofia given by Lepore, "Monasticon beneventanum," 153–54 n. 520, and Martin, *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, 87–88. Both Lepore (n. 520, with further bibliography) and Martin (50–53) observe that, during this early period, the *prepositus* of Santa Sofia was a monk of Montecassino who acted in a legal capacity on behalf of the abbess and the nuns.

^g Damage and possible attempts at correction make the reading of this word somewhat uncertain. Originally the scribe appears to have written *vocavimus*; the first four letters (*voca-*) seem clear, with *-vimu-* suiting the shape and number of minims preceding final *s*. These minims, however, may have undergone some rewriting. The second letter in the word was erased, and what appears to be *uncial d* was added suprascript.

^h The only *Maio gastaldius* named in the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* appears in a document of August 793 (3.6, ed. Martin, 489–91). Whether he is to be identified as the official in our document remains open to question since nothing else is presently known about the dates of Teopegisa's and Benedictus's tenure of office. Another *Maio gastaldus* appears in the *Chronicon salernitanum* ad a. 807 (chaps. 39 and 41) as the official who urged the payment of money to the Franks as a means of warding off their imminent invasion and was later disgraced. For the various administrative duties of the *gastaldus*, see R. Poupardin, *Les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale (IX^e–XI^e siècles)* (Paris, 1907), 30–34.

ⁱ Despite the damaged surface of the parchment, *a* is clearly read, and the final letter appears to be broken-back *c*; *n* is more problematic, but the first minim is certainly there. Sense and conventional usage require a phrase with the meaning of *amodo*, and so these letters have been construed as "a *nunc*." No trace of a macron can be seen, but the same words are written out in full in l. 12 (see plate 1), ending with a broken-back *c*.

^j Both this and the next word have suffered considerable damage; neither reading is entirely secure.

^k The scribe may have written *por-* or *pos-* and then corrected to *pot-*.

^l The first letter of this word appears definitely to be *u*: hence "uestros" instead of the expected "nóstros."

^m *Comprile* for *complire* already used twice above (I owe this suggestion to Mariano Dell'Omo).

ⁿ A notary of this name appears as one of the signatories in a document issued at Benevento in April 784; see *Codice diplomatico longobardo*, vol. 5: H. Zielinski, ed., *Le chartae dei Ducati di Spoleto e di Benevento*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia 66 (Rome, 1986), part 2: "Le chartae del Ducato di Benevento (–787)," 385–89, no. 15. An episcopal notary named Maio appears in the

rogatio of a document recorded in *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* 1.21 and assigned to 781 (ed. Martin, 367–69; Zielinski, 378–83, no. 13). Chronologically speaking, one of these notaries named Maio could still have been alive and active in 807, i.e., at the time of the *Maio gastaldus* mentioned in the *Chronicon salernitanum* (see note h above). If both persons are to be identified with the *Maio notarius* and *Maio gastaldius* of the Rieti fragment, then Teopegis would be among the earliest abbesses. Admittedly, such a hypothesis is very tenuous given the scanty evidence.

^o Written in Caroline minuscule along the extreme outer margin opposite the beginning of the new document are the instructions to the rubricator. Of these words, now damaged and cropped in places, this much can be read with relative certainty: “CXXIII Of in s B ad xenod d_ curtis ortalis uin tris siluis casta _____ aspra abella _____ in cupi”. The Caroline script exhibits the Beneventan *li* ligature.

^p The Byzantine emperors are Leo VI (b. 866; †912) and Alexander (b. ca. 870; †913), respectively the second and the youngest sons of Basil I. A date of 895 agrees with both the regnal year (*Nono anno*, i.e., after Basil's death in 886 when Leo and Alexander became sole coemperors) and the induction (*tertia decima*). Lack of reference to the year of the local ruler's reign for dating purposes is explained by the fact that the document was issued during the period of the Byzantine occupation of Benevento. In October 891 the *strategos* Symbatikios took the city after a siege of three months. Ursus, the young Lombard prince, fled. Subsequently, Benevento adopted a dating system based on Byzantine elements (V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 1 [Wiesbaden, 1967], 22). Guido of Spoleto liberated Benevento in August 895. The new year began in the Byzantine era on 1 September, and so this document would have been issued before that date.

^q In July 1050 Pandulf III and Landulf VI decreed the building of a new xenodochium at Sant'Angelo a Ponticello, another dependency of Santa Sofia, since the xenodochium at San Benedetto had long been empty: “xenodochium hospitii ordine factum ad ecclesiam vocabulo sancti Benedicti, sitam videlicet intus hanc veterem Beneventanam civitatem in loco ubi ad Caballum dicitur, . . . imminentibus peccatis multis populis disturbatum et tultum atque in vacuum redactum est multis temporibus” (*Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* 3.50, ed. Martin, 580–85 at 581–82; I reproduce the corrected text). Lepore, “*Monasticon beneventanum*,” 46–47, states that the reasons for the decline of the old xenodochium are unknown, and he suggests that the process may have begun around the middle of the tenth century (when Benedictine monks were sub-

stituted for the nuns at Santa Sofia). This could well be true. But the seeds of decline might have been sown by 895 when, as the new document at Rieti informs us, fire had consumed the xenodochium at San Benedetto, especially if efforts at rebuilding were unsatisfactory.

¹ Criscius's tenure of the duties of *prepositus* of Santa Sofia is first attested in 874 (*Chronica monasterii casinensis* 1.39, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH Scriptores* 34 [Hanover, 1980], 108.5, 25). Our document presently constitutes the latest attestation of the activities of this official, who was also court physician. For the documents in which Criscius is mentioned as *prepositus* as well as for other *prepositi* of Santa Sofia, see Lepore, "Monasticon beneventanum," 153–54 n. 520; and Martin, *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, 87–88.

² No other occurrence of *in terra et in pristinari* could be located; these words have been interpreted as describing the property *ex eo loco Cupuli* (see note c above for what seems to be a descriptive phrase used for other land in the same area).

³ For a convenient list of bibliography dealing with the numerous Saracen raids in southern Italy, especially in Campania, see S. Palmieri, "Un esempio di mobilità etnica altomedievale: i Saraceni in Campania," in *Montecassino: Dalla prima alla seconda distruzione. Momenti e aspetti di storia cassinese (Secc. VI–IX). Atti del II Convegno di studi sul medioevo meridionale (Casino – Montecassino, 27–31 maggio 1984)*, ed. F. Avagliano, *Miscellanea cassinese* 55 (Montecassino, 1987), 598 n. 2. It is difficult to specify the occasion on which Adericus was led *plurimis preteritis annis* into captivity. If he were living in or near Benevento, he could have been captured when the monastery of San Modesto was sacked ca. 860; on the destruction of this religious house, see H. Houben, "Il saccheggio del monastero di S. Modesto in Benevento (verso 1'860?): un ignoto episodio delle incursioni arabe nel Mediterraneo," *Università degli Studi di Lecce. Annali del Dipartimento di scienze storiche e sociali* 1 (1982): 125–38, rpt. in *Una grande abbazia altomedievale nel Molise: San Vincenzo al Volturno. Atti del I Convegno di studi sul medioevo meridionale (Venafro – S. Vincenzo al Volturno, 19–22 maggio 1982)*, ed. F. Avagliano, *Miscellanea cassinese* 51 (Montecassino, 1985), 495–509. There are also other possibilities, for example, the attacks of 881 by the Saracens based at Sepino, approximately fifteen miles from Benevento; on the havoc wrought by this group, see A. O. Citarella, "The Political Chaos in Southern Italy and the Arab Destruction of Monte Cassino in 883," in *Montecassino: Dalla prima alla seconda distruzione*, 171. The problem of inheritance by a captured member of the family was not uncommon in areas threatened by marauders. Mirroring the poignant situation of Fredericus and Adericus, a document of 879 issued at Benevento records Rodenand of Bari's disposition of half his

property in favor of the abbey of Montecassino. Fermenand, Rodenand's only son, has been captured by "barbarous people" (*barbara gens*); if Fermenand does not return, Rodenand leaves to the abbey the other half that, according to the law, would go to his son. For an edition of the text, with life-size facsimile, see *Chartae latinae antiquiores*, 2d ser., *Ninth Century*, vol. 53, ed. F. Magistrale, P. Cordasco, and C. Gattagrisi (Zürich, 1999), 65-69, no. 10 (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Aula II, Capsula XVIII, fondo Taranto, fascicolo I, n. 2).

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* *

The character of the volume from which the fragment was removed and the circumstances of its appearance at Rieti merit some attention. It is truly to be regretted that only this single folio is known to survive at present.¹¹ The general appearance and layout, including the numbering of the documents, suggests a book with an official, administrative function, i.e., a cartulary—and a substantial volume at that given the serial number "cxiij" attached to the second document. The monastery which the cartulary served must have been Santa Sofia since, at the time of the copying of the Rieti folio in the early twelfth century, San Benedetto ad Xenodochium had lost its importance along with the xenodochium itself and would have had no need for such a book. If so, this would be, after the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, the second manuscript that is known to assemble the property records of the monastery. It also constitutes a notable addition to the other books in Beneventan script serving a similar purpose for other religious houses.¹²

¹¹ The importance and interest of the text were immediately apparent when I discovered the fragment, and I had hoped to find other leaves among the records of Rocca Sinibalda notaries. I examined, without success, 413 other volumes in this series (down to 1700 when binding methods changed) at the Archivio di Stato, Rieti.

¹² Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 640, s. XII ex.-XIII (Registrum s. Matthaei Servorum Dei; ed. M. Inguanez, *Regesto dell'antica badia di S. Matteo de Castello o Servorum Dei* [Montecassino, 1914]);

_____, Regesto 3, s. XII (Registrum Petri Diaconi; see the splendid new facsimile published in 2000 by the abbey and the accompanying study of M. Dell'Ombo, *Il Registrum di Pietro Diacono (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Reg. 3). Commentario codicologico, paleografico, diplomatico*, Archivio Storico di Montecassino, Facsimili e Commentarii 1);

_____, Regesto 4, s. XII (Registrum s. Angeli ad Formas; ed. M. Inguanez, *Regesto di S. Angelo in Formis* [Montecassino, 1925]);

Naples, Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, XXI. A. 21, s. XIII (Cartularium s. Matthaei de Sculca et s. Mariae de Gualdo Mazzocca; ed. J.-M. Martin, *Le cartulaire de S. Matteo di Sculgola en Capitanate (Registro d'Istrumenti di S. Maria del Gualdo)*, Codice Diplomatico Pugliese 30 [Bari, 1987]);

Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 1, s. XI ex. (Registrum Iohannis pp. VIII;

The organization of this hypothetical new cartulary from Santa Sofia remains necessarily a moot question until other fragments turn up. Although the Rieti folio exhibits a sequence of two documents pertaining to San Benedetto ad Xenodochium, it would be hazardous to assume an overall arrangement by individual monasteries. We may observe, however, that the protagonists in both documents are private individuals; this contrasts sharply with the much more lavishly decorated *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae* whose documents were issued by popes, kings, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, dukes, and princes and so in character are public or at least semipublic.

Thus the Rieti leaf fills an obvious gap. It is tempting to speculate that the hypothetical cartulary to which the fragment once belonged might have been given over to private acts; in this capacity it would have been a companion volume to the *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*.¹³ Palaeographically speaking, such a pairing is feasible since no great time lag is discernible between the script of the *Chronicon* and that of the Rieti folio. In fact, many of the same features already noted in the writing of the latter are typical of the scribe of the *Chronicon*: neatness tempered by a certain irregularity and leftward lean; script that is often placed slightly above the line and rises at line-end; uncial *d* with small stem; the position of the comma in the final stop below the second point. Moreover, the type of decorated initial beginning the second document in the Rieti leaf is the kind most frequently used in the *Chronicon*.¹⁴ Finally, we may note that the Rieti scribe's careful reproduction of the often bizarre orthography and corrupt grammar of the original documents is evident also in the *Chronicon*.¹⁵

How, finally, the Rieti fragment came to be used as a cover for a volume of notarial records from Rocca Sinibalda is not an easy question to answer.

ed. D. Lohrmann, *Das Register Papst Johannes' VIII. (872–882)*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 30 (Tübingen, 1968);

Zadar, Archives of the Convent of St. Mary, S. N., s. xii (Codex s. Mariae Iadrensis; V. Novak, *Chartulare Jadertinum monasterii sanctae Mariae* [Zagreb, 1960], facsimile edition);

_____, Archiepiscopal Archives, S. N., s. xii (Codex monasterii s. Grisogoni; missing since 1918).

¹³ Martin (*Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, 70) observes that the compiler of the *Chronicon* did not produce a general cartulary, and so this explains the omission of hundreds of documents.

¹⁴ An analysis and list of the figures and decorated initials are provided by Orofino, "L'apparato decorativo," in *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, 137–86 and forty-three unnumbered figures in color (mostly reduced). Under the heading "a maglie geometriche" (156) she has found ninety examples in the *Chronicon* of the kind of initial seen in the Rieti leaf.

¹⁵ The Rieti fragment does not exhibit the *Chronicon*'s suprascript corrections in red made by the scribe (for which see Martin, *Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae*, 39–43). Much remains to be done on the palaeography of the *Chronicon*. Martin (35) attributes the text to a single scribe; here it may be noted that the more compact script on fol. 209r–v15 of Vat. lat. 4939 strongly resembles the script of the Rieti leaf.

THE SOUTH ITALIAN *COLLECTION IN FIVE BOOKS*
AND ITS DERIVATIVES:
A SOUTH ITALIAN APPENDIX TO THE
COLLECTION IN SEVENTY-FOUR TITLES^{*}

Roger E. Reynolds

IT is perhaps surprising that Beneventan-script codices, which were the primary vehicle for the south Italian *Collection in Five Books* and its derivatives, should also be a vehicle for one of the earliest and most popular collections of the Gregorian reform period, the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*. Indeed, four of the codices of this collection are written in Beneventan script.¹ In past research on canonical collections there has been a tendency to separate “papally-oriented” collections from others, especially those with monastic features.² Although scholars have been aware of the fact that several of these early manuscripts of the “papal” *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*³

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¹ El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo Z.III.19 (s. xi ex.) and L.III.19 (s. xii); Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana F 54 (s. xii); and Montecassino, Archivio dell’Abbazia 522 (s. xii).

² See, e.g., Theo Kölzer, “Die Farfenser Kanonessammlung des Cod. Vat. lat. 8487 (Collectio Farfensis),” *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, n.s., 7 (1977): 97, and “Mönchstum und Kirchenrecht: Bemerkungen zu monastischen Kanonessammlung der vorgratianischen Zeit,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 69 (1983): 123–42. Also see Giorgio Picasso, “Sacri canones et monastica regula nella cultura del monachesimo subalpino (sec. xi),” in *Dal Piemonte all’Europa: Esperienze monastiche nella società medievale. Relazioni e comunicazioni presentate al XXXIV Congresso storico subalpino (Torino 27–29 maggio 1985)* (Turin, 1988), 199–211.

³ The classic description of the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* as a “papal” collection is in Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu’au Décret de Gratien*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931–32; rpt. Aalen, 1972), 2:14–19. But Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Aufstehen bis in die neuere Zeit*, 3 vols., *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 24.1–3 (Stuttgart, 1972–74), 2:486–509, has modified this description by emphasizing other than papal objectives in the collection.

were in Beneventan script, they have ignored the fact that Beneventan script was primarily a monastic one.⁴ This is one indication that the connection between papally sponsored reform movements and monasteries was much closer than one might think. In fact, in recent historical, liturgical, and artistic scholarship the connections between Montecassino itself, Rome, and the papacy have been shown to be close indeed. John Cowdrey has stressed the relation between Gregory VII and Montecassino.⁵ Numerous monks of the abbey were cardinals, and two popes of the period had been monks there, Victor III and Gelasius II. Under the former, the abbot Desiderius, Beneventan script reached its classical apogee.⁶ On the liturgical side Richard Gyug has made the important discovery that the famous Casinese manuscript of the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 451, was an exemplar used to make the first "Roman" pontifical, the *Pontificale Romanum XII saeculi*, of the Desiderian pontifical, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Barb. lat. 631.⁷ And art historians are now discovering the impact the architecture, decoration, and fresco painting of Montecassino had in Rome in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.⁸ Hence, it is perhaps not unexpected that papal reforming measures epitomized in the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* were written in the Beneventan script of south Italian monasteries.

One of the primary manuscript witnesses used by John Gilchrist in his edition of the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* was Montecassino 522, a codex written in the twelfth century most probably at Montecassino.⁹ Its contents have been described by John Gilchrist, including canons from a great variety of sources beyond the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*. Immediately following the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* there is a florilegium that consists of thirty-seven chapters deriving, as Gilchrist notes, from the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, Burchard's *Decretum*, and even

⁴ See my article, "Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana: Un Programa Superior de Investigación de Historia Liturgica Medieval en el Pontificio Instituto de Estudios Medievales de Toronto (Canadá)," *Oriente – Occidente: Revista de Investigaciones Comparadas* 16 (1999): 101–15.

⁵ H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), esp. chap. 11.

⁶ See E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, second edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown, *Sussidi eruditivi* 34 (Rome, 1980), 124–25.

⁷ Richard F. Gyug, "The Pontificals of Monte Cassino," in *Miscellanea cassinense: L'Età dell'Abate Desiderio. Atti del IV Convegno di studi sul medioevo meridionale, Montecassino e Cassino 4–8 ottobre 1987* (Montecassino, 1992), 413–39.

⁸ This has been emphasized most recently by John Osborne, "Framing Sacred Space: Eleventh-Century Mural Pointing in the Churches of Rome," to be published in the transactions of the Fordham University symposium, *The Liturgy of Rome in the Eleventh Century* (New York, 1998).

⁹ J. T. Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententie siue Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta, Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. B: Corpus collectionum* 1 (Vatican, 1973), xxxii, dates the manuscript s. xi/xii, whereas Loew, *Beneventan Script* 2:89, dates it s. xii.

Gregory VII.¹⁰ The florilegium also contains texts deriving from the *Collection in Five Books*. That this source has not been noted is understandable, since most of the canons deriving from the *Collection in Five Books* are from the as yet unedited books 4 and 5 of this collection.¹¹ Yet their presence in this florilegium is further evidence of the widespread influence of the *Collection in Five Books* in its many derivatives.¹²

The second major manuscript witness to the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* treated by Gilchrist is Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 16.15, a manuscript also written in the twelfth century, not in Beneventan but in a Carolingian script.¹³ Again, there are numerous texts in addition to the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*, including many patristic texts, an Ordinal of Christ,¹⁴ texts of eleventh-century popes including Alexander II, Gregory VII, and Urban II, and a list of popes reaching from Peter through Paschal II. But what is most unusual is that the same texts used as a continuation of the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* in Montecassino 522 follow the collection in the Florence manuscript (fols. 98r–103v) and that *capitulationes* for them, which are lacking in the Montecassino codex, are placed after the *capitulationes* preceding the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*. That is, the scribe of the Florence codex considered the Appendix as an integral part of the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*. In a sense, then, these additional texts are a parallel, albeit a shorter parallel, to the south German so-called Swabian Appendix to the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* studied by Johanne Autenrieth and edited by Gilchrist.¹⁵

¹⁰ Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententie*, 179–95.

¹¹ For the edition of books 1–3 of the collection, see Mario Fornasari, *Collectio canonum in v libris (Lib. i–iii)*, CCCC 6 (Turnhout, 1970).

¹² See my “The South-Italian Canon Law *Collection in Five Books* and Its Derivatives: New Evidence on Its Origins, Diffusion, and Use,” *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 278–95, “The South-Italian *Collection in Five Books* and Its Derivatives: The *Collection of Vallicelliana Tome XXI*,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: San Diego, University of California at La Jolla, 21–27 August 1988*, ed. S. Chodorow, *Monumenta iuris canonici*, Ser. C, *Subsidia* 9 (Vatican, 1991), 77–92, “The South Italian *Collection in Five Books* and Its Derivatives Maastricht Excerpta,” *Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996): 273–28, and “South and Central Italian Canonical Collections of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (non-Gregorian),” in *Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law*, ed. W. Hartmann and K. Pennington (Washington, D.C., in press since 1993).

¹³ Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententie*, xxxiv.

¹⁴ See my *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7 (Berlin and New York, 1978), 75 n. 95, and “Christ as Cleric: The Ordinals of Christ,” in my *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot, 1999), II, 17.

¹⁵ Johanne Autenrieth, “Bernold von Konstanz und die erweiterte 74-Titelsammlung,” *Deutsches Archiv* 14 (1958): 375–94; and Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententie*, 180–96.

Among the concerns expressed in the canons of the Appendix are liturgical matters involving baptism, the Eucharist, confirmation, and requirements for those to be ordained; protection of the abbey of Montecassino from the depredations of the Normans and others; condemnation of lay investiture; false penitence; Sabbath abstinence; regulations regarding tithes and offerings; simony; married clergy; clerical and monastic immunity from lay jurisdiction; matrimony and marital regulations; burial; the power of bishops; false testimony; and theft of ecclesiastical property. While many of the canons might apply to clerics of any kind, secular or monastic, there is definitely a monastic bent to several of the canons. This is seen, for example, in the immunities given to Montecassino itself and her monks and in canons relating to abbots.

Particularly interesting are the sources of the canons: Burchard's *Decretum*, the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, texts from the councils of Gregory VII, a text resembling one of Henry II, the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, the *Collection in Five Books*, and even the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* itself. Virtually all of these texts were available at Montecassino: Burchard's *Decretum* in Montecassino 44 and 45, the *Collectio Dionysiana* and *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 5845 and Montecassino 522; texts from the councils of Gregory VII in Montecassino 216;¹⁶ texts of Henry II in Montecassino 125; the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* in Montecassino 1; the *Collection in Five Books* in Montecassino 125;¹⁷ and the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* in Montecassino 522 and perhaps El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo Z.III.19 and L.III.19.¹⁸

The place of composition of this Appendix to the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles* was almost certainly Montecassino. The Florence manuscript is in Carolingian script and was probably written in central Italy, while the Montecassino codex is in Beneventan script of the twelfth century and was likely written at Montecassino. Also, it is interesting that in the canon of Gregory

¹⁶ On this collection, see my *The Collectio canonum casinensis duodecimi saeculi (Codex terscriptus): A Derivative of the South-Italian Collection in Five Books. An Implicit Edition with Introductory Study*, *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* 3, *Studies and Texts* 137 (Toronto, 2001).

¹⁷ It is, of course, possible that the canons found in the *Collection in Five Books* and the South Italian Appendix came to the latter from other sources compiled before the former, but this is unlikely because of these possible previous sources, such as the *Collection in Nine Books* or *Collections of Vatican, San Pietro H-58* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1349 and San Pietro H-58 respectively), there is no evidence that these existed at Montecassino, while there was at Montecassino a manuscript of the *Collection in Five Books*. On the other hand, there could have been other earlier sources now lost for the canons found in the *Collection in Five Books*. It is also possible that the canons found in the *Collection in Five Books* were drawn from other later derivatives of that collection, but until all of these are edited, it seems preferable to cite the canons as they appear in the *Collection in Five Books*.

¹⁸ Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententie*, xxxv, xlvi.

VII dealing with depredations of monastic property, the references to the Normans and to Montecassino have been omitted in the Florence text. Canons dealing with Montecassino itself and abbots have already been noted, and there is one canon that does not specifically mention Montecassino but can be tied to it. This is canon 20 regarding clerical immunity from lay jurisdiction:

Ut nullus sacerdos vel diaconus seu subdiaconus vel de qualicunque gradu clericorum presumat facere legem nisi ante presentiam episcopi sui, per quatuor domini evangelia finienda sine guadia et sine fideiussore. Quod si interventum fuerit et guadiam dederit et fideiussorem posuerit, et ad seculare iudicium sine voluntate episcopi sui iterit excommunicetur et ipse iudex qui eum sine episcopi sui iussione receperit sit anathema. Si resipuerit tres carinas cum septem sequentibus annis peniteat.

Where and when this canon originated is not certain, but later in the twelfth century the text of this canon is reflected in a privilege given to the church of San Germano (the previous name of the present city of Cassino) by Pope Clement III (1188):

sane quia sacris canonibus cautum est ut nullus sacerdos, seu diaconus, vel subdiaconus, aut de qualicunque gradu clericorum ad forum judicis saecularis trahatur, sancimus et apostolica auctoritate statuimus, ut sicut bonae memoriae Gerardus quondam Cassinensis abbas cum assensu fratrum suorum decrevit, ut nullus clericorum in toto territorio Sancti Benedicti habitantium saeculari iudicio constringatur, nec ab aliqua persona laica judicetur, vel purgationem facere, aut legem subire, sive gaudium aut fideiussorem praestare cogatur.¹⁹

The *abbas* mentioned here is Gerard, who was abbot of Montecassino from 1118 to 1123, almost precisely the time in which the Montecassino manuscript was written.

In the following implicit edition of the Appendix,²⁰ the text found in the Montecassino manuscript is used inasmuch as the text was most likely compiled there. In the Florence manuscript canons are at times ordered differently from those in the Montecassino manuscript, and several canons appearing in the latter are omitted in the former. The Florence manuscript, however, contains rubrics for the canons that the Montecassino manuscript lacks, and in the cases where this happens the rubrics from the Florence manuscript are inserted in boldface. Also, there are rubrics and numbers for the canons in the Florence manuscript following those for the *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*, and hence, before the text of the Appendix itself is given below, these rubrics

¹⁹ Quoted from PL 204:1344–45; see canon 20 of the Appendix in the edition below.

²⁰ On “implicit” editions, see the preface to my *Collectio canonum casinensis*.

and the canon numbers in the Florence manuscript are printed in boldface. It must be noted, however, that in the text of the Appendix itself in both manuscripts no numbers are assigned to the canons.

In this implicit edition of the canons, *capitulatio* numbers in brackets < > have been added to facilitate consultation. They correspond to the rubrics or separation of units in the Montecassino manuscript. These brackets have also been used where readings are illegible in the manuscripts.

Spelling, grammar, and syntax in Beneventan-script codices are notoriously inconsistent and faulty.²¹ In this incipit-explicit edition these peculiarities in the manuscript have been maintained since they may suggest relationships with other derivative collections based on the *Collection in Five Books* or other canonical collections used by the compilers of the Cassino collection.

Following the lead of the CD Rom program by Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Kanones. A Selection of Canon Law Collections Compiled Outside Italy Between 1000 and 1140* (Piesenkofen in the Oberpfalz, 1998), the incipits and explicits reported here consist of a minimum of six words.

Sources for the canons are assigned as follows. Canons taken from Burchard's *Decretum* (= Burchard) are cited not from the superior edition of M. de Neuss (Novesianus) (Cologne, 1548; rpt. with introductory essays by T. Kölzer and G. Fransen [Aalen, 1992]), but according to the Migne "edition" (PL 140) for ease of consultation. Canons from books 1–3 of the *Collection in Five Books* (= 5L) are cited from Fornasari's edition (CCCM 6); canons from books 4–5 of are cited from Montecassino 125 (= C), since the Vatican and Vallicelliana manuscripts of the collection (Vat. lat 1339 and Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 11) are defective. For ease of consultation, canons from the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* are cited from the edition of the *Collectio Dionysiana (Redactio II)* in PL 67:137–316. Canons included in the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* are cited from *Decretales pseudo-Isidoriana et capitula Angilramni*, ed. P. Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863) (= Hinschius). Canons from the Roman council of 1078 are cited from book 6 of *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, MGH *Epistolae Selectae* 2 (Berlin, 1920–23), 400–406 (= Caspar). It would be possible to cite parallels given in Fowler-Magerl's *Kanones* for many of the canons, but such citations would clutter the *apparatus fontium* unnecessarily and can easily be found by consulting *Kanones*. Sources of the canons found in Burchard's *Decretum* can easily be found in Hartmut Hoffmann and Rudolf Pokorný, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms: Textstufen, frühe Verbreitung, Vorlagen*, MGH *Hilfsmittel* 12 (Munich, 1991).

²¹ On this, see R. Jacobsson, "Short Reflexions on Beneventan Easter Sequence Texts," in *La Sequenza Medievale. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Milano 7–8 aprile 1984*, ed. A. Zino (Lucca, 1992), 129–30.

CONTINUATION OF *CAPITULATIONES FOR THE
COLLECTION IN SEVENTY-FOUR TITLES IN FLORENCE* 16.15

(fol. 55v) **cccxvi.** Ut diaconi mensuram propriam iuxta patrum decreta custodian. Ex decreta Gelasii generali.

cccxvii. Quod diaconibus nec offere nec presbyteris corpus tradere nec ante eos communicare nec sedere sit licitum. Ex concilio Niceno cap. xviii.

cccxviii. De his que omnino prohibentur presbiteris. Ex decreta Gelasii generali cap. viii.

cccxviii. De presbiteris ut nichil super episcopos presumant. De presbiteris.

[blank space]

ccxx [*sic, et infra ccxi–ccxlii*]. De suscipiendis his qui persecutionem patiuntur.

ccxi. De investitura ecclesiarum a laicis non accipenda.

ccxii. De ordinationibus pretio precibus aut obsequio non faciendis.

ccxiii. De his qui monasteriorum <...> deripiunt <...>. In decretis Gregorii.

ccxviii. Quod episcopi <debeant augere numerum ordinatorum si de ordinando episcopo fuerit contradictum. >

(fol. 56r) **cccxv.** De falsa penitentia ha [*sic*] de falsis penitentibus similis.

cccxvi. De abstinentia sabbati.

cccxvii. De decimis a laicis non accipiendis.

cccxviii. Quod decime in potestate debeant esse episcoporum.

cccxviii. Ut nullus presbiter ecclesiam per precium obtineat.

cccxix. Ut nullus clericus audeat legem facere vel sacramentum iurare coram laica potestate absque presentia vel iussione episcopi sui.

cccxxi. De his qui matrimonio iuncti sunt vel nubere non possunt. Gregorius Iohanni Ravennani episcopo.

cccxxi. De clericis sepulcrorum violatoribus.

cccxxi. De clericis apostantibus.

cccxxi. Ut res ecclesie permaneant in episcopi potestate.

cccxv. Ut nullus clericus alicui laico super evangelia iuret. Ex concilio Remensi.

cccxvi. Justinanus Augustus Iohanni prefecto. De eadem re in primo libro Codicis.

cccxvii. Quod non liceat clerico ante laicum iudicem stare et quod iudicare non debeat.

cccxviii. Clericus sine presentia episcopi sui et quod de nullo crimine accusari possit iuste sine vii. legalibus ac idoneis testibus.

cccxviii. De periurio sponte perpetrato.

cccxix. De periurio non sponte perpetrato.

cccxxi. De falso testimonio.

cccxlii. De is qui consentiunt falso testimonio.

cccxliii. De eadem re.

cccxlv. Interrogatio Augustini anglici episcopi de his qui in ecclesia furantur.

cccxlv. Responsio beati Gregorii papae. De eadem re.

cccxlvii. De homine qui pro mortis necessitate filium suum baptizavit.

cccxlviii. De his qui proprios filios a fonte baptismatis aliquo negligente modo suscipiunt.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA

TEXT OF THE SOUTH ITALIAN APPENDIX FROM MONTECASSINO 522

(p. 180) 〈1〉 EX DECRETO GELASII GENERALI UT DIACONI MENSURAM PROPRIAM IUXTA PATRUM DECRETA CUSTODIANT.

Diacones quoque propriam constituimus observare mensuram . . . quod et facere laycis christianis plerumque conceditur.

(Gelasius, *Decretum generale*, cap. 9; Hinschius, 650–51; and cf. Burchard 4.57 [PL 140:738])

〈2〉 EX CONCILIO NICENO. CAP. XIII. QUOD DIACONIBUS NEC OFFERE NEC PRESBITERIS CORPUS TRADERE NEC ANTE EOS COMMUNICARE NEC SEDERE SIT LICITUM.

Pervenit ad sanctum concilium quod in locis quibusdam et civitatibus presbiteris sacramentum . . . (p. 181) . . . post hanc diffinitionem cessen esse diaconus.

(Conc. Nic., c. 14; Hinschius, 250; and cf. Montecassino 522, p. 257)

〈3〉 EX DECRETO GELASII PAPAE GENERALI. CAP. VIII. DE HIS QUE OMNINO PROHIBENTUR PRESBITERIS.

De his que omnino prohibentur presbiteris que si presumpserint . . . vacabit si talia facientem dissimulare iudicaverit.

(*Fons non invenitur; vide infra* (4))

〈4〉 DE PRESBITERIS UT NICHIL SUPER EPISCOPOS PRESUMANT.

Nec minus etiam presbiteros ultra suum modum . . . (p. 182) . . . vacuatur si immoderate facientem dissimulaverit vindicare.

(Gelasius, *Decretum generale*, cap. 8; Hinschius, 651)

〈5〉 IN DECRETIS GREGORII.

Gregorius episcopus servus servorum dei. Si quis Normannorum vel quorum-

libet hominum predia monasteria beati Benedicti montis casinensis invaserit . . . suibiaceat donec resipiscat et ecclesie satisfaciat.

(Conc. Rom. [1078], cap. 2; Caspar, 403; and *Italia pontificia* 8, ed. P. F. Kehr [Berlin, 1935], 147)

(p. 183) **⟨6⟩ CANONE APOSTOLORUM QUO IN QUI NON SPONTE EUNUCHI-ZATI SUNT SUSCIPIANTUR AD CLERUM.**

Eunuchus si per insidias hominum factus . . . natus est et dignus efficiatur episcopus.

(*Canones apostolorum*, c. 21; Hinschius, 28; cf. Montecassino 522, p. 242; 5L 1.139 [CCCM 6:97]; and Montecassino 541, p. 40])

⟨7⟩ DE ORDINATIS EPISCOPIS NEC RECEPTIS.

Si quis episcopus non suscepit officium et curam . . . eruditores in obedientis populi non fuerunt.

(*Canones apostolorum*, c. 37; Hinschius, 29; cf. Montecassino 522, p. 246; and 5L 1.169 [CCCM 6:112])

⟨8⟩ DE HIS QUI AD EPISCOPATUM VOCANTUR ET VITANT.

Si quis episcopus manus impositionem acceperit episcopatus . . . integra decreverit eiusdem provincie synodus sacerdotum.

(Conc. Antioch., c. 17; *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, PL 67:162; cf. Montecassino 541, p. 283)

⟨9⟩ DE SUSCIPIENDIS HIS QUI PERSECUTIONEM PATIUNTUR.

Osius episcopus dixit: Suggestente fratre et coepiscopo nostro Olimpio etiam hoc placuit ut si aliquis vim perpessus est et inique expulsus . . . (p. 184) . . . benevolentia et humanitas ei est exhibenda. Omnis synodus dixit: Universa que constituta sunt catholica ecclesia in universo orbe diffusa custodiet.

(Cf. Burchard 1.119 [PL 140:584]; Montecassino 522, p. 324; and Conc. Sard., c. 21, *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, PL 67:182)

⟨10⟩ QUOD ADHIBEANT EPISCOPI NUMERO ORDINATORUM SI DE ORDINANDO EPISCOPO FUERIT CONTRADICTUM.

Sed illud est statuendum ut quando ad eligendum episcopum convenerimus . . . dignationis responsione. Ab universis episcopis dictum est, Satis placet.

(Conc. Afric. c. 17; *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, PL 67:196; cf. Burchard 1.6 [PL 140:551])

⟨11⟩ DE INVESTITURA ECCLESIARUM A LAYCIS NON ACCIPIENDIS.

(p. 185) Quoniam investituras ecclesiarum contra statuta sanctorum patrum a laycis personis . . . usque ad dignam satisfactionem excommunicationi subiacere.

(Conc. Rom. [1078], cap. 3; Caspar, 403)

⟨12⟩ DE ORDINATIONIBUS PRETIO PRECIBUS AUT OBSEQUIO NON FACIENDIS.

Ordinationes que interveniente pretio vel precibus vel obsequio alicui persone . . . veritas testatur fures sunt et latrones.

(Conc. Rom. [1078], cap. 5; Caspar, 403)

⟨13⟩ DE FALSIS PENITENTIBUS.

Falsas penitentias dicimus que non secundum auctoritatem sanctorum patrum pro qualitate . . . (p. 186) . . . ut omnipotens deus cor illius illustret ad penitentiam.

(Conc. Rom. [1078], cap. 6; Caspar, 404)

⟨14⟩ DE ABSTINENTIA SABBATI.

Quia dies sabbati apud sanctos patres nostros in abstinentia . . . festivitate interveniente vel infirmitate impidente abstineat.

(Conc. Rom. [1078], cap. 8; Caspar, 405)

⟨15⟩ DE DECIMIS A LAYCIS NON ACCIPIENDIS.

Decimas quas in usum pietatis concessas esse . . . (p. 187) . . . commitere et eterne damnationis periculum incurgere.

(Conc. Rom. [1078], cap. 7; Caspar, 404)

⟨16⟩ QUOD DECIME IN POTESTATE ESSE DEBEANT EPISCOPORUM.

Ut nullus abbas decimas et primitias et reliqua . . . in cuius diocesi habitat detineat apostolica sanctione firmamus.

(Conc. Rom. [1078], cap. 9; Caspar, 405)

⟨17⟩ Si quis episcopus aut presbiter aut diaconus vel subdiaconus per pecuniam . . . et sit anathema sicut Symon Magus a Petro.

(*Canones apostolorum*, c. 30; *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, PL 67:144; and Hinschius, 29)

⟨18⟩ UT NULLUS PRESBITER ECCLESIAM PER PRECUM OBTINEAT.

Quicumque presbiter per pretium ecclesiam fuerit adeptus . . . eamque sibi taliter vindicaverit omnimodo deponatur.

(Burchard 3.110 [PL 140:695])

⟨19⟩ Si presbiter uxorem acceperit deponatur. Si vero (p. 188) . . . fornicator proicite eum de medio vestri.

(Cf. Burchard 2.108 [PL 140:645]; Conc. Neoceasar., c. 1; *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, PL 67:155)

⟨20⟩ UT NULLUS CLERICUS AUDEAT LEGEM FACERE ET SACRAMENTUM IURARE CORAM LAICA POTESTATE ABSQUE PRESENTIA EPISCOPI SUL

Ut nullus sacerdos vel diaconus seu subdiaconus vel de qualicumque gradu

clericorum presumat facere legem nisi ante presentiam episcopi sui, per quattuor domini evangelia finienda sine guadia et sine fideiussore. Quod si interventum fuerit et guadiam dederit et fideiussorem posuerit, et ad seculare iudicium sine voluntate episcopi sui iterit excommunicetur et ipse iudex qui eum sine episcopi sui iussione receperit sit anathema. Si resipuerit tres carinas cum septem sequentibus annis peniteat.

(*Fons non invenitur; vide* Montecassino 216, pp. 130–131; cf. PL 204:1344–45; and *Italia pontificia* 8:194)

(21) DE HIS QUI MATRIMONIO IUNCTI SUNT ET NUBERE NON POSSUNT.

GREGORIUS JOHANNI RAVENNATI EPISCOPO.

Quod autem interrogasti de his qui in matrimonio iuncti sunt et nubere non possunt . . . Si autem ille aliam acceperit separantur.

(Burchard 9.40 [PL 140:821])

(p. 189) (22) DE CLERICIS SEPULCHRORUM FRACTORIBUS.

Si quis clericus in demoliendis sepulchris fuit . . . submoveare sed et penitentie triennio deputari.

(Burchard 11.63 [PL 140:871]; and 5L 4.133b [C, p. 235, attributed to Gregory])

(23) DE CLERICIS APOSTANTIBUS.

Clericus tonsura dimissa si uxorem acceperit. . . . Uxorem si usurpaverit cum penitentia dimittere compellatur.

(Burchard 8.97 [PL 140:811])

(24) Karissimi monemus ut intelligatis potestatem episcoporum vestrorum in eisque . . . quod tamen eum summopere precavere oportet.

(*Coll. in LXXIV titulos* 225 [Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententie*, 141])

(25) UT RES ECCLESIE PERMANEAT IN EPISCOPI POTESTATE.

In sancto concilio decretum est et a sanctis patribus et sancitum ut omnes ecclesie cum (p. 190) dotibus suis . . . ad ordinationem vel dispositionem suam semper pertineant.

(Burchard 3.146 [PL 140:702])

(26) EX CONCILIO REMENSI. UT NULLUS CLERICUS ALICUI LAICO SUPER EVANGELIA IURET.

Ut nullus ex ecclesiastico ordine cuiquam layco quicquid supra sacrosancta evangelia iuret. . . . causa fuerit persummissam sibi personam expurgetur.

(Cf. Burchard 2.188 [PL 140:657])

(27) IUSTINIANUS AUGUSTUS IOHANNI PREFECTO IN PRIMO LIBRO CODICIS. DE EADEM RE.

Dignum est ut totus clericalis ordo a prestando iureiurando immunis esse . . .

persummissam personam hoc officium liceat delegare.

(Cf. Henricus II: *Constitutio nova Ariminensis* [PL 140:231–32])

(p. 191) (28) NON LICEAT CLERICUS ANTE LAICUM IUDICEM STARE ET QUOD IUDICARI DEBEAT IN PRESENTIA EPISCOPI SUL.

Non liceat sacerdoti vel clero vel monacho succinctus ante laycum iudicem stare . . . idoneos si hoc non fecerit sub anathemate sit.

(Cf. Sylvester, *Ex synodalibus gestis*, cap. 5; Hinschius, 449)

⟨29⟩ Si quis iniuriam dereliquerit hoc est statim passus et ad animum . . . penitentia remissa iniuria non poterit recolere.

(*Fons non invenitur*)

⟨30⟩ DE PERIURIO SPONTE PERPETRATO.

Si quis perjurium fecerit episcopus xii^m. annis peniteat, iii^s. ex his in pane et aqua. . . . Laycus iii^s i^m in pane et aqua.

(Cf. *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, ed. O. Heiming, CCL 159B [Turnhout, 1984], 298, no. 2187; and *Paenitentialia minora franciae et italiae saeculi VIII–IX*, ed. R. Kottje et al., CCL 156 [Turnhout, 1994], 63 [BU 5] and 127 [ME 5,6])

⟨31⟩ DE PERIURIO NON SPONTE PERPETRATO.

Si quis coactus qualibet necessitate aut nesciens perjuraverit . . . (p. 192) . . . et post vii. annos iudicio sacerdotis communicet.

(5L 4.145 [C, p. 239])

⟨32⟩ DE FALSO TESTIMONIO.

Si quis falsum testimonium dixerit episcopus vii. annis peniteat. . . . laycus iii^s i^m in pane et aqua.

(5L 4.94 [C, p. 223])

⟨33⟩ DE HIS QUI CONSENTIUNT FALSO TESTIMONIO.

Qui consentiunt ad falsum testimonium ii. annis peniteat. Si quis iuraverit in manu hominis apud grecos nichil est . . . in perjurium ducitur tamen iurat perconsensum ii. annis peniteat.

(5L 4.94 [C, p. 223])

⟨34⟩ DE FALSO TESTIMONIO.

Si quis falsum testimonium dicens ut placeat proximo suo qualeque fratri . . . intulit tali iudicio damnetur iudice sacerdote.

(5L 4.94 [C, p. 223])

(p. 193) (35) AUGUSTINUS ANGLICUS EPISCOPUS. DE FURANTIBUS IN ECCLESIA.

Obsecro quid pati debeat qui dei ecclesia aliquid furto abstulerit?

RESPONSIO BEATI GREGORII.

Gregorius. Hoc tua fraternitas ex persona furis pensare. . . . Sed absit ut ecclesia cum augmentatione recipiat quod detur reus rebus videtur ammittere.

(*Interrogatio Augustini et Responsio Gregorii*, cap. 4; Hinschius, 738)

⟨36⟩ DE HOMINE QUI PRO NECESSITATE MORTIS FILIUM SUUM BAPTIZAVIT.

Iohannes episcopus Anselmo Lemonecine ecclesie. Ad limina beatorum Petri ac Pauli apostolorum principum. Hic presens homo nomine Stephanus orationis (p. 194) causa veniens . . . (p. 195) . . . prefatas auctoritates divinas aliquatenus separari debere.

(5L 5.114a [C, p. 333]; cf. Montecassino 372, p. 45)

⟨37⟩ DE HIS QUI PROPRIOS FILIOS A FONTE BAPTISMATIS ALIQUO NEGLIGENTIE MODO SUSCIPIUNT.

Deus dedit sancte Romane et apostolice ecclesie episcopus Gurdiano Hispaniensis ecclesie coepiscopo et fratri dilecto. Pervenit ad nos diaconus vester vestre sanctitatis epistolam ferens quod quidam viri etiam et mulieres . . . (p. 196) . . . recipient alterum virum si voluerint. Similiter et viri uxorem.

(Burchard 17.44 [PL 140:928])

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